AN

Universal HISTORY,

FROM THE

Earliest Account of Time to the Present:

COMPILED from

ORIGINAL AUTHORS;

And ILLUSTRATED with

Maps, Cuts, Notes, *Chronological* and *Other* Tables.

VOL. II.

Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχεσθαι μὴ κατανόει, ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ ἑυρήσεις ἀκόπως, ἅπερ ἕτεροι συνῆξαν ἐγκόπως. Basil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.

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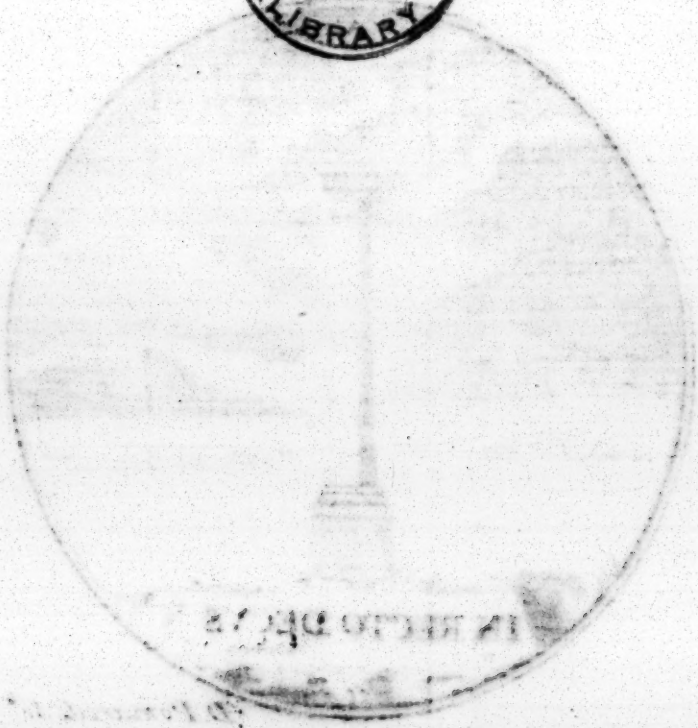

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THE

AN

Universal History.

FROM THE

Earliest Account of Time to the Present.

BOOK I.

The ASIATIC *History to the Time of* ALEXANDER the Great.

CHAP. III.

The History of Egypt *to the time of* Alexander *the Great.*

SECT. V.

The reigns of the kings of Egypt.

MENES, or *Menas*, is universally agreed to have been the first man that reigned over *Egypt* (A). In his time the whole country, except *Thebaïs*, was a morass; and no land appeared between the lake *Mœris* and the *Mediterranean* sea, which was seven Days passage Menes, *or* Menas.

(A) It is on all hands agreed, that *Menes* was the first king of *Egypt*; but all are not of one mind concerning him in any other respect. And though we have resolved to follow no particular hypothesis in the arrangement of the *Egyptian* affairs, as thinking them all pretty dubious and exceptionable; yet we shall in the most summary way (so as to be consistent with perspicuity) entertain you, from time to time, with the discordant notions and conjectures of some of the most noted chronologers, that have laboured in the un-

paſſage on the river. He diverted the courſe of the *Nile*, which was wont to waſh the feet of the ſandy mountain towards

grateful work of ſettling the *Egyptian* antiquities. In conformity to what we now propoſe, we ſhall take notice, that, according to Sir *John Marſham*, this *Menes* was the *Cham*, or *Ham*, the ſon of *Noah* in ſcripture, the *Jupiter Hammon*, or *Ammon*, of the *Egyptians*, the *Thamus*, or *Adonis*, of the *Phœnicians*, the *Saturn* of *Sanchoniatho*, and the firſt that taught the *Egyptians* to fare ſumptuouſly; which alone, as it is reported of him, were a ſufficient inducement to think, that he could not have lived in the early and ſimple times which were immediately ſucceſſive to the deluge. But we ſhall have no need to contradict him, ſeeing that will be done preſently by one of no mean fame, who wrote profeſſedly with that intent. in a word, he lays it down, that he was king of all *Egypt*, and the father of the *Egyptian* god *Mercury*, or *Athothes* (1).

It will now be worth while to hear what *Perizonius* has to object in anſwer to this gentleman. He ſays, that the firſt that reigned in *Egypt* were the *Meſtræi*, or *Semigods*. Then comes *Menes*, whom he denies to have been either *Ham* or *Mizraïm*, or that *Hammon* is properly the ſame with the *Egyptian Jupiter*, or that *Menes* was the father of the *Egyptian Mercury*. We will now give you an argument of his in proof of theſe ſeveral heads ſeparately, and then conclude with his conjectures concerning the age and family of *Menes*, and of this remote period of the *Egyptian* affairs. 1. *Menes* ſucceeded the *Meſtræi:* this he proves by very ample teſtimony, and then obſerves, that he could not be the founder of their race, but their ſucceſſor; and ſince it is ſaid, that he firſt taught the *Egyptians* to feed deliciouſly and to adorn their beds, it muſt follow, that there had been *Egyptians* before his time, who were uſed to a coarſer and more ſimple way of living. 2. For the ſame reaſon it is very improbable, that he was either *Ham* or *Mizraïm*. 3. *Hammon* is not properly the *Egyptian Jupiter*; for that *Ham*, or *Hammon*, was, by the *Greeks*, in after-times dignified with the name of *Jupiter*, was owing to their being ſo ſolicitous after foreign gods, to whoſe original or proper name they prefixed that of *Jupiter*; ſo *Jupiter Belus*, *Jupiter Hammon*, *Jupiter Caſius*, and many more; wherefore this had no affinity with the antient *Egyptian* genealogy, which knew nothing of the *Grecian Jupiter*. In a word, he thinks, he was ſtiled *Dionius*, or *ſprung from Jupiter*, by *Eratoſthenes*, becauſe he was the firſt that reigned after the *Meſtræi*, or *Semigods*, as is related by the ſame author. It is his opinion, that *Menes* lived ſomewhat about the days of *Abraham*, but does not lay it down for certain; and though *Eratoſthenes* calls him the father of *Athothes*, or *Mercury*, he can by no means admit it (2).

(1) *Vid.* Marſh. *Can. Chron. Temp. Antiquiſſimorum Inveſt.*

(2) Perizon. *Ægypt. Orig.* &

Father

wards *Libya*, and built the city of *Memphis* within the antient bed of the river. On the north and weſt ſide of it, without the walls, he made a lake, both which were fed by the *Nile*, which flowed along on the eaſt ſide of the town: and in the city itſelf he built the ſtately and famous temple of *Vulcan* [a]. He was the firſt that inſtructed the *Egyptians* in religious matters, that introduced domeſtic magnificence and luxury, and that inſtituted the pomp of feaſts; on which account his memory was loaded with the execrations of one of his ſucceſſors, as will be obſerved hereafter [b].

AFTER this *Herodotus* declares, that the *Egyptians* produced a catalogue of 130 kings, extending from *Menes* to

[a] HERODOT. lib. 11. [b] DIOD. SIC. lib. 1. p. 42.

Father *Pezron*, who wrote before *Perizonius*, brings the reign of *Menes* much later down than the days of *Ham*, or *Mizraïm*. According to his hypotheſis *Menes* began to reign 2904 years after the creation, and 648 after the flood. This he endeavours by all means to prove, and ſeems to be pretty confident that he is in the right: but it would be endleſs to enter into the arguments of the chronologers we ſhall from time to time reſort to, and we ſhall avoid it as much as poſſible, except when their reaſoning is very clear and important, or their notions very ſingular (3).

We will now conſult the incomparable Sir *Iſaac Newton*. As this chronologer is of opinion, that *Seſoſtris* was *Oſiris*, he places *Menes* after him, and in conſequence thereof, and for other cogent reaſons, he tranſpoſes the ſeries of the kings of *Egypt* mentioned by *Herodotus* after this manner; *Seſoſtris*, *Pheron*, *Proteus*, *Menes*, *Rhampſinitus*, *Mœris*, *Cheops*, *Chephren*, *Mycerinus*, *Nitocris*, and the reſt in the ſame order as they ſtand in *Herodotus*. He ſuppoſes *Menes* to be the ſame with *Amenophis* and *Memnon*, and that by corruption he was called *Menes*, *Mines*, *Minæus*, *Minies*, *Minevis*, *Enephes*, *Venephes*, *Phamenophis*, *Oſymanthyas* [*Oſymandyas*] *Oſimandes*, *Iſmandes*, *Imandes*, *Memnon*, *Arminon*. According to his hypotheſis *Menes* is about 300 years older than *Pſammitichus*. He holds it irrational to ſuppoſe, that there was any king of all *Egypt*, till after the expulſion of the *Shepherds*; and obſerves, that the miracles of *Memphis* were not ſpoken of, or known in *Greece* till ſome ages after the *Trojan* War; for *Homer* celebrates *Thebes* as the glory of its days, and makes no mention of *Memphis*; which, and the temple of *Vulcan*, that ſtood in the midſt of it, he grants to have been built by *Menes*. In a word, this hypotheſis reduces the antiquity of the *Egyptian* empire, of which *Menes* was the firſt king, much lower than any other (4).

(3) Pezron. *Antiq. des temps retab. & defend.* (4) *Sir* Iſaac Newton's *Chron. of the antient kingdoms amended*, *p.* 354.

Mœris, who was the laſt of the number; and that there was nothing worth notice recorded of any of them, except one *Ethiopian* woman called *Nitocris*. On the other hand *Diodorus* writes, that *Menes*'s family enjoyed the throne to the fifty ſecond deſcent, and that their ſeveral reigns took up a ſpace of 1400 years. Since therefore there is ſo vaſt a chaſm in both of them, we think, we may ſafely venture to fill it up in part with what we find concerning the ſhepherds who ruled over *Egypt*; and the rather, becauſe this whole tranſaction ſeems to belong to ſome very remote period of the *Egyptian* hiſtory.

The irruption of the Paſtors *or* Shepherds

It happened in the reign of *Timaus* king of *Egypt*, that God being diſpleaſed with the *Egyptians*, they ſuffered a great revolution; for a multitude of men, ignoble in their race, took courage, and pouring from the *Eaſt* into *Egypt*, made war with the inhabitants, who ſubmitted to them without trying the event of a battle. Having reduced the princes, they inhumanly burnt the cities, threw down the temples of the gods, and behaved in the moſt cruel and inſulting manner over the antient inhabitants, putting them to death, and carrying away their wives and children into captivity. At length they made one of their own number king, whoſe name was *Salatis*. He uſually reſided at *Memphis*, and leaving gariſons in the moſt proper places, kept both the upper and lower region under tribute. But particularly he fortified the eaſtern parts, fearing an invaſion of the *Aſſyrians*, who were at that time moſt powerful. Finding therefore a convenient city in the *Saïtic* nome, which was ſeated on the eaſtern banks of the river *Bubaſtis*, and which was called *Abaris* in the antient theology, he rebuilt it, and ſurrounded it with a very ſtrong wall, and kept a gariſon of 24,000 ſoldiers therein. It was his cuſtom, about the time of harveſt, to come hither to gather in his corn, and to pay and exerciſe his ſoldiers, that they might always be ready and fit for action, and be a conſtant terror to any who ſhould attempt an invaſion. *Salatis* died, and was ſucceeded by 5 others[c], who did their utmoſt, as well as their predeceſſor, to root out the whole nation of the native *Egyptians*[d]. This people was called *Hycſos*, or *King Shepherds* (B), *hyc*, in the ſacred dialect, ſignifying a *king*,

They ſet up Salatis *for their king.*

[c] See before, Vol. I. p. 496. [d] Manetho apud Joſ. contra Apion, l. 1. p. 1039.

(B) We will barely tranſcribe the opinions of the above-cited chronologers as to the time of this irruption, as it is repreſented, of

king, and *ſos*, in the common dialect, ſignifying a *paſtor*, or *ſhepherd*; and of theſe two came the compound *Hycſos*. Some would have it, that theſe people were *Arabians*. They held *Egypt* 511 years. This is all the genuine account we have of the irruption of the ſhepherds, their expulſion may occur hereafter.

WE now return to *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*; and this laſt making mention of ſeveral princes between *Menes* and *Myris*, let us hear what he ſays concerning them.

BUSIRIS (C) in proceſs of time became king, and was ſucceeded by 8 princes of his line, the laſt of which was called alſo *Buſiris*, and was the founder of the city of *Thebes*, which he made the capital of the kingdom [e]. Buſiris I. *and* II.

OSYMANDYAS (D) appears next. It is uncertain whom, or when, he ſucceeded. The *Bactrians* revolting from him, he Oſymandyas.

[e] DIOD. ubi ſupr.

of the *Shepherds* into *Egypt*. Sir *John Marſham* places it 157 Years before the *Exodus* of the children of *Iſrael* (1). *Perizonius* drawing a very circumſtantial parallel between what is recorded of the *Shepherds* by *Manetho*, and what is ſaid of the obſcurity of the *Iſraelites*, the power and dignity of *Joſeph*, and the miraculous works of *Moſes*, which almoſt utterly deſtroyed the country; upon the cloſe, pronounces the *Shepherds* ſo heinouſly ſpoken of, to have been the *Iſraelites* themſelves (2). Sir *Iſaac Newton* makes the *Paſtors* to have been the *Canaanites* which fled from *Joſhua* and went into *Afric*, but in their flight ſeized on the kingdom of the *Lower Egypt* in the reign of *Timaus*, whom the ſame author calls *Thamus*, or *Thammuz* (3). *Greaves*, after a parallel drawn by him between the hiſtory of the *Shepherds* and of the *Iſraelites*, which ſeems as natural and as plauſible as that of *Perizonius*, will by no means allow them to have been the ſame (4).

(C) Sir *John Marſham* and Sir *Iſaac Newton* think, that no ſuch king ever reigned, and that what is ſaid concerning his cruelty is merely fabulous (5). *Perizonius*, on the contrary, that there was ſuch a king of *Egypt*, but who was not ſo antient as *Diodorus* makes him; taxing that hiſtorian with too great indulgence towards the *Egyptian* vanity (6).

(D) If we rely on Sir *John Marſham*, we ſhould call *Oſymandyas* *Amenophis*, and *Memnon*; as alſo *Imandes*, *Iſmandes*, and *Oſimandes*: this perhaps, ſays he, derived from *Oſiris*, and that from *Iſis*. What ſeems to be his chief argument in ſupport of this opinion,

(1) *Vid.* Marſh. *ubi ſupr.* (2) Perizon. *ubi ſupr.* (3) Sir Iſaac Newt. *ubi ſupr.* (4) Greaves's *Pyramid. p.* 21, 22. (5) Marſh. *ubi ſupr.* (6) Perizon. *ubi ſupr.*

he reduced them, as is ſaid, with an army conſiſting of
His tomb. 400,000 foot, and 20,000 horſe. Of all the antient monuments of the kings, for which the city of *Thebes* was ſo renowned, his was of the greateſt note. It conſiſted of vaſt courts, porticos, ſhrines, temples, a library, his own tomb, and other buildings. The firſt court, which was of various kinds of ſtone, was 200 foot in extent, and 45 foot high. Next to this was a ſquare portico, each of whoſe ſides was 400 foot long; and, inſtead of pillars, ſupported by repreſentations of animals 15 cubits high, all of one ſtone, and adorned with figures after the antient manner. The cieling was blue, and beſpangled with ſtars. From this portico they went into a ſecond court, in all reſpects like the firſt, except that it was more enriched with various ſculptures. In the entrance thereof were three ſtatues, all of one ſtone, the workmanſhip of *Memnon* the *Syenite:* one of them was in a ſitting poſture, and the largeſt in all *Egypt*, the length of its foot exceeding 7 cubits. This was his own ſtatue; the other two, which ſtood one at each knee, repreſented his mother and daughter. This wonderful piece was not ſo admirable for the exquiſite art of the carver, as for the beauty of the ſtone, which was free from the leaſt flaw or blemiſh. It had this inſcription; *I am* Oſymandyas, *king of kings: he that would know my grandeur, or where I lie, let him ſurpaſs me in any of my works.* Here was alſo another ſtatue of his mother, ſtanding by herſelf, of 20 cubits high, and cut out of one ſtone: ſhe had three queens on her head, ſignifying that ſhe had been the daughter, wife, and mother of a king. This court led to a ſecond portico or piazza, far exceeding the firſt. On the

is, that in the deſcription of the city they pretend he beſieged, it is ſaid to have been ſurrounded by a river, which he will have to have been the river *Eulæus*, and the city itſelf *Suſa*; for *Pliny* ſays, that river ſurrounded the fortreſs of the *Suſiaks*, and obſerves, that *Suſa* was commonly called, by the *Greeks*, *Memnonia*. He obſerves moreover, that *Memnon*'s expedition into *Aſia*, was more celebrated by the *Greeks* than that of *Seſoſtris*, which he attributes to the poets who ſprang firſt up in, or near, his time: and concludes, that he dwelt ſome time in *Suſa*. All this, according to his cuſtom, he endeavours to prove from antient teſtimony (7).

Perizonius uſes much argument upon this king's reign, and who he was; but comes to no poſitive deciſion, and ſcarce offers a conjecture, ſo dark this period appears to him (8). We have already told you, that Sir *Iſaac Newton* takes *Oſymandyas* and *Menes* to be the ſame.

(7) *Vid.* Marſh. *ubi ſupr.* (8) Periz. *ubi ſupr.*

firſt

firſt wall of this the king was repreſented with his army beſieging a town encompaſſed by a river, and fighting in the front of the battle accompanied by a lion: concerning which, ſome ſaid he always fought with a tame lion at his ſide; and others, that the figure of that beaſt was purely emblematical of his extraordinary courage. On the ſecond wall were the captives, with their hands and privities lopped off, to expreſs their cowardice. On the third were all ſorts of ſculptures and paintings, which repreſented his ſacrifices and triumph. In the middle of this piazza was an altar in the open air, built of the moſt ſhining marble, of excellent workmanſhip, and wonderful proportion. On the fourth ſide, or wall, were two gigantic ſtatues, all of one ſtone, in a ſitting poſture, and 27 cubits high. Near unto theſe were three paſſages which gave admiſſion into a great hall, ſupported by columns, after the manner of a muſic theatre, and 200 feet ſquare. In this place were many wooden ſtatues, repreſenting parties engaged in law, and the judges hearing the cauſes. Theſe laſt, to the number of thirty, were carved on one ſide, with their preſident in the midſt of them, at whoſe neck hung an image with its eyes ſhut to repreſent truth, and with many books about him. By this they choſe to ſignify, that judges ought to be proof againſt bribery, and reſpect nothing but truth and equity. From hence they went into a gallery, or walk, in which were apartments ſtored with the moſt delicious eatables. Here the king was moſt curiouſly wrought, and painted with the moſt lively colours, as preſenting to GOD the gold and ſilver annually dug out of the mines in *Egypt*, the amount whereof was 3,200,000,000 minas, or 96,000,000 of pounds ſterling. Next was the ſacred library with this inſcription; *The diſpenſary of the mind.* Contiguous thereunto were the images of all the *Egyptian* gods, with the king paying the offerings due and peculiar to each of them; that *Oſiris*, and the reſt of the deities placed beneath him, might know that he had paſſed his life with piety towards the gods, and with juſtice towards men. Next to the library was an edifice of curious architecture, wherein were twenty couches to feaſt on, and the ſtatues of *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and the king; who was thought to be here intombed. Around this were ſeveral pavilions, in which moſt curious pictures of the conſecrated animals were ſeen. From hence was the aſcent to the ſepulchre, which being ſurmounted, you ſaw a ring, or circle of gold 365 cubits in circumference and one in thickneſs, ſurrounding the monument. This ring was divided by the days of the year, and ſhewed the riſing and ſetting of the ſtars, and their ſignifications or portents, according to the *Egyptian* aſtrology.

This circular border was carried away by *Cambyſes* the *Perſian*. Such was the tomb of *Oſymandyas*, whoſe deſcendants reigned after him to the eighth generation. The laſt of them was called *Uchoreus* [f].

Uchoreus. The building and fortifying of *Memphis*, which have already been aſcribed to *Menes*, are attributed to this Uchoreus (E) alſo. He is ſaid to have given that city a circuit of 150 *ſtadia*, or near 20 miles, and by mounds and trenches to have ſecured it from the inſults either of the *Nile*, or of the invader. He adorned it with palaces, which, though they ſurpaſſed thoſe in any other country, yet fell ſhort of what had been done in that way by his predeceſſors. For the inhabitants held this tranſitory life in no eſtimation, if compared with the joys the virtuous were to poſſeſs hereafter; and were proportionably leſs ſplendid in the lodgings they prepared for the former, than in the repoſitories they founded for the latter. This king tranſlated the imperial ſeat from *Thebes* to *Memphis* [g].

Saſychis. After him, uncertain when, reigned Sasychis, the ſecond *Egyptian* legiſlator.

Nitocris. We have now brought *Diodorus* down to *Myris*; and that we may do the ſame with *Herodotus*, we muſt relate what he has recorded concerning Nitocris (F). She ſucceeded her brother, an *Ethiopian*, whom the *Egyptians* murdered, but afterwards conferred the ſucceſſion on her. She, meditating revenge for her brother's untimely end, put many of the *Egyptians* to death privately and by ſtratagem; and is particularly ſaid to have contrived a ſubterraneous building, whither ſhe invited the principal actors againſt her brother to partake of a

[f] Diodor. l. 1. p. 44. [g] Idem ubi ſupr. p. 46.

(E) The laſt mentioned chronologer thinks the works of *Uchoreus* and *Mœris* ſavour of the ſame genius, and therefore would willingly think them one and the ſame perſon (1).

(F) Her name ſignifies *Minerva victrix*. Sir *John Marſham* places her ſoon after the *Iſraelites* came into *Egypt*. He thinks *Joſephus* means her by the name of Nic-aule, *queen of* Egypt *and* Æthiopia; but that he is miſtaken in alledging that the *Nitocris* of *Herodotus* was ſhe who viſited *Solomon*. According to this chronologer ſhe was queen of *This*, *Thebes*, and *Memphis*; and much older than the *Babylonian Nitocris* (2). Father *Pezron* writes much to the ſame purpoſe (3). Sir *Iſaac Newton* makes her the ſiſter and ſucceſſor of *Mycerinus* (4).

(1) *Vid. Sir* Iſaac Newt. *ubi ſupr.* (2) Marſh. *ubi ſupr.*
(3) Pezron. *ubi ſupr.* (4) *Sir* Iſaac Newt. *ubi ſupr.*

feaſt,

feaſt, and in the midſt of their mirth turned the river upon them by a private paſſage, and drowned them all. Then to ſcreen herſelf from the rage of the people, ſhe took refuge in a place well fortified with aſhes [h]. She was of a fair complexion, her hair was yellow, her perſon beautiful; but it appears, that though her mind was great, as is ſaid, ſhe was not a little inclined to cruelty. She is reported to have built the third great pyramid [i].

AFTER twelve generations MOERIS, or MYRIS (G) came to the throne. This was he who dug the famous lake which bore his name, and erected the two pyramids which ſtood in the midſt of it [k]: he alſo built a ſumptuous portico on the north ſide of *Vulcan*'s temple at *Memphis* [l]. According to *Herodotus* he was the 330th king from *Menes*, and the immediate predeceſſor to *Seſoſtris*.

SESOSTRIS, *Seſooſtris*, *Seſooſis*, *Seſonchis*, *Seſonchoſis*, *Sethoſis*, and ſeveral other appellations are by (H) ſome held to belong Seſoſtris.

[h] HEROD. ubi ſupr. [i] SYNCELL. p. 58. See before, Vol. I. p. 494. [k] See before, Vol. I. p. 427. [l] Idem ibid. DIOD. ubi ſupr p. 47.

(G) He recovered *Memphis* from the *Paſtors* ſays *Marſham* (5) *Perizonius* fixes upon nothing concerning him. *Mæris* was alſo called *Maris*, *Myris*, *Meres*, *Marres*, *Smarres*, and more corruptly, by changing *M* into *A*, *T*, *B*, Σ, ΥΧ, Λ, *&c. Ayres*, *Tyris*, *Byires*, *Soris*, *Uchoreus*, *Labaris*; ſo ſays Sir *Iſaac Newton* (6).

(H) Sir *John Marſham* allows him to have been called by theſe ſeveral appellations, and others beſides, which we may perhaps have occaſion to mention by and by. He is clearly of opinion, that the *Seſoſtris* of the prophane hiſtorians is the *Seſac*, or *Shiſhak* of the ſacred: he takes notice, that the more antient kings of *Egypt*, with whom the patriarchs and *Iſraelites* were formerly concerned, are always ſtiled *Pharaoh*; whereas *Shiſhak* is the firſt *Egyptian* king in ſcripture called by his proper name; except *Rameſes* be rather the name of a king than a country. This famous chronologer thinks, that when *Seſoſtris*, or *Shiſhak* as he terms him, ſat out to invade *Aſia*, he could not well avoid falling upon *Judæa*, and accordingly took the capital thereof *Jeruſalem*, which he ſtripped of its riches, and reduced *Rehoboam* the king to ſerve him; for there is expreſs mention made in the LXX and vulgate verſions, that he was followed by multitudes of *Libyans*, *Troglodytes*, and *Ethiopians*, nations whom, according to prophane accounts, he had previouſly conquered. He then lays a ſtreſs upon *Joſephus*, who ſays, *That* Herodotus *through miſtake aſcribed the actions of* Seſac *to* Seſoſtris:

(5) Marſh. *ubi ſupr.* (6) *Sir* Iſaac Newt. *ubi ſupr.*

and

belong to one man, whoſe reign is eſteemed the moſt extraordinary

and again; *That* Herodotus *was only miſtaken in the king's name.* This does not ſeem to us ſo concluſive as it might appear to this gentleman; for we do not ſee how from thence it muſt naturally follow that *Seſoſtris* and *Shiſhak* are the ſame perſon. Let us, for example, ſuppoſe, that a foreign hiſtorian ſhould through miſtake aſcribe the great actions of our fifth *Henry* to our king *Stephen*; it would not thence be allowed that he meant king *Henry*, but it would be apparently putting back thoſe great actions a great length of time before they were undertaken, or perhaps even thought of. However this gentleman holds, that ſince *Herodotus* and *Joſephus* agree as to fact, there is no great matter in the difference of the names they uſe; and becauſe *Herodotus* profeſſes to have ſeen ſome of *Seſoſtris*'s ignominious pillars in the *Syrian Paleſtine*; and becauſe it is ſaid by the ſcripture and *Joſephus*, that *Rehoboam* gave up the city without the leaſt reſiſtance, he ſeems to be perfectly of opinion that *Seſac*, or *Shiſhak* ſat them up upon that very account. We ſhall here leave him with this general obſervation, that to what is related concerning *Seſoſtris* by the prophane authors, which he grants, he adds what the ſcripture ſays of the reduction of *Judæa* by *Shiſhak*; and holds that his monarchy did not expire with himſelf (8).

Let us now ſee what *Perizonius* has to offer in contradiction to this; for we have already obſerved, that he makes it his chief buſineſs to confute the foregoing chronologer. He then lays it down with great poſitiveneſs, that *Seſac* and *Seſoſtris* are kings widely different and remote from each other. How he proves this, we ſhall give in the briefeſt and cleareſt order we are able.

1. He handles the expreſſions above cited from *Joſephus*: and after proving that ſeveral of the learned, as well as Sir *John Marſham*, have taken them wrong, he proceeds. *Firſt*, he inſiſts that, by the common conſent of the *Greeks*, *Seſoſtris* was much older than the *Trojan* war. So ſays *Herodotus*; and the ſame is reported by *Diodorus*, only with this difference, that he makes a much greater ſpace between this king and that war than *Herodotus* does. This alſo is evidently confirmed by *Strabo* (9); and by *Ariſtotle* (10), who places him before *Minos* the *Cretan* lawgiver: as alſo by the writers of the *Argonautic* expedition, the ſcholiaſt of *Apollonius* (11); by *Arrianus* (12), who makes him contemporary to *Jandyſis* the *Scythian*; by *Jornandes* (13), who ſays he flouriſhed before the *Amazons*; and laſtly, by *Juſtin* and *Ælian* (14); the former declaring, the *Seſoſtris* lived before the days of *Ninus*, and the latter, that he was inſtructed by *Mercury*, and ſo makes him equal to the *Egyptian Mercury*, who muſt certainly have been more antient than the time

(8) *Vid.* Marſh. *ubi ſupr.* (9) *Vid. l.* i. *p.* 38. & *l.* xvii. *p.* 824. (10) *Vid. Politic.* vii. 10. (11) *L.* 4. *v.* 272. (12) *Apud Photium cod.* 53. (13) *Geticis c.* 6. (14) *L.* 1. *c.* 1. *Var. Hiſt. l.* 12. 4.

of

dinary part of the *Egyptian* hiſtory. He is repreſented as potent

of *Rehoboam*. After theſe citations, he blames Sir *John Marſham* for making ſlight of ſuch abundant teſtimony, and for pronouncing the whole a miſtake which aroſe from the ignorance of the *Greeks*, and then proceeds. But could the *Greeks* be ſtrangers to the age of *Seſoſtris*, if he lived ſo late? it is certain, there was no very great interval between *Homer* and *Rehoboam*: and who can conceive, that he who was born in *Aſia Minor*, and ſpent the greateſt part of his days there, or in the adjacent iſles, and who as *Marſham* allows, lived after the days of *Seſoſtris*; who, ſays he, can account for his not making mention of *Seſoſtris* in any of his poems, as he did of *Memnon*, who muſt have followed this conqueror very near? *Memnon* was celebrated, ſays *Marſham*, becauſe he lived nearer to the poetical times; but *Perizonius* will have it, that *Homer* wrote ſoon after the death of *Rehoboam*, and therefore muſt have followed him near enough to have had perfect information and freſh records of the deeds of *Seſoſtris*: beſides *Aſia Minor* at that time was all *Greek*, by the *Æolic* and *Ionic* colonies which were tranſplanted thither ſomewhat before the reign of *Rehoboam*; and the inhabitants muſt have principally been *Greeks* when *Seſoſtris* invaded *Aſia Minor*, if *Marſham* be right. What is here ſaid of the *Aſiatic Greeks*, is to clear the way for a further confutation of *Marſham*, who obſerves, that *if* Seſoſtris *had extended the war into* Greece, *we ſhould have had clearer lights concerning him, nor would he have been involved ſo much in obſcurity; ſeeing that the* Athenians, Lacedemonians *and* Corinthians *had begun to preſerve the memory of things*; continuing, that *the* Greeks *were not at this time very regardful of foreign tranſactions, were unſkilful in letters, and that* Homer *was not yet born, who preceded any* Greek *hiſtoriographer very much*: and from hence concludes, that *we ought not to wonder that the* Egyptian *affairs are almoſt buried in ignorance*. To this it is anſwered, that the *Aſiatic Greeks* were more likely to tranſmit the hiſtory of *Seſoſtris* down to poſterity, as being ſuperior and ſenior in learning to the *European*; that if they did not immediately keep written records, they undoubtedly preſerved very faithful traditions of paſt occurrences, which they propagated from one generation to another, and particularly in the caſe of *Seſoſtris*, the monuments of whoſe conqueſts they had before their eyes; and if his monarchy deſcended to his ſucceſſors, as *Marſham* thinks it did to the firſt olympiad; and if *Homer* was not yet born, it is certain, that he muſt have been born ſoon after, and whilſt the fame and power of this monarchy muſt have ſubſiſted. In a word, *Perizonius* prefers the *Aſiatic* before the *European Greeks*, as to what concerns the remembrance of antient matters; and proves, that the latter received the greateſt part of the arts and ſciences, nay, of their alphabet, from the former; obſerving, that if not all, yet moſt of the antienteſt *Greek* writers were *Aſiatics*. He continues; Now if *Seſoſtris* invaded *Aſia Minor*, after the *Grecian* ſettlement there, the *Aſiatic Greeks*, who firſt of all delivered down the memory

tent at land, and on ſea, wiſe, juſt, generous, valorous, magnificent,

mory of things both in proſe and verſe, muſt certainly have known ſomething of this celebrated expedition, either from the writings or the traditions of their forefathers, and have given as juſt and accurate an account thereof as the *European Greeks* could have given. But nothing of this appears; for *Herodotus*, the moſt antient of the *Greek* hiſtorians we have, profeſſes to have received the whole ſtory of *Seſoſtris* from the *Egyptian* prieſts. He thinks moreover, that ſuppoſing *Marſham* to be in the right, the *European Greeks* muſt have had ſufficient knowledge of *Seſoſtris*, ſeeing he carried on the war into *Thrace*, and that *Lycurgus*, within an hundred years afterwards, muſt have travelled into *Aſia*, whence he brought over with him the works of *Homer*. He certainly would have alſo brought ſome account with him of ſo great a victory from the *Aſiatic Greeks*, if it had been obtained only ſeventy years, or thereabouts, before.

2. But, ſays he, the *Greeks* alone did not put *Seſoſtris* many ages more backward than *Seſac*; the *Egyptians* did it alſo. *Manetho* expreſly ſays, that *Ægyptus* and *Danaus* were only different names for *Sethoſis*, [*Seſoſtris*] and his brother *Armaïs:* now *Danaus* came into *Greece*, as is ſaid, three ages before the *Trojan* war; and he could borrow this from no *Greek* author at leaſt that is extant; and therefore, that *Seſoſtris* and *Armaïs* were *Ægyptus* and *Danaus*, ſeems to have been the opinion of the *Egyptians*, or at leaſt of *Manetho*, who could not have borrowed this from the *Grecian* mythology.

3. The ſacred hiſtory does not favour the opinion of *Seſoſtris*'s being *Seſac:* for by the prophane account *Seſoſtris*, in a continued expedition of nine years, ran over all *Aſia:* but the ſcripture mentions no farther of *Seſac*, than that he ſpoiled the temple and the city, and returned back (14). *Joſephus* ſays expreſly, that he returned into his own country.

4. What *Marſham* ſays of the duration of *Seſoſtris*'s monarchy, as that it reached down to *Amaziah* and *Uzziah* kings of *Judah*, and down to the beginning of the firſt olympiad; by the ſcripture it appears, that the kings of *Judah* after *Rehoboam*, never ſerved any foreign power, or paid any tribute, till the *Aſſyrians* came upon them. So that if *Seſoſtris* and *Shiſhak* be the ſame as *Marſham* would have them, it does not appear, that the *Egyptian* monarchy was of any duration; ſo that here he is alſo miſtaken. So far we have given you the ſubſtance of *Perizonius* againſt *Marſham*. We will now inſert his opinion as to the times when this conqueror lived:

And concerning this he ſpeaks with great uncertainty and caution; but however, we will in brief give a general idea of his manner, of inveſtigating this (as he thinks) dark period. He begins thus; *Herodotus* declares, that king *Mœris* had not been dead quite 900 years when he was in *Egypt*. Now the ſame hiſtorian makes *Se-*

(14) *L.* 1. *c.* 1. *Var. Hiſt. l.* 12 4.

ſoſtris

magnificent, but ambitious almoſt beyond compare. Both the

ſoſtris the immediate ſucceſſor of *Mæris*, and moreover ſays, that the *Trojan* war was about 800 years older than when he wrote, and that *Hercules* the ſon of *Alcmena* was about 900 years before himſelf. By this chronology *Seſoſtris* lived about an age or century before the *Trojan* war, and was coetaneous to the above-ſaid *Hercules*, or a little later. So it follows from this computation; but in fact he muſt have been older, if he be the ſame with *Ægyptus*, whoſe brother *Danaus* was the ſixth predeceſſor of *Perſeus*, who was the great-grand father of *Hercules*: and from hence he conjectures, that *Seſoſtris* may be fixed in the days of the *Judges*. After a pretty long diſcuſſion of the point, continues he, but it may be objected, that there is not the leaſt mention made of *Seſoſtris* and what he did in holy writ. To this he anſwers, that the *Iſraelites*, when *Seſoſtris* came into *Paleſtine* were under ſubjection to the various nations which inhabited the country; for that *Paleſtine* bent under the incurſion of *Seſoſtris*, appears plain from *Herodotus*, who there ſaw the ignominious pillars which he uſed to raiſe in countries where he met with no reſiſtance. And ſince the *Iſraelites* were not principals in this calamity, they might imagine it not primarily to concern them, but accidentally to have fallen upon them in common with their maſters, and therefore took no notice thereof, as thinking it could be no immediate part of their own hiſtory. Add to this, that *Seſoſtris* could make no long ſtay there, conſidering that they voluntarily ſubmitted to him, and that he had no leſs a conqueſt in his eye than all the eaſtern parts of the world, if not the whole habitable earth, which required diſpatch: and thence he takes occaſion to ſpeak in the words of *Juſtin*, that though *Seſoſtris* gloried in his conqueſts, he abſtained from empire; and made no change in the government of any country. Finally he ſuppoſes alſo, that *Seſoſtris* might have come into *Paleſtine* when *Iſrael* was under the *Moabites*; and owns, that it is no way important, whether or no *Danaus* was the brother of *Seſoſtris*; deems what *Manetho* ſays on that head, to be calculated to pleaſe the *Greeks*; and in a word concludes, that he has deſtroyd Sir *John Marſham*'s hypotheſis, by proving that *Menes* is not *Ham*, or *Mizraïm*; or *Seſoſtris Shiſhak* (15).

We will now in general terms inſert the opinion of *Pezron*. He teaches, that *Sethoſis* and *Seſoſtris* are one and the ſame perſon, and that he was the *Ægyptus* brother to *Danaus*; that he was a prince widely diſtant from *Seſonchis*, whom he will have to have been the ſame with *Shiſhak*; and that neither *Seſonchoris*, or *Seſonchoſis* was *Seſoſtris*, but diſtinct both from him and from each other. We forbear entering into his reaſons, and proceed to another learned man, who has no one notion in common with what has entered into the heads of theſe three celebrated chronologers (16).

(15) *Vid.* Perizon. *ubi ſupr.* (16) *Vid.* Pezron Antiq. des Temps retab.

We

the *Greeks* and *Egyptians* who recorded his actions, whether in proſe

We mean Mr. *Whiſton*, who becauſe he is pretty ſingular in that he takes this king for the very *Pharaoh* who periſhed in the *Red-ſea*, and the very *Typhon* of the *Mythologiſts*, we will give you his own words. And firſt he premiſes this propoſition. Harmeſſes Mi-Amôun, or *Rameſtes* the Great, *the grandfather of* Seſoſtris, *was king of the* Lower Egypt *when* Moſes *was born*: Amenophis III. *his ſon was there king after him, during* Moſes's *youth*; *and* Seth-os, *or* Sethoſis, *or* Seſoſtris the Great, *the ſon of* Amenophis III. *was ſo during the reſt of the ſervitude of the children of* Iſrael *in* Egypt; *and was that very* Pharaoh *who periſhed in the* Red-ſea. He then offers thirteen reaſons or arguments in demonſtration of this propoſition; but paſſing over to the tenth of them, he there ſays, that "the "preſervation of *Moſes*, and his education by *Pharaoh*'s daugh-"ter (17), are very agreeable to what her brother, *Amenophis* III. "did about, or ſoon after the birth of *Moſes*; I mean, when he "called together, and educated with his ſon *Seſoſtris* no fewer than "1700 boys (18), or all the male children that were born in "*Egypt* the ſame day with him: which might well be in imitation "of *Thermutis* [the daughter of this *Pharaoh*, who was otherwiſe "called *Harmeſſes Mi-Amôun*, or *Rameſtes the Great*] when ſhe "drew *Moſes* out of the river, and educated him for her own "ſon (19). And, by the way, if this *Thermutis* were but as ſaga-"cious and learned as her great niece *Athirtes*, the daughter of "*Seſoſtris*, is deſcribed by *Diodorus* (20), we ſhall have no reaſon "to wonder at what St *Stephen* informs us, that Moſes *was learned* "*in all the wiſdom of the* Egyptians, *and was mighty in words and* "*in deeds*, even before he received any particular commiſſion from "God for the delivery of his people out of *Egypt*. Nay indeed, "theſe laſt words concerning *Moſes*, that he was ſo early mighty "*in words and in deeds*, ſeem to me to confirm thoſe accounts we "have in *Artapanus* an heathen, and *Joſephus* the *Jew*, conſidering "*Moſes*'s wiſe and valiant conduct under the king of *Egypt*, when "he was young, againſt the *Ethiopians*; who attempted the con-"queſt of that country at that time. Which ſucceſſes of theſe "*Egyptians*, under the conduct of *Moſes*, might probably enough "encourage king *Seſoſtris* to undertake thoſe other vaſt expeditions, "which raiſed the *Egyptian* monarchy, and ſpread his empire over "almoſt all the then known world. Nor is it impoſſible to ſuppoſe, "that the *Ethiopic* war, which is known to have been undertaken "both at ſea and land by this *Seſoſtris*, might be when he was "young; and might be that very *Ethiopic* war which was managed "by *Moſes* under the king of *Egypt*, as mentioned by *Artapanus* "and *Joſephus*.

(17) Exod. ii. (18) Marſh. *p.* 353. (19) Exod. ii. 10.
(20) Marſh. *p.* 354.

Mr.

proſe or verſe, differed widely from each other; but they could

Mr. *Whiſton*'s eleventh argument runs thus; "There are evident "remains of this *Seſoſtris*'s periſhing in or near the *Red-ſea*, as did "this *Pharaoh* at the *Exodus* out of *Egypt*. *Diodorus* aſſures us, that "*Seſoſtris* at laſt became blind; and that he was voluntarily the oc- "caſion of his own death; and that he deſervedly obtained the "admiration of the prieſts and people of *Egypt* on account of that "his magnanimous death. But what ſort of voluntary and magna- "nimous death this was, it ſeems the *Egyptian* prieſts did not inform "him. But then, if we conſider that *Seſoſtris*'s real or *Egyptian* "name was *Seth-os*, or *Seth-oſis*; and that there was an antient "famous *Egyptian* king, whoſe fictitious name among the *Greeks* "was *Typhon, the Proud*; but his real or *Egyptian* name was no "other than *Seth*, as *Plutarch* himſelf, a great maſter of old "*Egyptian* learning, more than once aſſures us; that *Typho*'s own "city *Peluſium* was peculiarly the city of this *Seſoſtris*, whither he "firſt came when he returned from his famous eaſtern expedition; "and where he and his queen received a ſort of miraculous deli- "verance from the murderous deſigns of his brother *Armaïs*, and "was by the *Egyptians* called according to his own name *Seth-ron*; "and the *Nomos* thereto belonging, the *Seth-roite Nomos*; we ſhall "find, that what the *Egyptians* could not, or would not directly "inform *Diodorus* of in the way of plain hiſtorical fact, and there- "by concealed the true manner of his death from foreigners; yet "did ſome of thoſe *Egyptians* preſerve the memory of it under an- "other form; and that this *Seth*, or *Seth os*, or *Seth-oſis*, or *Typho*, "came to the ſame end that the *Egyptian Pharaoh* did, and was "drowned in, or near to the ſame *Red-ſea*. For as they, in ſome "places at leaſt, long kept the memory of *Oſiris*, the uſual name "of any beloved king of *Egypt* that was murdered; as was *Iſis* the "uſual name of ſuch a king's wife, or queen; and *Typho* the uſual "name of ſuch a murderer; ſo was it here. *Oſiris* ſeems to have "been ſome beloved king that *Seſoſtris* had ſlain [perhaps his own "brother *Ramaſſes*], and himſelf ſeems thence to have had the hateful "name of *Typho* given him by the other's ſubjects. And certainly this "name *Typho*, or the *Proud*, was never applied more fitly than to "this *Seſoſtris*; who after his conqueſt uſed ſometimes to take "his horſes out of his chariot, and to harneſs a certain number of "his captive kings, and to be drawn in ſtate by them inſtead of "the other. And as to the death of this *Typho*, the *Egyptian* re- "cords are plain and direct, and aſſure us, that he was *ſtruck by a* "*thunderbolt, and his blood run out at* Heroopolis, a city very near "the place where the *Iſraelites* entered the *Red-ſea*; the very "ſame, I ſuppoſe, that *Moſes* calls by its elder name *Baalzephon*; "that the ſame city was called *Blood*, or *the bloody city*, from that "*firſt ſhedding of the blood of* Typho *there*; and that he *lies* "*drowned under the waters of the lake* Sirbon, which is not far from "the *Red-ſea*; and was antiently ſuppoſed to communicate there-

" with

could never differ more, nor ſure ſo much as our modern chronologers

" with under ground. The city alſo itſelf ſeems to me to have " had its later name *Heroopolis*, or *the city of Heroes* on this very " account, that near thereto the moſt potent *Egyptian* king, and " his mighty commanders, with their entire army, theſe great " heroes, became martyrs for the *Egyptian* idols, idolatry, and " tyranny, in oppoſition to the God of *Iſrael* and his people: " nor do I meet with any other in hiſtory for that appellation. " And very remarkable it is, how exactly all this agrees to the o- " ther more direct *Egyptian* account already ſet down; *viz.* That *Se-* " *ſoſtris*'s death was voluntary and magnanimous, and ſuch indeed " as was highly extolled both by the prieſts and people of *Egypt*. " And what *Paulinus* in *Auſonius* could mean, when, in the diſtinct " mention of two of the moſt illuſtrious kings of *Egypt*, *Neceſſus* " and *Seſoſtris*, he ſays of the latter, *Et qui regnavit, ſine nomine* " *mox*, Seſooſtris; *That he who had been ſo great a king, was by* " *and by without a name*; unleſs he refer to ſome ſuch ignomini- " ous death of his, as we have here deſcribed, is hard to ſay. " Nor is that *thunderbolt*, or *ſtorm of thunder and lightning*, men- " tioned in this account of *Typho*'s deſtruction, other than what " we have hinted at in the caſe of *Pharaoh*'s deſtruction in our " preſent copies of the *Pentateuch*; where we find, that God " looked through the pillar of fire, and of the *cloud*, and ſo " *troubled the hoſts of the* Egyptians, that *their chariot wheels* " *were taken off, and they drave heavily*; *and the* Egyptians *re-* " *reſolved to flee from the face of* Iſrael, *becauſe they* now perceived " that God *himſelf fought for them againſt the* Egyptians: while " with the *blaſt of his noſtrils the waters were gathered together*; " and directly ſet down by *Joſephus* and *Artapanus* in the hiſtory " itſelf; and alſo by the pſalmiſt in his celebration of this moſt " wonderful deliverance and judgment; who declares, that beſides " the pouring out of water from the *clouds* at that time, *the ſkies* " then *ſent* out a ſound, and God's arrows went *abroad:* that *the* " voice of his thunder was in the *heaven*; that *the* lightnings " lightned the *world*; and that *the* earth trembled and *ſhook:* " in exact agreement with the heathens account of the deſtru- " ction of *Typho*." To conclude; the ſame writer thinks it a plain ſolution to the queſtion *of, what became* of the famous *Egyptian* monarchy after the death of *Seſoſtris*? that he and his numerous hoſt was loſt in the *red* ſea, which together with the loſs of 600,000 ſlaves, as the *Hebrews* were no better in *Egypt*, he thinks muſt have given a great ſhock to the *Egyptian* power, and naturally ruin their newly acquired monarchy. In a word, it is his opinion, that the ſudden extinction of this vaſt monarchy, at the death of its founder *Seſoſtris*, is little elſe than a demonſtration,

chronologers and hiſtorians do in fixing his age, and in ſpeaking

ſtration, that he was that very *Pharaoh* who with all his hoſt periſhed in the *Red* ſea, and no other (21).

The great Sir *Iſaac Newton* is of opinion that *Seſoſtris* is the *Oſiris* of the *Egyptians*, the *Bacchus* of the *Greeks*, and the *Seſac*, or *Shiſhak* of the ſcripture; towards the proof of which he produces the following arguments.

" 1. *Bacchus the Conqueror* loved two women, *Venus* and *Ariadne*, " by the laſt of theſe he had ſons who were *Argonauts*; therefore " the great *Bacchus* flouriſhed but one generation before the *Ar-* " *gonautic* expedition. This *Bacchus* was potent at ſea (22), " conquered eaſtward as far as *India*, returned in triumph, brought " his army over the *Helleſpont*, conquered *Thrace*, left muſic, dan- " cing, and poetry there; killed *Lycurgus* king of *Thrace*, and *Pen-* " *theus* the grandſon of *Cadmus*; gave the kingdom of *Lycurgus* to " *Tharops*, and one of his minſtrels, called by the *Greeks Calliope*, " to *Oeagrus* the ſon of *Tharops*; and of *Oeagrus* and *Calliope*, was " born *Orpheus*, who ſailed with the *Argonauts*: this *Bacchus* was " therefore contemporary to *Seſoſtris*; and both being kings of " *Egypt*, and potent at ſea, and great conquerors, and carrying on " their conqueſts into *India* and *Thrace*, they muſt be one and the " ſame man.

" 2. *Dicæarchus*, as he is cited by the *Scholiaſt* upon *Apollonius* " (23), repreſents *Oſiris* and *Orus*, two generations older than *Se-* " *ſoſtris*, ſaying, that after *Orus*, the ſon of *Oſiris* and *Iſis*, reigned " *Seſonchoſis*. The people of *Naxus* made *Bacchus* two generations " older than *Theſeus*, and for that end feigned two *Minos*'s and two " *Ariadne*. Now, by the conſent of all antiquity, *Oſiris* and " *Bacchus* were one and the ſame king of *Egypt*: this is affirmed " by the *Egyptians* as well as by the *Greeks*; and ſome of the an- " tient mythologiſts, as *Eumolpus* and *Orpheus* (24), called *Oſiris* " by the names of *Dionyſius* and *Sirius*. *Oſiris* was king of all " *Egypt*, and a great conqueror, and came over the *Helleſpont* in the " days of *Triptolemus*, and ſubdued *Thrace*, and there killed *Lycur-* " *gus*; and therefore his expedition falls in with that of the great " *Bacchus*. *Oſiris*, *Bacchus* and *Seſoſtris* lived about the ſame " time, and by the relation of hiſtorians were all of them kings of " all *Egypt*, and reigned at *Thebes*, and adorned that city, and " were very potent by land and ſea: all three were great con- " querors, and carried on their conqueſts by land through *Aſia*, " as far as *India*: all three came over the *Helleſpont*, and were " there in danger of loſing their army: all three conquered *Thrace*, " and there put a ſtop to their victories, and returned back from " thence into *Egypt*. all three left pillars with inſcriptions in their

(21) *Vid.* Whiſton's *Appendix*. (22) *Vid.* Hermippum *apud* Athenæum, *l.* 1. (23) Argonaut. *l.* 4. *v.* 272. (24) Diod. *l.* 1. *p.* 7.

ing concerning him: However, we ſhall collect the beſt account we can of his reign.

SESOSTRIS

" conqueſts: and therefore all three muſt be one and the ſame " king of *Egypt*; and this king can be no other than *Seſac*. All " *Egypt*, including *Thebaïs*, *Æthiopia* and *Libya*, had no common " king before the expulſion of the *Shepherds*, who reigned in the " *Lower Egypt*; no conqueror of *Syria*, *India*, *Aſia minor*, and " *Thrace* before *Seſac*; and the ſacred hiſtory admits of no *Egyp-* " *tian* conqueror of *Paleſtine* before this king.

" 3. *Bacchus* had *Libyan* women in his army, and they were com- " manded by *Minerva*, herſelf a *Libyan* (25). *Diodorus* (26) calls " her *Myrina*, and ſaith, that ſhe was queen of the *Amazons* in " *Libya*, and there conquered the *Atlantides* and *Gorgons*, and " then made a league with *Orus* the ſon of *Iſis*, ſent to her by his " father *Oſiris*, or *Bacchus*, for that purpoſe; and paſſing through " *Egypt* ſubdued the *Arabians*, and *Syria*, and *Cilicia*, and came " through *Phrygia*, *viz.* in the army of *Bacchus*, to the *Mediter-* " *ranean*; but paſſing over into *Europe* was ſlain with many of her " women by the *Thracians* and *Scythians*, under the conduct of *Si-* " *pylus*, a *Scythian*, and *Mopſus*, a *Thracian*, whom *Lycurgus* king " of *Thrace* had baniſhed. This (ſays our moſt ſagacious author) " was that *Lycurgus* who oppoſed the paſſage of *Bacchus* over the " *Helleſpont*, and was ſoon after conquered by him and ſlain: but " afterwards *Bacchus* met with a repulſe from the *Greeks*, under " the conduct of *Perſeus*, who ſlew many of his women, as *Pau-* " *ſanias* (27) relates, and was aſſiſted by the *Scythians* and *Thra-* " *cians* under *Sipylus* and *Mopſus*; which repulſes, together with " the revolt of his brother *Danaus*, put a ſtop to his victories: " and in returning home, he left part of his men in *Colchis* and " at *Mount Caucaſus*, under *Æetes* and *Prometheus*; and his wo- " men upon the river *Thermodon* near *Colchis*, under their new " queens *Marthefia* and *Lampeto*; for *Diodorus* (28), ſpeaking of " the *Amazons* who were ſeated at *Thermodon*, ſaith, that they " dwelt originally in *Libya*, and there reigned over the *Atlantides*, " and, invading their neighbours, conquered as far as *Europe*: " and *Ammianus* (29), that the antient *Amazons*, breaking through " many nations, attacked the *Athenians*, and then receiving a " great ſlaughter retired to *Thermodon*: and *Juſtin* (30), that " theſe *Amazons* had at firſt, (he means at their firſt coming to " *Thermodon*) two queens, who called themſelves daughters of " *Mars*; and that they conquered part of *Europe*, and ſome cities " in *Aſia*, *viz.* in the reign of *Minerva*, and then ſent back part

(25) *Vid.* Diod. *l.* 3. p. 140. (26) *Lib.* 3. p. 131, 132. (27) Pauſan. *lib.* 2. *c.* 20. p. 155. (28) *Lib.* 3. *p.* 130. & Schol. *Apollonii*, *lib.* 2. (29) *Lib.* 22. *c.* 8. (30) *Lib.* 2. *c.* 4.

" of

SESOSTRIS then is by ſome thought to have been the ſon of *Amenophis*; but whether *Amenophis*, or any one elſe, it is ſaid

" of their army with a great booty under their ſaid new queens ;
" and that *Marthesia*, being afterwards ſlain, was ſucceeded by
" her daughter *Orithya*, and ſhe by *Pentheſilea* ; and that *Theſeus*
" captivated and married *Antiope* the ſiſter of *Orithya*. *Hercules*
" made war upon the *Amazons*, and in the reign of *Orithya* and
" *Pentheſilea* they came to the *Trojan* war : whence the firſt wars
" of the *Amazons* in *Europe* and *Aſia*, and their ſettling at *Ther-*
" *modon*, were but one generation before thoſe actions of *Hercules*
" and *Theſeus*, and but two before the *Trojan* war, and ſo fell in
" with the expedition of *Seſoſtris* : and ſince they warred in the
" days of *Iſis* and her ſon *Orus*, and were a part of the army
" under *Bacchus*, or *Oſiris*, we have here a farther argument for
" making *Oſiris* and *Bacchus* contemporary to *Seſoſtris*, and all
" one and the ſame king with *Seſac*.

" 4. The *Greeks* reckon *Oſiris* and *Bacchus* to be ſons of *Jupi-*
" *ter*, and the *Egyptian* name of *Jupiter* is *Ammon*. *Manetho* (31),
" in his eleventh and twelfth dynaſties, as he is cited by *Africanus*
" and *Euſebius*, names theſe four kings as reigning in order ; *Am-*
" *menemes*, *Geſongoſes*, or *Seſonchoris* the ſon of *Ammenemes*, *Amme-*
" *nemes* who was ſlain by his eunuchs, and *Seſoſtris* who ſubdued
" all *Aſia* and a part of *Europe* : *Geſongoſes* and *Seſonchoris* are cor-
" ruptly written for *Seſonchoſis* : and the two firſt of theſe four
" kings, *Ammenemes* and *Seſonchoſis* are the ſame with the two
" laſt *Ammenemes* and *Seſoſtris*, that is, with *Ammon* and *Seſac* ;
" for *Diodorus* ſaith, that *Oſiris* built a temple at *Thebes* to his
" father *Jupiter Ammon*, who reigned in that city (32) : and
" *Thymæſtes*, who was contemporary to *Orpheus*, wrote expreſly,
" that the father of *Bacchus* was *Ammon*, a king reigning over
" part of *Libya* ; that is, a king of *Egypt* reigning over that
" part of *Libya* antiently called *Ammonia* : Πᾶσα ἡ Λιβύη οὕτως
" ἐκαλεῖτο ἀπὸ Ἀμμῶνος (33). All *Libya* was called *Ammonia* from
" *Ammon* ; that is, that king of *Egypt*, from whom *Thebes* was
" called *No-Ammon*, and *Ammon-No*, the city of *Ammon*, and by
" the *Greeks*, *Dioſpolis*, the city of *Jupiter Ammon*. Here again
" our author ſeems to demonſtrate that *Seſoſtris* and *Oſiris* were
" the ſame perſon.

5. And to corroborate what is ſaid in the preceding article ;
" *Seſoſtris* upon his returning home divided *Egypt* by meaſure a-
" mongſt the *Egyptians* ; and this gave a beginning to ſurveying
" and geometry : and *Jamblichus* derives this diviſion of *Egypt*
and the beginning of geometry, from the age of the gods of *E-*
gypt. And becauſe *Seſoſtris*, or *Seſac*, to render the *Nile* more
uſeful, dug canals from it, and thereby made a general diſtribu-
bution of its water ; this chronologer is of opinion, that the river

(31) *See before*, *Vol.* I. p. 495. (32) *See before*, *Vol.* I. p. 515.
(33) Steph. *in* Ἀμμωνία.

ſaid that the god *Vulcan* appeared to him in a dream, and admoniſhed

was conſecrated to him, and he was called by its names, *Ægyptus Siris, Nilus*; and obſerves from *Plutarch*, that the ſyllable *O*, put before the word *Siris*, by the *Greeks*, made it ſcarce intelligible to the *Egyptians*.

6. He thinks it appears "That *Seſoſtris* was alſo *Shiſhak*, or "*Seſac*, becauſe the firſt conqueſts this king is ſaid to have made "were *Troglodytica*, *Libya*, and *Æthiopia*, and in the firſt year of "*Rehoboam*, *Seſoſtris* [*Seſac*] came out of *Egypt* with a great army "of *Lybians*, *Troglodytes*, and *Æthiopians*, and ſpoiled the temple, "and reduced *Judæa* into ſervitude, and went on conquering firſt "eaſtward towards *India*, and then weſtward as far as *Thrace*; for "God *had given him the kingdoms of the countries* (34).

7. There is no one argument on which this great chronologer lays a greater ſtreſs, for the proof of what he lays down concerning *Seſoſtris*, than the following: "*Solon* having travelled into "*Egypt*, and converſed with the prieſts of *Saïs* about their anti-"quities, wrote a poem of what he had learned, but did not fi-"niſh it (35); and this poem fell into the hands of *Plato*, who "relates out of it, that at the mouth of the *Straits*, near *Hercu-"les*'s *Pillars*, there was an iſland called *Atlantis*, the people of "which, nine thouſand years before the days of *Solon*, reigned "over *Libya* as far as *Egypt*, and over *Europe* as far as the *Tyrrhenean* "*ſea*; and all this force collected into one body invaded *Egypt* "and *Greece*, and whatever was contained within the pillars of "*Hercules*, but was reſiſted and ſtopped by the *Athenians* and o-"ther *Greeks*, and thereby the reſt of the nations not yet conquered "were preſerved: he ſaith alſo, that in thoſe days, the gods, ha-"ving finiſhed their conqueſts, divided the whole earth amongſt "themſelves, partly into larger, partly into ſmaller portions, and "inſtituted temples and ſacred rites to themſelves; and that the "iſland of *Atlantis* fell to the lot of *Neptune*, who made his eldeſt "ſon *Atlas* king of the whole iſland, a part of which was called "*Gadir*; and that *in the hiſtory of the ſaid wars mention was made* "*of* Cecrops, Erechtheus, Erichthonius, *and others before* The-"ſeus, *and alſo of the women who warred with the men, and of the* "*habit and ſtature of* Minerva, *the ſtudy of war in thoſe days being* "*common to men and women.* By all theſe circumſtances it is mani-"feſt, that theſe gods were the *Dii magni majorum gentium*, and "lived between the age of *Cecrops* and *Theſeus*; and that the wars "which *Seſoſtris*, with his brother *Neptune*, made upon the nations "by land and by ſea, and the reſiſtance he met with in *Greece*, "and the following invaſion of *Egypt* by *Neptune*, are here deſcrib-"ed; and how the captains of *Seſoſtris* ſhared their conqueſts a-

(34) 2 Chron. xii. 2, 3—8. (35) Plat. *in Timæo & Critia.*

"mongſt

moniſhed him, that the ſon which was, or ſhould be born to him, would be lord of the whole earth. Fraught with this viſion, he got together all the males in *Egypt* born on the ſame day with his ſon, and appointed nurſes and proper perſons to take care of them, and had them treated in all reſpects like his own child; perſuaded, that they who had been the conſtant and equal companions of his childhood and youth, would prove the moſt faithful miniſters, and moſt affectionate fellow ſoldiers. They were abundantly furniſhed with every thing needful, and as they grew up they were by degrees enured to laborious and manly exerciſes, and were in particular never permitted to taſte of any thing till they had performed a courſe of 180 furlongs, or upwards of 22 miles. By this exerciſe of the body, and by a proper cultivation of the mind, they were equally fitted to command and to execute. *Amenophis*, after he had been at this vaſt expence and trouble in laying the foundation of his ſon's future grandeur, reſolved to give him and his companions an opportunity of diſplaying the good effects of their inſtitution; and therefore he

His father gathers in all the boys in Egypt *that were born on the ſame day with him.*

" mongſt themſelves, as the captains of *Alexander the Great* did " his conqueſts long after, and inſtituting temples and prieſts, and " ſacred rites to themſelves, cauſed the nations to worſhip them " after their death as gods: and that the iſland *Gadir*, or *Gades*, " and all *Libya* fell to the lot of him who after death was deified " by the name of *Neptune*. The time therefore when theſe things " were done, is by *Solon* limited to the age of *Neptune* the father " of *Atlas*; for *Homer* tells us, that *Ulyſſes* preſently after the " *Trojan* war found *Calypſo* the daughter of *Atlas* in the *Ogygian* " iſland, perhaps *Gadir*, and therefore it was but two generations " before the *Trojan* war. This is that *Neptune* who, with *Apollo*, or " *Orus*, fortified *Troy* with a wall, in the reign of *Laomedon* the fa- " ther of *Priamus*, and left many natural children in *Greece*, ſome " of which were *Argonauts*, and others were contemporaries to " the *Argonauts*; and therefore he flouriſhed but one generation be- " fore the *Argonautic* expedition, and by conſequence about 400 years " before *Solon* went into *Egypt*: but the prieſts of *Egypt* in thoſe " 400 years had magnified the ſtories and antiquity of their gods ſo " exceedingly, as to make them 9000 years older than *Solon*, and " the iſland of *Atlantis* bigger than all *Afric* and *Aſia* together, and " full of people; and becauſe in the days of *Solon* this great iſland " did not appear, they pretended that it was ſunk into the ſea with " all its people: thus great was the vanity of the prieſts of *Egypt* in " magnifying their antiquities." Theſe are the moſt obvious and direct arguments concerning *Seſoſtris*, which we meet with in Sir *Iſaac Newton*.

Sends him into Arabia *and* Afric.

ſent him and them with an army into *Arabia*. In this expedition the young *Seſoſtris* ſurmounted all the dangers of ſerpents and venomous creatures, all the wants and hardſhips of a dry and barren country, and in the end ſubdued the *Arabians*, who till that time had never been conquered. His father then ordered him weſtward, and he ſubdued the greateſt part of *Afric* [e], nor ſtopped his career (as ſhould ſeem) till he ſaw the *Atlantic* ocean [f]. Whilſt he was on this expedition his father died: and having now the reins in his own hands, and being elated by the ſucceſs which had hitherto attended him, he graſped at no leſs an object than the whole earth. Or he called to mind the prediction of the god, and prepared for the enterprize. Some reported that his daughter *Athyrte*, a young lady of great wit and ſagacity, excited him thereto by her counſel, repreſenting it as an eaſy matter: others, that ſhe obtained aſſurances of her father's ſucceſs by divination, by dreams in temples, and prodigies in the air, and the like [g]; ſo that according to theſe, he could be no very young man at this time. Laſtly, it was ſaid that he was inſtructed by *Mercury*, who prepared him for the war [h].

Undertakes to conquer the whole world.

HAVING this view of a general conqueſt, and knowing that he muſt be long abſent, and far remote from *Egypt*, he bethought him how he might retain the hearts and affections of his own people: wiſely deeming it the moſt natural means of preparing thoſe who followed him, to lay down their lives chearfully in his ſervice; and of preventing thoſe at home from attempting any innovations during his abſence. He therefore, as much as was in his power, endeared himſelf to all his ſubjects, by largeſſes in money, by donations in land, or by the remiſſion of puniſhments: he diſcharged all that were guilty of treaſon with impunity, and paid the debts of all that were thereby incumbered, of which laſt he had many in his army. In fine, he wrought upon the minds of all by fair ſpeeches and a familiar deportment. In the next place he divided the whole kingdom into 36 nomes, or provinces; aſſigned a governor to each of them [i]; and conſtituted his brother *Armaïs* ſupreme regent, inveſting him with ample power; but forbad him the uſe of the diadem, and commanded him to offer no injury to the queen and her children, and to abſtain from the royal concubines [k]. Having thus ſettled the government, he picked out the choiceſt of his ſubjects,

Divides Egypt *in* 36 *nomes.*

[e] DIOD lib. 1. p. 48 [f] LUCAN. 10. v. 27. [g] DIOD. ubi ſupr. p. 49. [h] ÆLIAN. Var. Hiſt. l 2. c. 4. [i] DIOD. ubi ſupr. p. 50. [k] MANETH. apud Joſeph. contra Apion. l. 1. p. 1041.

and

and liſted an army equal to the vaſtneſs of his deſigns, and beſtowed the chief commands of it on his beloved companions, who were upwards of 1700 in number. As an earneſt of his benevolence, and beſides the favours he had beſtowed on them in common with the reſt of their countrymen, and that he and his ſucceſſors might always have a regular force ready at hand, he ſettled certain portions by lot, of the moſt fertile land in *Egypt*, on his whole army; whence a handſome income ariſing to them, neither they nor their poſterity might lie under the neceſſity of ſeeking a livelihood by mercantile or mechanic callings, but wholly apply themſelves to the military exerciſes. His army conſiſted of 600,000 foot, 24,000 horſe, and 27,000 warlike chariots. He firſt marched into *Æthiopia*, and reduced the inhabitants to a tribute of ebony, gold, and ivory [l]. He is generally believed to have been the firſt that ſubdued *Ethiopia* and *Troglodytica*, and is ſaid to have reached the promontory of *Dira*, near the ſtraits of the *Red-ſea*, where he ſet up a pillar with a ſacred inſcription on it; and went on as far as the cinnamon country, or at leaſt ſome place from whence cinnamon was brought, where he raiſed monuments and pillars with inſcriptions, which were to be ſeen many ages afterwards [m].

He inſtitutes the military order.

Conquers Ethiopia.

HIS land forces alone were not anſwerable to the conqueſt he intended; and therefore breaking through the antient ſuperſtition of the *Egyptians*, he was the firſt of their kings that fitted out fleets of tall ſhips. He had two; the one of 400 ſail in the *Arabian* gulph, if we may add faith to *Diodorus* [n] who gives us this number, and to *Herodotus* [o] who mentions the ſame fleet in general terms; and the other in the *Mediterranean-ſea*, if we may believe *Manetho* [p] who by *Sethoſis* underſtands *Seſoſtris*. By theſe naval armaments, and by the great ſervices they are ſaid to have done, it ſhould ſeem, that *Seſoſtris* wiped away the averſion the *Egyptians* had to ſea affairs [q], at leaſt for a time, and inſtituted the marine claſs, as by what appears hitherto he did the military order. But to have done with this conjecture, we ſhall only add, that the ſpacious and magnificent ſhip he conſecrated to the ſupreme god of the *Thebans* [r], looks as if he deſigned to bring navigation into credit in *Egypt*. With the firſt of theſe fleets he ſailed out of the *Arabian* gulph into the *Red*, or *Indian-ſea*, and ſubdued the coaſts thereof, and continuing

His fleets.

He inſtitutes the the marine claſs or order.

[l] DIOD. ubi ſupr. [m] Vid. STRABO, lib. 16. p. 769, 770. Vid. etiam lib. 17. p. 790. PLIN. Hiſt. Nat. lib. 6. c. 29. [n] Ubi ſupr. [o] Ubi ſupra. [p] Apud Joſeph. contra Apion. ubi ſupr. [q] See before, Vol. I. p. 490. [r] See before, ibid.

his courſe till he was ſtopped by certain ſhoals and difficult places, returned back to *Egypt* [r]: or according to another author, he went not on board himſelf, but ſent them out againſt the iſlands and maritime places of the continent as far as *India* [s]. With his *Mediterranean* ſquadron he conquered *Cyprus*, the ſea coaſt of *Phœnicia* [t], and ſeveral of the *Cyclades* [u]. This is all we know concerning his exploits by ſea.

Continuation of his conqueſts and wars.

Now as to his further conqueſts on the land; it is by almoſt all antiquity agreed, that he over-ran and pillaged all *Aſia*, and ſome part of *Europe*. He croſſed the *Ganges*, on the banks of which river he erected pillars; and to uſe the poets expreſſion, did the ſame in the remoteſt mountains of *India* [w]; and indeed he is ſaid to have marched on till he was ſtopped by the main ocean eaſtward [x]. From thence returning he invaded the *Scythians* and *Thracians*; but the accounts of his war with the former do not all agree in giving him a complete conqueſt over them. *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, *Agathias* [y], and others repreſent him victorious; but ſome relate, that he met with a repulſe, and fled from the *Scythians*, and was worſted by the *Colchians*. For *Juſtin* tells us, that *Vexores*, or *Seſoſtris* diſpatching ambaſſadors before him to ſummon the *Scythians* to ſurrender, they ſent back his meſſengers with contempt, and threats, and defiance, and immediately took up arms. *Seſoſtris*, being informed that they were advancing towards him by haſty marches, ſuddenly faced about, and fled from before them, leaving all his baggage and warlike apparel to the purſuers, who followed him till they came on the borders of *Egypt* [z]. *Pliny* relates, that he was overthrown by the king of *Colchis* [a]; and *Valerius Flaccus* inſinuates, that he was repulſed with great ſlaughter, and put to flight in theſe parts [b]. But whether he had good or bad ſucceſs in theſe countries, it is a common opinion, that he ſettled a colony in *Colchis*, though *Herodotus*, whom we chiefly rely on in this matter, does not decide, whether it was of his own planting, or whether part of his army tired out, loitered in the rear, and voluntarily ſat down on the banks of the river *Phaſis* in that kingdom. He ſays, from his own experience, that the inhabitants were undoubtedly of *Egyptian* deſcent, as was viſible from the perſonal ſimili-

Supposed to ſettle a colony in Colchis.

[r] Herod. ubi ſupr. [s] Diod. ubi ſupr. [t] Maneth. apud Joſeph. contra Apion. ubi ſupr. [u] Diod. ubi ſupr. p. 51. [w] Dionys. in Perieg. v. 625. [x] Diod. ubi ſupr. p. 50. [y] Lib. 2. p. 55. [z] Lib. 2. c. 3. [a] Lib. 33. c. 3. [b] Argonaut. l. 5. v. 420.

tude

tude they bore to the *Egyptians*, who were ſwarthy and frizle-haired; but more eſpecially from the conformity of their cuſtoms, particularly circumciſion, and from the affinity of their language with that of *Egypt*. And many ages afterwards at *Æa*, the capital of *Colchis*, they ſhewed maps of their journies, and the bounds of ſea and land for the uſe of travellers [c], and hence came geography. This relation to each other was acknowledged on both ſides [d]. We now attend upon him into *Thrace*, the utmoſt boundary of his progreſs weſtward in *Europe*. Here he was in danger of loſing his army through want of proviſions and the difficulty of the paſſes; and therefore he here ſtopped his progreſs *. But the more probable opinion is, that his return was haſtened by advice he received from the high prieſt of *Egypt*, concerning his brother's revolt and diſobedience [e]. However this was, his pillars were no where to be ſeen in *Europe* beyond *Thrace* [f]. For it was his cuſtom to ſet up pillars in every country he conquered, with this inſcription, or one to the like effect; Seſoſtris, *king of kings, and lord of lords, ſubdued this country by the power of his arms.* If the nation had ignobly crouched to him, he, beſides the inſcription, cauſed the privities of a woman to be carved, as a mark of their effeminacy and baſeneſs [g]; if they had defended themſelves bravely, their pillars bore the diſtinction of the contrary ſex, in teſtimony of their courage [h]. Beſides theſe he left ſtatues of himſelf behind him, two of which are ſtill to be ſeen, ſays *Herodotus*, the one on the road between *Epheſus* and *Phocæa*, and the other between *Smyrna* and *Sardis*: they were armed after the *Ethiopian* and *Egyptian* manner, were five palms high, and held a javelin in one hand, and a bow in the other. Acroſs the breaſt they had a line drawn from one ſhoulder to the other, on which there was this inſcription; *This region I obtained by theſe my ſhoulders.* They were miſtaken for images of *Memnon* [i]. *His pillars and ſtatues.*

UPON advice therefore of the rebellious proceedings of his brother, who, encouraged by his long abſence and great diſtance, had aſſumed the diadem, violated the queen, and made promiſcuous uſe of the royal concubines [k], he haſtened from *Thrace*, and at the end of nine years came to *Peluſium*, attended by an infinite multitude of captives of all nations, and laden with the ſpoils of *Aſia* [l]. *Return to* Egypt.

[c] APOLLON. Rhod. Argon. l. 4. v. 272. [d] HEROD. ubi ſupr. * DIOD. ubi ſupr. p. 51. [e] MANETH. apud Joſeph. contra Apion. ubi ſupr. [f] HEROD. DIOD. ubi ſupr. [g] HEROD. ubi ſupr. [h] Vid. SYNCELL. p. 59, 60. [i] HEROD. ubi. ſupr. [k] MANETH. ubi ſupr. [l] HEROD. ubi ſupr.

Here

Here the rebel *Armaïs*, or *Danaus* received him with outward ſubmiſſion and joy, but with inward deſigns to take away his life, and root out his family. Accordingly he invited the king his brother, the queen, and her children to a banquet he had prepared for their refreſhment, which they accepting, and drinking very freely, were overcome thereby, and betook them to reſt. In the mean time he cauſed a great quantity of dried reeds to be laid all round the apartment where they ſlept, and ſetting fire thereto he hoped to burn them all together. *Seſoſtris* perceiving the danger he was in, and that his guards, overcharged with liquor, were heavy and incapable to aſſiſt him, lifted up his hands, and imploring the gods in behalf of his wife and children ruſhed through the flames, and they followed him. In thankſgiving for this wonderful deliverance, and to perform the vows he had made in his extremity, he preſented donations to ſeveral gods, and particularly to *Vulcan* [m], as will be obſerved hereafter. *Herodotus* ſeems to have been miſinformed in the particulars of this happy eſcape; ſaying, that his wife perſuaded him to lay two of his ſons acroſs the fire, and to tread over them. He then took revenge on his brother *Armaïs* [n], who is ſaid to have been the *Danaus* of the *Greeks* [o], and is thought to have been now driven out from *Egypt*, and to have proceeded to *Greece*.

Is miraculouſly delivered from the murderous deſigns of his brother.

His brother's unnatural deſigns thus defeated, and himſelf in the quiet repoſſeſſion of his kingdom, he adorned all the temples with ſpoils and rich gifts, and rewarded his army in proportion to merit. His army was not only glorious in their return for the mighty actions they had performed, and the great riches they had acquired, but alſo for the great variety of conveniencies and neceſſaries they brought home with them, and with which they ſtored the whole kingdom. *Seſoſtris* now laying aſide all thoughts of war, diſbanded his forces, leaving every one to the undiſturbed enjoyment of what fortune had favoured him with. As for himſelf, he from henceforward applied his mind to ſuch ſtupendous works as might immortalize his name, and everlaſtingly contribute to the public good.

His works. His works were of three ſorts; religious, military, and civil. And firſt he erected a temple in every city in *Egypt*, which he dedicated to the peculiar and ſupreme deity of each place. In the courſe of ſo univerſal an undertaking as this, no *Egyptian* was ſet to work; wherefore upon all theſe temples there was this inſcription: *No one native laboured hereon* *. In

[m] Diod. ubi ſupr. p. 53. [n] Ubi ſupr. [o] Maneth. ubi ſupr. * Diod. ubi ſupr. p. 51, 52.

the

the city of *Memphis*, before the temple of *Vulcan*, he raiſed ſix gigantic ſtatues, which were each of one ſtone; two of them were 30 cubits high, and repreſented himſelf and his wife; the other four were 20 cubits, and repreſented his four ſons [p]. Theſe he dedicated to *Vulcan*, in remembrance of his and his family's preſervation at *Peluſium* [q]. Many ages afterwards it was ſaid, that *Darius* would have placed his own ſtatue above this of *Seſoſtris*; but the prieſt of *Vulcan* ſtifly oppoſed it, urging, that the *Perſian*, though great, had not yet equalled the *Egyptian*, and particularly had never conquered *Scythia*; and that therefore it was unjuſt to prefer him to one he had not yet excelled, and ſo put a ſtop to the attempt [r]. He moreover raiſed two obelisks of hard ſtone [marble] 120 cubits high; and charged them with inſcriptions, which deſcribed the greatneſs of his power, the amount of his revenues, and the nations he conquered. Theſe are his works, which may be ſaid particularly to commemorate his own piety and glory. Let us now take a view of what he did for the benefit and laſting welfare of his people.

IN order to prevent the incurſions of the *Syrians* and *Arabians*, he fortified the eaſt ſide of *Egypt* with a wall, which ran from *Peluſium* through the deſert to *Heliopolis*, 1500 furlongs, or 187 miles and a half. He moreover raiſed an incredible number of vaſt and lofty mounts of earth, to which he removed ſuch towns as had before too low a ſituation, to ſecure the men and cattle from the dangers of the *Nile* in its inundations. All the way from *Memphis* to the ſea he dug canals which branched out from the *Nile*, and not only gave an eaſier communication from one place to another, and greatly advanced the trade and proſperity of the kingdom; but alſo rendered the country impracticable to an enemy, or at leaſt very incommodious and difficult. So that *Egypt*, which had hitherto been famous for her horſes and chariots, and was admirably well adapted for either, was now no longer the ſame place in thoſe reſpects, and put on a new face [s]. This looks as if *Seſoſtris* feared, that the ſeveral nations he had diſturbed, or at leaſt ſome of them, might unite againſt *Egypt*; but quite the reverſe appears by his haughty carriage towards the tributaries, as will be ſeen by and by. In the mean time it is ſaid, that ſome of the captives grew deſperate under the intolerable ſlavery impoſed on them, and that particularly the *Babylonians* aroſe and reſolved at all hazards to ſhake off their bondage. They firſt ſeized upon a ſtrong hold, and acting

[p] HEROD. ubi ſupr. [q] DIOD. ubi ſupr. p. 53. [r] HEROD. ubi ſupr. [s] DIOD. ubi ſupr. 52.

offenſively

offenſively againſt the *Egyptians*, waſted the country round about them. But on the offer of pardon, and a place for their dwelling, they were pacified, and built them a city which they called *Babylon:* the like was ſaid of the *Trojan* captives [t]. According to *Herodotus* there was a report that this king, after he returned from his wars, divided the land equally amongſt all the *Egyptians:* this claſhes with what has been ſaid of the lands he beſtowed on his army before his outſet; which we take to be more conformable to the genius and policy of this warlike prince, and therefore are inclined to think that *Herodotus* was miſinformed. The ſame author upon this occaſion ſays; that the king reſerving to himſelf a ſmall rent out of the lands ſo divided, whenever it happened that the waters of the *Nile* in their retreat waſhed away any part of a perſon's ground, he gave information thereof to the king, who in ſuch caſe remitted a proportionable part of the rent, and by ſending ſurveyors to meaſure it, gave riſe to the invention of geometry *.

His inſolence.

His behaviour towards the conquered princes, who waited on him with their tribute, is moſt remarkably inſolent; for upon certain occaſions he would unharneſs his horſes, and yoke kings together, and make them draw his chariot [u]: this practice he continued, as is ſaid, till a certain day, when obſerving one of the kings who drew him along, look with great ſtedfaſtneſs back on one of the wheels, he asked what took up his thoughts, that he kept his eye ſo fixed behind him? he anſwered, *Oh king, the going round of the wheel calls to my mind the viciſſitudes of fortune; for as every part of the wheel is uppermoſt and lowermoſt by turns, ſo is it with men, who one day ſit on a throne, and on the next are reduced to the vileſt degree of ſlavery.* This anſwer ſhocked the inſulting conqueror, and he gave over the practice. It was thus he was wont to triumph over his tributaries, but at all other times he treated them with great humanity. At length he loſt his ſight, and laid violent hands on himſelf, and died. The manner of his death was extolled by the prieſts into the higheſt act of magnanimity [w]; and that nothing might be wanting to make his hiſtory compleatly glorious, they reported, that the *phœnix* came to *Thebes* during his reign [x]. By what has been here ſaid concerning *Seſoſtris*, it may ſeemingly be gathered, that he was the firſt that divided *Egypt* into nomes, and its inhabitants into orders and claſſes; that he was the firſt *Egyptian* king who was conſiderable at ſea; and that he erected the

[t] Idem ibid. * Herod. ubi ſupr. [u] Diod. ubi ſupr. p. 53. Plin. lib. 33. c. 3. [w] Diod. ubi ſupr. [x] Tacit. Ann. 6. p. 154.

firſt

firſt great empire in the world. *Juſtin* ſays, he neither aimed at it, nor kept it, being contented with the bare glory of the conqueſt he made [y]. But all are not of his opinion.

PHERON was the ſon of *Seſoſtris*, and ſucceeded him. He is alſo ſtiled *Seſooſis* [*Seſoſtris*] II. The ſtory of his reign, as it is handed down to us, favours more of fiction than of truth. He performed nothing in the military way; but had the misfortune, in common with his father, to be ſtruck blind. Though this might be properly owing to ſome infirmity derived from his parent, yet it is reported, that his loſs of ſight was a puniſhment inflicted on him for his impiety towards the river. For upon a time that the *Nile* had overflowed the country to an unuſual height, a gale of wind aroſe, and greatly diſturbed the waters, whereat he capriciouſly took offence, and inſolently darted a javelin among the waves. Upon this he was immediately ſeized with a pain in his eyes, and ſoon after by a total darkneſs, which oppreſſed him for ten years. In the eleventh year the oracle at *Butus* declared, that the term of his affliction was elapſed, and that his ſight would return to him if he paid particular devotions to the god at *Heliopolis*, and waſhed his eyes with the urine of a woman, who had never known any man beſides her huſband. He began with his own wife, but receiving no benefit from her, went on from one woman to another, till at length a poor gardener's wife afforded him the relief the oracle had promiſed. Her therefore he made queen; but as for the adultereſſes he ſent them to a city called *Erithybolus*, which, together with them, he burnt. He paid his vows to the gods in ſeveral rich donations, and particularly raiſed two magnificent obelisks in the temple of the *Sun* at *Heliopolis* [z].

Pheron, *or* Seſoſtris II.

He is ſtruck blind.

He recovers his ſight again, and raiſes two obeliſks.

MANY ages after the ſceptre fell into the hands of AMASIS, or AMMOSIS. He miſuſed his people with the utmoſt violence and injuſtice. Many he condemned to death without a cauſe; many he deprived of their poſſeſſions, upon no other motive than his own imperious will; and towards all he behaved with inſupportable arrogance. Under this oppreſſor they groaned for a while, not daring to reſiſt ſo dreadful a power. But in time *Actiſanes* king of *Æthiopia* made war againſt *Ammoſis*, and entering *Egypt* the people joined him, and aſſiſted to drive their unnatural prince from the throne [a].

Amaſis *or* Ammoſis, *a tyrant.*

His ſubjects join with the Ethiopians *to drive him out.*

BUT before we take in hand the hiſtory of *Actiſanes*, we muſt obſerve, that a king, very near allied in name to *Ammoſis*, blocked up the *Shepherds* in the city of *Abaris*, or

[y] Lib. 1. c. 1.
[z] HEROD. ubi ſupr. DIOD. ubi ſupr. p. 54.
[a] Idem ibid.

Peluſium,

Peluſium, with an army of 480,000 men; but deſparing, as is ſaid, to carry the place by ſiege, he made a capitulation with them, by which it was agreed, that they ſhould go out of *Egypt* and march which way they pleaſed without moleſtation (I). This article they executed, and went away with their families to the number of 240,000, and taking the way of the deſert entered *Syria*, but fearing the *Aſſyrians*, they built them a ſtrong city in *Judæa*, called *Jeruſalem*. This favours the opinion of thoſe who take the *Shepherds* to have been the *Iſraelites* themſelves; but the *Egyptian* hiſtory being hitherto, and for a conſiderable time to come, involved in palpable darkneſs, we ſhall only ſay, that this is confeſſedly a contradiction to the hiſtory of *Moſes*, by whom it plainly appears, that theſe *Shepherds* could not be the *Iſraelites*, and him we chooſe to confide in. This king is called *Amoſis*, *Thummoſis*, *Tethmoſis*, *Thomoſis*, and *Themoſis*, the ſon of *Haliſphragmuthoſis*. One *Amoſis* is alſo ſaid to have aboliſhed the cuſtom of ſacrificing men to *Juno* at *Heliopolis*, and inſtead of them to have ſubſtituted waxen images. They were examined and ſealed like pure calves, and were called *Typhonians* [b]. Three of them were burnt in a day, and their aſhes were ſcattered abroad ſo as to be no more ſeen, and this publickly every year during the dog-days. This is ſaid to have been done at the city of *Idithia* [c].

The expulſion of the Shepherds

As to the 200,000 *Shepherds*, which we are told came from *Jeruſalem* to aſſiſt the leprous *Egyptians* under *Oſarſiphus*, and the wars they were engaged in with *Amenophis*, king of

[b] Joseph. contra Apion. l. 1. p. 352, &c. [c] Manetho apud Porph. de abſtin. l. 2. c. 55.

(I) We have already obſerved to you, that *Perizonius* reckons what is called the expulſion of the *Shepherds*, and the *Exodus* of the children of *Iſrael*, to be one and the ſame event (1).

Sir *John Marſham*, is of a quite different opinion, but decides nothing (2).

Father *Pezron* ſays nothing of the expulſion of the *Shepherds* in particular, but thinks he has ſufficiently proved, that the *Iſraelites* went out of *Egypt* under *Moſes* in the reign of *Thomeſis*, the ſame who is ſaid to have expelled the *Shepherds* (3).

Sir *Iſaac Newton* places this expulſion in the year 1070 before Christ, or 62 years before the firſt expedition of *Seſoſtris*, or *Seſac*, as he calls him, into *Africa* (4).

(1) *Vid.* Periz. *ubi ſupr.* (2) Marſh. *ubi ſupr.* (3) Pezron, *ubi ſupr.* (4) *Sir* Iſaac Newton's *Short Chronology.*

Egypt,

Egypt, we refer our reader to *Joſephus* againſt *Apion*, not knowing where to give a place to theſe tranſactions in the courſe of the *Egyptian* hiſtory. *Joſephus* arraigns the whole ſtory as fabulous [d].

WE now return: ACTISANES united *Egypt* and *Æthiopia* under him, and was the common king of both. He bore his proſperity with great moderation and prudence, and behaved affectionately towards his new ſubjects. He cauſed a general ſearch to be made after the *Egyptian* thieves and robbers, and giving them a juſt hearing, commanded their noſes to be cut off, and ſent them away to the remoteſt part of the deſert between *Syria* and *Egypt*, where he built them a town which was called *Rhinocolura*, from the diſfigurement of its infamous inhabitants. This part was ſo barren, that it ſcarce afforded any one neceſſary of life; for even the few wells and ponds there found were brackiſh, bitter, and moſt unpleaſant to the palate. Hither he baniſhed them, that they might not injure their honeſt neighbours by living among them, nor be hid in corners among the innocent. But as frightful and barren as their ſituation was, neceſſity, the mother of invention, ſuggeſted means to them of ſupplying themſelves with food: for it is reported, that they made long nets of ſlit reeds, and with them caught great numbers of quails which came in flocks from the ſea ſhore; and of theſe they had barely ſufficient to live upon [e].

Actiſanes *the* Ethiopian.

He ſends all the Egyptian *thieves and robbers to* Rhinocolura.

ACTISANES died, and the *Egyptians* were left to their own diſpoſal; and therefore they choſe them a king, named by ſome MENDES, and by others MARUS. He is celebrated for the ſepulchral labyrinth he built. It was not ſo admirable for its extent, as for its inimitable contrivance, which was ſo intricate and perplexing, that it was impoſſible to find the way out, but by the help of a moſt experienced guide [f].

Mendes *or* Marus.

He builds a labyrinth.

AFTER *Mendes* there enſued an anarchy, or inter-reign, for five generations. At length a *Memphite* of obſcure birth was choſen king. His *Egyptian* name was CETES, which the *Greeks* rendered PROTEUS (K). Both *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*

Proteus *is choſen king*

[d] JOSEPHUS ubi ſupr. [e] DIOD. ubi ſupr. p. 55. [f] Idem ibid. See before, Vol. I. p. 422.

(K) According to *Perizonius*, *Proteus* was the *Sethos* of *Manetho*, and the *Typhon* of the poets. He thinks that *Homer*'s *Proteus* and this king are the ſame; and that he was ſtiled a ſea-god, becauſe he had commanded the coaſt of *Egypt*. He gives no credit to *Herodotus*

Diodorus make him coetaneous with the *Trojan* war. The prieſts gave him out for one ſkilled in the weather, or a magician, and pretended, he could aſſume any ſhape or form he pleaſed, even fire. This fable, as it was told by the *Greeks*, drew its origin from a cuſtom among the *Egyptians*, (and perhaps introduced by *Proteus*) who were uſed to adorn and diſtinguiſh the heads of their kings with the repreſentations of animals, or vegetables, or even with burning incenſe, as ſo many enſigns of royalty, and to ſtrike the beholders with dread and ſuperſtition [g]. Whilſt *Proteus* reigned, *Paris* or *Alexander* was driven on the coaſts of *Egypt* by a ſtorm, and there landed with *Helen*, whom he was carrying from *Greece* to *Troy*. But when he heard the perfidious breach of hoſpitality this young man had committed, he ſeized upon him, his miſtreſs, and his companions, with all the riches he had brought away with him from *Greece*. As for *Helen* and her huſband's effects, he detained them, promiſing to reſtore both to the injured party whenever demanded, and ſo he did: but *Paris* and his companions he commanded to depart out of his dominions in three days, upon pain of being treated as enemies. In fine, he had a very rich and ſumptuous temple erected to him at *Memphis*, and left a ſon and ſucceſſor behind him called *Rhemphis* [h].

The fable of Proteus *whence derived.*

Paris *and* Helen *arrive in* Egypt.

Rhemphis *or* Rhampſinitus.

Rhemphis is alſo called Rhampsinitus (L), and was of

[g] Idem. p. 56. [h] Herod. ubi ſupr.

Herodotus as to the arrival of *Paris* and *Helen* under this king. It is not conſiſtent with his hypotheſis (1).

Sir *Iſaac Newton*, on the contrary, ſeems to give credit to *Herodotus* as far as relates to *Paris* and *Helena*, but makes him contemporary with *Amenophis*, who, as we have already obſerved, he makes the ſame with *Menes*. He thinks, he might have been governor of ſome part of the *Lower Egypt* under *Amenophis*: and obſerves, that *Homer* places him on the ſea coaſt, and calls him the ſervant of *Neptune*, and that his *Greek* name ſignifies only *a prince*, or *preſident* (2).

(L) Sir *John Marſham* is inclined to think him the eldeſt ſon of *Seſoſtris*, and to be the ſame with *Rhampſes*; and this he advances, fraught with the authority of *Manetho*, who calls him the ſon of *Sethos*: and that the famous inſcription which was interpreted to *Cæſar Germanicus* at *Thebes*, related to him; and indeed there is

(1) *Vid.* Perizon. *ubi ſupr.* (2) *Sir* Iſaac Newton, *Chronol. of ant. kingdoms amended.*

no

of an inclination to hoard up money. *Diodorus* reports him to have been ſo ſordidly avaritious, that during his whole reign he rather acted the part of a mean-ſpirited ſteward than of a king; and never could find in his heart to be at the leaſt expence in any thing that might tend either to the honour of the gods, or the good of men: and that to this retentiveneſs it was owing that he left ſo immenſe a treaſure behind him, no leſs than 400,000 talents[i]. Now *Herodotus* ſufficiently inſinuates, that he was fond of riches, but does not reduce him to ſo wretched a degree of baſeneſs as this. Let us give ear to what he ſays. *Rhampſinitus* added the weſtern portico to the temple of *Vulcan*, and erected two ſtatues before it, each 25 cubits high: one of them faced towards the north, and was adored by the *Egyptians* under the title of *Summer*; the other looked towards the ſouth, and went by the name of *Winter*, and was abhorred. Moreover, he had accumulated a far greater ſtore of wealth than any king of *Egypt* that ſucceeded him; and, being deſirous to depoſite it in ſome ſecure place, commanded a treaſure-houſe to be firmly built for that purpoſe. The architect employed in this work, placed one of the ſtones in ſo artful a manner, that it might be taken out and put in again by one man only, it being his intention to partake in the riches of the place. But about the time that the treaſure was lodged in it, this man fell into a violent ſickneſs; and finding himſelf at the point of death, ſent for his two ſons. To them he declared the whole artifice, and gave them the

builds the weſtern portico to the temple of Vulcan,

and a treaſure-houſe.

[i] DIOD. ubi ſupr.

no very great difference between the *Rhamſes* of *Tacitus* and the *Rhampſes* of *Manetho*. In fine, that he enjoyed by right what his father had obtained by conqueſt (1).

Perizonius ſuppoſes, that the *Rhamſes* of *Tacitus* is *Seſoſtris* himſelf. But *Rameſſes*, or *Rhamſinitus*, the ſon of *Proteus*, he makes contemporary with the *Trojan* war, in which he is ſupported by a paſſage from *Pliny* (2).

Sir *Iſaac Newton* conjectures him to have been the ſon of *Amenophis*, or *Menes*, and to be ſhadowed under the different names of *Rhamſinitus*, *Ramſes*, *Ramiſes*, *Rameſes*, *Rameſſis*, *Rameſtes*, *Rhampſes* and *Rhempſis*; and that the obelisk which was ſent to *Rome* by the emperor *Conſtantius*, with an inſcription interpreted by *Hermapion* an *Egyptian* prieſt, expreſſing that he was long-lived and reigned over a great part of the earth, as alſo that pompous inſcription mentioned by *Tacitus*, belonged to him (3).

(1) *Vid.* Marſh. *ubi ſupr.* (2) Periz. *ubi ſup.* (3) *Sir* Iſaac Newt. *ubi ſupr.*

moſt exact directions in the management of the buſineſs, which he foreſaw would never be his fate to accompliſh. The father died, and the young men went to the treaſury, and finding every thing to be as their father had told them, they gained an eaſy admittance, and robbed the king to a conſiderable value; and this they repeated every night. Some time after *Rhampſinitus* went in to view his heaps, and was ſurprized to find a viſible diminution of them; and the more, becauſe his ſeal was whole on the door, the only part of the building that could give entrance. The two brothers continued their nightly expilations till the king, after two or three further ſurveys, was perfectly ſenſible that ſome how or other his wealth ſuffered a ſucceſſive decreaſe. And now convinced that ſome body muſt do this, he ordered ſnares to be laid all around the veſſels which held his money. The brethren failed not to come at night, and taking out the ſtone, one of them went in, and going up to a veſſel full of ſilver, was immediately enſnared. Under this ſurprize he called to his brother who ſtood without, and earneſtly beſought him to come in to him, and cut off his head, that ſo he might ſave his own life, and effectually prevent the diſcovery of their intrigue. The brother, perceiving the reaſonableneſs of his requeſt, went in and did as he was deſired, and putting the ſtone in its place again, took the head away with him. Early the next morning the king came in to ſee the event of his project, but was quite aſtoniſhed to find a man caught without a head. He went out again in great confuſion of thought, but however directed that the body ſhould be hung on the outſide of the wall, and expoſed to public view; charging the guard appointed to take care of it, that they ſhould make a narrow inſpection into the countenances of the ſpectators, and in whomſoever they perceived ſigns of ſorrow and mourning, to bring ſuch perſon into his preſence. When the mother of the deceaſed heard that the body was expoſed in this manner, ſhe was diſtracted with grief, and upbraiding her ſurviving ſon, threatened that if he did not procure her his brother's body, and bring it home, ſhe would let the king know who had robbed his treaſury. The young man did his utmoſt to bring her to ſome temper, by remonſtrating to her the impracticability of her requeſt; but to no purpoſe, for ſhe perſiſted ſtill in her threats. Therefore finding that ſomething muſt be contrived to gratify her, he conſulted how he might ſucceed in ſuch an enterprize: and at length loading his aſſes with ſkins of wine, he drove them towards the place where the body hung up. Having reached the guard, he privately opened ſome of the ſkins, and as ſoon as the wine poured down

which is plundered by the architect's two ſons.

down he ſtruck himſelf upon the head, and counterfeited the trouble and conſternation of a perſon utterly undone. In the mean time the ſoldiers upon duty ran to the aſſes with pots, to ſave as much of the liquor as they could for themſelves; which he ſeeing, fell on them with the moſt bitter reproaches, and reviled them for the pleaſure they took in his misfortune, inſtead of giving him their aſſiſtance: but they ſpeaking him fair, he pretended to be pacified, and leading his aſſes out of the way, feigned to be very buſy in ſecuring the remainder of his wine. Whilſt he was doing this the guards ſtood about him, and laughing and joking with him, he at laſt conſented to give them a ſkin of wine; and they in return for ſo great a favour, preſſed him to ſtay and take a part of it with them. He did ſo, and when this ſkin was emptied he gave them another; ſo that by exceſſive drinking the whole guard was overcome, and fell into a deep ſleep. Then watching his opportunity, and perceiving it to be the dead of night, he went to the body, and taking it down, laid it acroſs an aſs; and ſhaving the right cheek of each of the ſoldiers by way of deriſion, went away with the body and carried it home to his mother. The news of this was matter of additional wonder to the king, who, that he might find out the perſon who had done it, bethought him of the following expedient. He ordered his daughter to proſtitute herſelf in a certain apartment of the palace to all comers promiſcuouſly; but under this reſtriction, that ſhe ſhould previouſly extort from each of them a confeſſion of the moſt ingenious intrigue he had ever managed, and the moſt wicked crime he had ever committed. His daughter obeyed, and did as ſhe was inſtructed, and when the thief heard of this extraordinary procedure, he reſolved to perplex the king a little farther. With this view he got the arm of a newly-dead body, and taking it under his cloak, went in to the king's daughter. She examined him in the ſame form, and to the ſame purpoſe as the reſt who had been with her before him; and in return, he frankly confeſſed, that the moſt abominable and wicked action of his life was the cutting off his brother's head when enſnared in the treaſury; and that the moſt ingenious thing he had ever done, was the ſtealing the body from the guard that kept it. She then offered to lay hold on him; which he perceiving, held out the dead arm to her; which ſhe graſping, he ran out, and by the favour of the night made his eſcape. *Rhampſinitus*'s rage was now converted into an admiration of the boldneſs and ingenuity of the man; and therefore he had it proclaimed in every city, that if the perſon, whoever he was, would diſcover himſelf, he ſhould not only be pardoned, but alſo greatly

rewarded. The young man confiding in this, went ſtrait to the palace, and made himſelf known. In the end the king gave him his daughter in marriage, and accounted him far ſuperior in wiſdom to any man then living upon earth. Our author does not warrant every particular of this ſtory.

Rhampſinitus *goes down to hell.*

AFTER this it was fabled, that *Rhampſinitus* deſcended alive into the infernal regions, where he plaid at dice with *Ceres*, but neither won or loſt; and that at his departure ſhe preſented him with a golden bowl. The ſpace between his deſcent and reaſcenſion was obſerved with great ſolemnity by the *Egyptians* many ages afterwards. And now that we may conclude the hiſtory of this king with ſome air of truth and probability, he reigned with great prudence and juſtice, and was a conſtant and ſtrict obſerver of the good order, which, till his death, had uninterruptedly ſubſiſted throughout the kingdom from its firſt foundation [k].

Nilus.

THIS king was ſucceeded by ſeven others, all of nameleſs fame and ignoble character, except one, called NILUS. He is celebrated for the great number of canals he dug all over the country, and for his endeavours to make the *Nile* as univerſally ſerviceable as poſſible. Whence it was that the river which had been hitherto called *Ægyptus*, was now called after his name [l].

Cheops, Chemmis, *or* Chembes, *a tyrant.*

CHEOPS, CHEMMIS, or CHEMBES, (M) is by *Diodorus* reckoned the eighth from *Rhampſinitus*. *Herodotus* places no diſtance between them. This king is branded for his impiety and tyranny. He began his reign with ſhutting up the temples, and forbidding all public ſacrifices. And then trampling on the laws and invading the liberties of his people, reduced them to a ſtate of the moſt laborious ſlavery. Great numbers he ſent to dig out ſtone in the quaries among the mountains of *Arabia*, and to tranſport them into *Egypt* [m]: and harraſſed them in the end in raiſing the largeſt of the three great pyramids [n]. By this, and other vain-glorious works of the ſame kind, he was reduced ſo low, that he expoſed his daughter to common proſtitution; telling her in general terms to earn what ſhe could. She obeyed, and, by her fa-

Builds the largeſt pyramid.

Proſtitutes his daughter who builds a ſmall pyramid.

[k] HEROD. l. 2. [l] DIOD. ubi ſupr. p. 57. [m] HEROD. ubi ſupr. [n] Idem ibid. & DIOD. ubi ſupr. See before, Vol. I. p. 404.

(M) Sir *Iſaac Newton* ſuſpects, that he intended to be worſhipped himſelf after death; and ſuppoſes that he was alſo called *Chemnis, Phiops, Apathus, Apappus, Suphis, Saophis, Syphoas, Syphaoſis, Soiphis, Syphuris*, and *Anoiſis*.

ther's

ther's example deſiring to perpetuate her memory, required each of her gallants only to contribute a ſtone towards a building ſhe had in view. With the ſtones ſo collected, ſhe built a ſmall pyramid. * This tyrant reigned fifty years and died [o].

HE was ſuceeeded by CEPHRENES, CEPHREN, or CHABRYIS. It was doubted, whether *Cephren*, and *Chabryis*, were one and the ſame perſon; ſome ſaying, that *Cephren* was the brother, and that *Chabryis* was the ſon of *Cheops*. But leaving this obſcure controverſy; this king trod in the foot-ſteps of his predeceſſor, and particularly in building a pyramid; but it fell much ſhort of the former. He reigned fifty ſix years. Though both he and his predeceſſor deſigned theſe pyramids for their eternal manſions, to uſe the *Egyptian* phraſe, yet neither of them were depoſited in them after death: dreading what the rage of the multitude might prompt them to, their friends buried them where no body could ever find them [p].

Cephrenes, Cephren, *or* Chabryis *a tyrant.*

Builds a pyramid.

AFTER *Egypt* had been thus afflicted by tyranny for one hundred and ſix years, MYCERINUS, or CHERINUS, (N) the ſon of *Cheops*, a ſerene and merciful prince, aſcended the throne. Abhorring the impiety and injuſtice of his father and his uncle, he opened the temples, re-inſtituted the ſacrifices, and left the miſerable people to the purſuit of their private affairs. His clemency is reported to have been ſuch, that if at any time complaint was made to him of a hard ſentence adjudged in a matter of property, he would ſatisfy the party aggrieved to the amount of the loſs, out of his own treaſure [q]. Whilſt he was thus intent upon the happineſs of his people, a heavy misfortune fell upon him, namely the death of his daughter. He mourned her with great bitterneſs, and honoured her with an extraordinary funeral: For cauſing an hollow wooden image of a cow to be made and richly gilt with gold, he therein depoſited her body. This cow was never interred, but was expoſed in a magnificent chamber of the palace in the city of *Saïs*; where they burned the moſt exquiſite odours by day, and illuminated the place by night with a lamp. In a room contiguous to this were twenty naked images of women, which the prieſts of *Saïs* reported to have been the concubines of *Mycerinus*. But, as it generally hap-

Mycerinus, *or* Cherinus, *a good prince.*

His daughter dies, and he buries her in an extraordinary manner.

* HEROD. ubi ſupr. See Vol. I. p. 405. [p] HEROD. ubi ſupr. [q] Idem ibid. DIOD. ubi ſupr. p. 57, 58. [q] Idem. ibid. HEROD. ubi ſupr.

(N) The laſt cited chronologer calls him alſo *Cheres*, *Bicheres*, *Moſcheres*, *Mencheres*.

pens in caſes of remote antiquity, this was not the only report that was ſpread concerning this cow and theſe ſtatues. A ſtory went, that *Mycerinus* falling in love with his daughter, forced and deflowered her; whereupon ſhe fell into a deep melancholy and hanged her ſelf. The twenty naked ſtatues in the next room, ſaid they, were her women, who had been inſtrumental in betraying her to her father's unnatural luſt, and therefore had their hands cut off by the queen. They appeared indeed without hands; but our author, who was an eye-witneſs of theſe things, tells us they were dropped off with age, and lay ſcattered upon the floor. He tells us alſo, that the cow was in a kneeling poſture, and as big as the largeſt living cow. Its neck and head were richly laid over with gold, and between the horns there was a golden circle in imitation of the ſun, and its body had a fine *Tyrian* carpet thrown over it. The ſepulchral image was removed once a year from the apartment where it ſtood, and expoſed to the open day, in purſuance of a requeſt the deceaſed made to her father, that ſhe might behold the ſun once every year.

The oracle at Butus *declares him to be ſhort lived.*

Now to return whence we digreſſed; the death of his daughter was not the only misfortune that befel *Mycerinus*; a more dreadful one enſued: For it was denounced againſt him from the oracle at *Butus*, that he had but ſix years more to live, and that in the ſeventh he ſhould ſurely die. At this he was greatly troubled, and ſent to expoſtulate with the oracle, and remonſtrated, that ſince his father and uncle, who had been monſters of impiety and cruelty, had been bleſſed with great length of days, it would be ungrateful to requite his piety and humanity with the execution of ſo rigid a ſentence. To this it was anſwered; That his father and uncle knew the decree of fate, which had condemned the *Egyptians* to a hundred and fifty years of bondage and miſery, and acted conformably thereto; but that his ignorance of this, which had induced him to interrupt the courſe of their affliction, was the cauſe that he was ſo ſuddenly to be cut off. Finding therefore that his doom was irreverſible, he conſulted how to make the moſt of the ſmall remainder of his life; and, commanding a great number of lamps to be lighted up every night, he ſpent his whole time in drinking and revelling. So thence forward making no diſtinction between day and night, he roved about among the groves and the meadows, and wherever he heard of the moſt gay and ſportive company.

Endeavours to convict the oracle of falſhood.

Thus he went on, thinking to convict the oracle of falſhood, and inſtead of ſix, to live twelve years. Finally *Mycerinus* is ſaid to have built a pyramid, which from the baſis to the middle was *Ethiopian* ſtone; and on the northern front of it

he

he inſcribed his own name. This pyramid the *Greeks*, by a groſs miſtake, attributed to the courtezan *Rhodopis*, who flouriſhed in the days of *Amaſis*, ſeveral reigns lower [r].

WE now proceed to GNEPHACHTHUS, the father of *Bocchoris* the wiſe. He is alſo named *Technatis* by *Plutarch* [s], and *Neochabis* by *Alexis*. What interval there was between him and *Mycerinus*, or whether any, does no where plainly appear. This king is famed for his abſtinence, and for the execration he denounced againſt *Menes*. For it is recorded of him, that leading an army into *Arabia*, and travelling the vaſt and barren deſerts, he there fell into great ſtreights and want of proviſion: and being one day obliged to take up with the poor and ſlender diet he met with, he afterwards fell into a profound ſleep. This ſo delighted him, that he forbad all exceſs and luxury, and curſed MENES, who firſt introduced them: And ſo earneſtly did he perſecute the memory of this his predeceſſor, that, by the conſent of the prieſts, he engraved his curſe upon a pillar, which was ſeen in the temple at *Thebes*; from whence it came to paſs, that the fair name of *Menes* was ſeen through a cloud by ſucceeding generations.

Forbids all luxury, and curſes Menes.

BOCCHORIS, the ſon of *Gnephachthus*, was ſurnamed the wiſe. He was a deſpicable perſon to look at, but for prudence and wiſdom far beyond any of his predeceſſors. He is reckoned the fourth *Egyptian* law-giver; but his laws [t] ſeem not to have concerned any thing, except commerce and the regulation of the public revenue. His judgments were for their excellence retained many ages after his death; but his great qualities were ſomewhat debaſed by his propenſion to avarice [u]. So high was the veneration his ſubjects paid him, that they fabled *Iſis* to have ſent an aſp to prevent his ſight, that he might judge righteouſly [w]. However, he drew a general odium upon himſelf, by letting in a wild bull to the ſacred one, called *Mnevis*; but this got the better, and killed his antagoniſt. At laſt, with all the equity of his judgment [x], and the purity of his mind, he is ſaid to have been taken by *Sabbaco* the *Ethiopian*, and burnt alive [y].

Bocchoris.

ASYCHIS is by *Herodotus* placed next in order to *Mycerinus*; but in compliance with *Diodorus*, we have put two reigns between them, notwithſtanding our full perſuaſion that *Bocchoris* and *Aſychis* were the ſame king, as we ſhall

Aſychis.

[r] Idem ibid. See Vol. I. p. 404. [s] De Iſide & Oſirid. [t] See Vol. I. p. 442. [u] DIOD. l. 1. p. 59, 85. [w] PLUT. περὶ δυσωπίας, p. 529. [x] ÆLIAN. de Anim. l. 11. c. 11. [y] SYNCELL. p. 74.

builds the eaſtern portico to the temple of Vulcan,

take occaſion to obſerve by and by: In the mean time it is recorded of *Aſychis*, that he built the eaſtern portico to the temple of *Vulcan*, with a magnificence that eclipſed the others. And finding that the riches of *Egypt*, were lodged in a few hands, and that credit was decayed, he enacted a law, whereby a man might borrow money upon the ſepulchre of his father, and depoſite the body, as a pledge, in the hands of the creditor. And till it was redeemed, the debtor might neither be buried in the ſepulchre of his father, or in any other nor put any of his deſcendants there. This king, to ſurpaſs all his predeceſſors, built him a pyramid of brick, which he charged with a very vaunting inſcription [z].

and a brick pyramid.

Anyſis.

After *Aſychis*, a blind man named Anysis, from a city of the ſame name, became King. In his reign *Sabbaco* king of *Æthiopia* broke into *Egypt* with a powerful army, and *Anyſis* fled for ſhelter to the fens, leaving the kingdom to the invader [a].

Bocchoris *and* Aſychis *the ſame king, and contemporary to* Anyſis, *and* Nechus *the father of* Pſammitichus.

But before we enter upon the reign of *Sabbaco*, let us take a curſory retroſpect of theſe three laſt reigns, and perhaps we may find reaſon to think, that *Bocchoris* and *Aſychis* are different names for one King, and that the blind man *Anyſis* was his contemporary. For the law ſaid to have been inſtituted by *Aſychis* favours ſo much of *Bocchoris*'s genius as might incline one to think them but one man. And if it be true, that *Bocchoris* was burnt alive by *Sabbaco*, they muſt not only have been ſo, but *Anyſis* muſt alſo have been king of another part of *Egypt* at the ſame time. Furthermore, it is declared by *Herodotus*, that Necus, the father of *Pſammitichus*, was ſlain by the ſame *Ethiopian* [b]. Here we have three kings, if we may ſuppoſe *Necus* to have been of royal dignity, ſubdued by one and the ſame enemy, and all in *Egypt*. From hence it may appear, that many of the kings of *Egypt* are placed in order of ſucceſſion, that were collateral, merely out of oſtentation, and to ſupport the pretenſions the prieſts made to the exceſſive antiquity of their kingdom.

Sabbaco *the* Ethiopian.

We now return to Sabbaco; and if it be true that he dealt ſo rigidly with *Bocchoris*, thoſe are ſurely right who ſuppoſe he began his reign with barbarity and cruelty towards others. But no ſooner was he eſtabliſhed firmly on the throne, than he became a new man; ſo that he is highly extolled for his mercy, clemency, and policy. He is thought to have been the *So* in ſcripture, and to have entered into a league with

[z] Herod. l. 2. See Vol. I. 406. [a] Herod. ubi ſupr.
[b] Idem ibid.

Hoſhea,

Hoſhea, king of *Samaria*, againſt *Shalmaneſer* king of *Aſſyria*. He was excited to the invaſion of *Egypt* by a dream, or viſion, which aſſured him he ſhould hold *Egypt* fifty years; and when that term was expired, he voluntarily retired into *Æthiopia* again, reſigning his conquered kingdom. But whilſt he was in *Egypt*, he gave the higheſt proofs of his wiſdom and piety, and yielded to none of his *Egyptian* predeceſſors in the art of governing. He never would conſent to the death of any criminal, though capitally condemned; commuting the puniſhment into hard labour, which purely conſiſted in raiſing of mounts, and digging of canals; ſo that the cities of *Egypt* were raiſed higher, and rendered more commodious than by *Seſoſtris*; and particularly the city of *Bubaſtis*, where ſtood a moſt delightful temple to the goddeſs of the ſame name, whom the *Greeks* interpreted to be their *Diana*. At length *Sabbaco* had a viſion as he ſlept, wherein the tutelar god of *Thebes* admoniſhed him, that he could not hold the kingdom of *Egypt* with ſafety and happineſs, except he maſſacred the prieſt as he paſſed through them with his guards. This viſion he had at ſeveral repetitions; but, his heart abhorring ſo dreadful an undertaking, he ſent for the prieſts, and declared to them what the gods would have prompted him to, and that thereby he began to apprehend it was their pleaſure he ſhould remain no longer in *Egypt*; and that therefore with pure hands and a clear conſcience he would return into his native kingdom, rather than lie under the neceſſity of polluting his life by ſo general a bloodſhed, to preſerve himſelf on the throne of *Egypt*. And upon the whole, conſidering that the predicted fifty years were expired, he accordingly retired into his own country[c].

His firſt viſion.

His policy.

His ſecond viſion.

As ſoon as *Sabbaco* had departed the kingdom, *Anyſis* came out from his hiding-place, and reaſſumed the government. He had been abſent fifty years, and in that time had formed an Iſland for his habitation, compoſed of aſhes and earth; for when any *Egyptian* came to him with proviſion, he always deſired that aſhes might be brought to him unknown to the *Ethiopian*. This iſland was called *Elbo*, and lay undiſcovered ſeven hundred years and upwards, till the reign of *Amyrtæus*.

Anyſis *again.*

AFTER him there reigned one SETHON, who was both king, and prieſt of *Vulcan*. He not only neglected the military claſs or order, but injuriouſly diveſted them of their privileges and lands; whereat they were ſo incenſed that they thought themſelves abſolved from their allegiance, and entered

Sethon *king and prieſt.*

[c] Idem ibid. DIOD. SIC. ubi ſupra, p. 59.

into

into a combination not to bear arms under him, if he ſhould ever ſtand in need of them. But he, regardleſs of their threats and murmurs, gave himſelf wholly up to contemplation and the functions of religion. This was the ſtate of affairs when *Sennacherib* king of *Aſſyria* drew near to *Peluſium*, deſigning to enter *Egypt*. *Sethon* perceiving his danger, and that now his only truſt muſt be on the military order whom he had ſo unjuſtly dealt with, he ſought their aſſiſtance; but in vain: They obſtinately perſiſted in their refuſal to march under his banner. The prieſt, now deſtitute of all other advice and ſupport, repaired to his god, and in the utmoſt dejection of mind implored his aid. Whilſt he was yet in the temple, he fell into a deep ſleep, during which it ſeemed to him that the god ſtood at his ſide, and exhorted him to take courage, and promiſed, that if he would but go out againſt the *Aſſyrians* he ſhould obtain a complete victory over them. Fraught with this viſion, he aſſembled together a promiſcuous body of artificers, ſhop-keepers, and labourers; and, with this unexperienced multitude, bent his march towards *Peluſium*. The very night after his arrival there, an infinite number of field-rats entered the enemy's camp, and gnawed their quivers, bow-ſtrings, and ſhield-ſtraps to pieces. This is very conſonant to the prophecy of *Iſaiah*, if we may be allowed to inſert it here: *The king of* Aſſyria *ſhall not come into this City*, (meaning *Jeruſalem*) *nor ſhoot an* arrow *there*, *nor come before it with a* ſhield [d]. For *Sennacherib* (as ſhould ſeem) had broke up the ſiege of *Jeruſalem* for a time to fall upon *Egypt*; but whether this *Sethon* be the ſame with *Tirhakah*, or *Sevechus*, is more than we can decide. But to return; when *Sethon* next morning found the enemy thus diſarmed, and moving off, he purſued them with a great ſlaughter. In memory of this miraculous event, there was a ſtone ſtatue of this king erected in the temple of *Vulcan*, with a rat in one of his hands, and delivering theſe words from his mouth; *Whoſo beholdeth me*, *let him be pious* [e].

The twelve kings.

A ſhort time after the death of *Sethon*, *Egypt* was (upon what motive is not preciſely known) divided into twelve kingdoms, and twelve of the chief *Egyptian* lords were appointed over them. Theſe twelve entered into the ſtricteſt aſſociation for the public welfare. The mutual league between them was conceived in the moſt obligatory manner, and cemented by all the ſtricteſt ties that could poſſibly conduce to a perpetual union and harmony between them; becauſe it had been foretold by an oracle, upon

[d] 2 Kings xix. 32. [e] Herod. ubi ſupr.

their

their aſſuming the government; that he of their number that ſhould perform a libation in a brazen cup would in time be king of all *Egypt*. This new regulation was attended with peace and happineſs, and the twelve kings reſolved to raiſe a monument, which might perpetuate their names to lateſt ages; and accordingly they raiſed the famous labyrinth [f] near the lake *Mœris*. At length it came to paſs, that at a ſtated time they all met together to ſacrifice in the temple of *Vulcan*, and being to offer a libation on the laſt day, the high prieſt, through miſtake, brought out only eleven of the twelve gold bowls, which were reſerved for the uſe of the twelve princes; and *Pſammitichus*, ſtanding the laſt in order, and being unprovided for the ceremony, took off his helmet, which was of braſs (they all twelve wore the ſame), and performed his libation with that. This he did inadvertently; but it being obſerved by the reſt, they called to mind the oracle which promiſed him to be ſole king of *Egypt*, who ſhould happen to perform a libation in this place with a braſs bowl. Wherefore, though they were ſatisfied he had no ill intention, and for that reaſon would not ſentence him to die, yet they were unanimous for expelling him to the marſhy country, and for diveſting him of the greateſt part of his diſtrict, and forbidding him to concern himſelf with the affairs of the public [g]. The reaſon of this diſcord is told differently by ſome, and the whole is attributed to envy: For at the diviſion of the country into twelve provinces, as has been obſerved, the ſea-coaſts fell to the lot of *Pſammitichus*; and he greatly encouraging all commerce with the *Grecians* and *Phœnicians*, not only accumulated great wealth, but acquired alſo the favour and friendſhip of ſeveral foreign kings and nations, which drew on him the envy of his colleagues; who, fearing he ſhould grow too formidable, and affect to rule over them, reſolved to reduce him betimes. Wherefore they all declared war againſt him; and he, finding himſelf unequal to the conflict, hired an army of mercenaries, conſiſting chiefly of *Ionians*, *Carians*, and *Arabians*, and repelled force with force, and in the end ſubdued the other kings, and put an end to the *duodecemvirate* [h]. On the other hand it is related, that, in purſuance of his ſentence, he retreated to the fens; but, greatly reſenting the ſeverity of his uſage for ſo trifling a thing, in which he meant no harm, either preſent or future, he ſent to the oracle of *Latona* at the city of *Butus*, to know how, and when he might hope for redreſs. The anſwer he received was,

[f] See Vol. I. p. 422. [g] HEROD. ibid. [h] DIOD. SIC. ubi ſupr. p. 60.

That

That *Brazen men* would ſuddenly riſe out of the ſea and avenge his cauſe. This he received as a flat abſurdity: But not long after ſome *Ionian* and *Carian* pyrates landed in braſs armour. And an *Egyptian*, who had never ſeen men armed ſo before, going up to *Pſammitichus*, and acquainting him, that certain brazen men had riſen out of the ſea, and were pillaging the land near the ſea-ſhore, he perceived that the oracle was come to paſs: Therefore, perſwading them to ſtay by the large promiſes he made them, if he ſucceeded; and joining to them ſuch *Egyptians* as were well affected to him, he ſubdued, and dethroned the eleven kings, and ſeized on the whole kingdom for himſelf[i]. It is ſaid, the deciſive battle was fought at *Monemphis*, and that ſome of the kings were ſlain, and others took refuge in *Africk*. Thus was the government by twelve diſſolved, after it had ſubſiſted fifteen years[k].

Year of the Flood, 2329. Year before Chriſt 670.

HITHERTO the *Egyptian* hiſtory has been covered with an impenetrable miſt: it now begins to clear up a little. PSAMMITICHUS of the tribe of *Saïs*, thus poſſeſſed of the whole kingdom of *Egypt*, reigned with as much wiſdom, magnanimity, and ſplendour as any of his predeceſſors. He was the ſon of *Nechus*, whom *Sabbaco* put to death when he conquered *Egypt*: and had he not fled into *Syria*, would have ſhared in his father's fate. He made good his engagements with his allies, and over and above preſented them with certain lands on each ſide of the *Nile*, and called their ſettlements *the Camp*. He alſo put ſeveral children under their tuition, that they might be inſtructed in the *Grecian* language; and thoſe who afterwards performed the office of interpreter deſcended from theſe. They had their ſituation near the ſea, below the city of *Bubaſtis* in the *Peluſian* mouth of the *Nile*: and here they continued till *Amaſis* removed them to *Memphis*, as will be ſhewn in its proper place. However, it is here proper to obſerve, that theſe *Grecians* are ſaid to have been the firſt foreigners that were permitted to dwell in *Egypt*; and that from the intercourſe and correſpondence which was conſtantly kept up between them and their countrymen in *Greece*, we are well aſſured of the truth and exactneſs of the *Egyptian* hiſtory from the days of *Pſammitichus*.

Pſammitichus *gives great encouragement to the* Greeks.

His public buildings.

CONCERNING the public edifices he erected, there is ſome diſcrepancy: *Herodotus* ſays, he added the ſouthern, and *Diodorus*, that he added the eaſtern portico to the temple of *Vulcan*. The former ſays, that he built a ſpacious edifice oppoſite to this portico, for the reception of the god *Apis* whenever he ſhould appear; and that it was enriched with ſculptures,

[i] HERODOT. ubi ſupr. [k] DIOD. ubi ſupr.

and

and ſurrounded by gigantic ſtatues of twelve cubits high, inſtead of pillars. The latter, that he encompaſſed the temple with a wall, in which he ſubſtituted coloſſuſes inſtead of pilaſters *. Year of the Flood, 2329. Year before Chriſt 670.

Now in conſideration of the fidelity and warlike experience of the foreigners, by whoſe aid he ſeated himſelf on the throne, he always kept ſome of their countrymen in pay, and went ſo far as to compliment them with the poſt of honour, when he marched his army into *Syria*, where he warred many years. This ſo incenſed the *Egyptians*, that upwards of 200,000 deſerted him, and marched off in a body. Perceiving his error in thus affronting his own ſubjects, he at firſt ſent ſome of the chief officers after them to excuſe the matter: but finding that their perſuaſions had no effect, he took ſhipping with ſome of his friends, and overtook them on the banks of the *Nile*. And there entreating them to halt, in conſideration of all the natural obligations that could endear their country to them, their gods, and fireſides, they unanimouſly ſtruck their ſpears upon their ſhields, and cried out, that, as long as they had arms, they did not doubt but they ſhould find a convenient country to ſettle in: then betraying their nakedneſs, that they ſhould never want wives and children whilſt they were ſo perfect. This done, they ſullenly marched on till they came into the territories of *Æthiopia*, where they ſat down on a fertile ſpot, and dwelt there. *His wars.*

To repair this loſs, he earneſtly applied himſelf to the advancement of commerce, and opened his ports to all ſtrangers, whom he greatly careſſed, contrary to the cruel or reſerved maxims of his predeceſſors. At the ſame time that he was thus intent upon his affairs at home, he alſo entered into, or renewed an alliance with the *Athenians*, and others of the *Greeks* [l]. But his reign is for nothing more remarkable than for the long and tedious ſiege he laid to *Azotus* in *Syria*, on the borders of *Egypt*, and which a ſhort time before had been taken by *Aſar-haddon*, king of *Babylon*; for it was twenty nine years before he reduced it [m]. His conduct towards the *Scythians*, who about this time conquered the *Medes*, and poſſeſſed themſelves of *Aſia*, and were now marching with deſign to pour themſelves into *Egypt*, is highly commended: For, inſtead of oppoſing them, he joined them in *Syria*, and by his preſents and entreaties prevailed on them to march back again [n]. After a reign of fifty four years [o] he died, and was buried in the temple of *Bubaſtis*, or *Minerva*, at *Saïs*, the *Opens the ports of* Egypt *to ſtrangers.* *His ſiege of* Azotus, *and tranſaction with the* Scythians.

* HERODOT. ubi ſupr. DIOD. ubi ſup. p. 61. [l] Idem ibid.
[m] HERODOT. ubi ſupr. [n] Idem l. 1. [o] Idem l. 2.

place

place where all the *Saïtic* kings were depoſited. He is reported to have been the firſt king of *Egypt* that drank wine [p], to have ſent to diſcover the ſprings of the *Nile* [q], and to have made an experiment to find out which was the moſt antient nation in the world: to which purpoſe he got two new-born children, and brought them up after ſuch a manner, that they never heard any body ſpeak; and becauſe when at two years old they pronounced a word (*beccos*) which ſignified bread in the *Phrygian* tongue, the *Egyptians* no longer vaunted of their ſeniority before all other nations, but ſubmitted to the *Phrygians* [r].

Year of the Flood, 2383. Year before Chriſt 616.

NECHUS was the ſon and ſucceſſor of PSAMMITICHUS. He is the *Pharaoh-Necho* of ſcripture. He was a prince of a magnificent and warlike genius, and great both at land and ſea. In the beginning of his reign he attempted to cut a canal from the *Nile* to the *Red Sea* [s]; and after the loſs of 120,000 of thoſe employed on this work, he was warned by an oracle to deſiſt, and leave the finiſhing of it to a *Barbarian*, or foreigner. The oracle he obeyed; but thenceforward turning his thoughts towards warlike enterprizes, he built a fleet of gallies in the northern [*mediterranean*] ſea, and another in the ſtraits of the *Arabian* gulph, where footſteps of his naval preparations were ſeen many ages afterwards. The warlike actions of this naval force, if any, are no where extant; but, as his mind was bent upon the empire of the ſea, he ſent ſome of the experteſt *Phœnician* mariners he could procure to go out upon a diſcovery of the *African* coaſts. Accordingly, ſailing out of the *Red Sea* through the ſtraits of *Babelmandel*, as now called, they ſteered down the eaſtern ſhores of *Afric*; and doubling the *Cape* of *Good-Hope*, coaſted up northward, till they came to the ſtraits of *Gibraltar*; by which they entered into the *Mediterranean*, and ſo returned into *Egypt*; and this voyage they performed in three years [t].

Nechus. *Affects the empire of the ſea,*

His wars at land.

HE was not only great at ſea, but was alſo formidable by land. *Joſephus* following *Cteſias* ſays, that he made war upon the *Medes* and *Babylonians*; who had juſt then diſſolved the *Aſſyrian* monarchy, and were grown dreadful to the nations far and near [u]: but the ſcripture expreſly ſays, that he went out againſt the king of *Aſſyria*, who was then on the river *Euphrates*, perhaps at *Babylon*. In his march thither, *Joſiah* king of *Judah*, refuſed to let him paſs through *Judæa*, and drew up an army to prevent his deſign, which was to beſiege

[p] Eudox. apud PLUTARCH. de Iſide & Oſiride, p. 333. [q] HEROD. ubi ſupr. & ATHENÆUS, l. 8. p. 345. [r] HEROD. ubi ſupr. [s] See Vol. I. p. 115. [t] Idem ibid. [u] JOSEPHUS Antiq. l. 10. c. 6.

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Carchemiſh [w]. Finding therefore that *Joſiah* oppoſed him, he ſent meſſengers to him to remonſtrate, that his arms were not taken up with deſign to do *Joſiah* the leaſt prejudice; that the war, he was going to engage in, was undertaken by the expreſs command of God; wherefore he would do well not to incur the wrath of heaven by withſtanding its decree. But, finding that *Joſiah* gave no ear to this, he reſolved to give him battle; and both armies being drawn up in the valley of *Megiddo* (or *Magdolus*, as *Herodotus* has it [x]), *Joſiah* was wounded mortally with an arrow, as he was driving his chariot up and down the ranks; and perceiving his end to be near, he commanded his army to retreat, and *Necho* held on his march [y]. He arrived on the banks of the *Euphrates*, and there overthrew the king of *Aſſyria*, and took the great city of *Carchemiſh*; where he lodged a ſufficient gariſon, and after three months returned towards *Egypt* [z]. As he drew near to *Jeruſalem*, he heard that *Jehoahaz* had taken upon him to be king; and ſending him an order to meet him at *Riblah* in *Syria*, he there bound him in chains, and ſent him away priſoner to *Egypt*. After which he went to *Jeruſalem*, and made *Eliakim*, whoſe name he changed into *Jehoiakim*, king over *Judah*, impoſing on him at the ſame time a tribute of an hundred talents of ſilver, and one talent of gold [a]. And thus he became maſter of *Judæa* and *Syria*. *Herodotus* ſays, that he took the great and mountainous city of *Cadytis* in *Paleſtine*, which is very rationally underſtood to mean *Jeruſalem*. It is plain *Nechus* was there; but it is almoſt as plain that he entered it in a peaceful manner [b]. Hitherto then he was ſucceſsful in his wars, by which he weakened the declining power of *Aſſyria*; which very ſoon after ceaſed to give name to a monarchy: and in commemoration of his good fortune, or in gratitude to the god, he is ſaid to have conſecrated the garments he wore in theſe actions to *Apollo*, and ſent them to *Branchis* in the land of the *Mileſians* [c].

Year of the Flood, 2383. Year before Chriſt 616.

BUT he did not long enjoy his new acquiſitions; for, about three years afterwards, *Nebuchadnezzar* came from *Babylon*, which, in conjunction with *Media*, had ſubverted the *Aſſyrian* empire, deſigning to drive the *Egyptians* from *Charchemiſh*, and recover the *Syrian* and *Phœnician* provinces, which *Necho* had ſubdued [d]. But he, no way daunted at the formi-

His turn of fortune.

[w] 2 Kings xxiii. 29. 2 Chron. xxxv. ver. 20. [x] HEROD. ubi ſupr. [y] 2 Chronic. xxxv. v. 24. JOSEPHUS Antiq. ubi ſupr. [z] Idem ibid. [a] 2 Kings xxiii. v. 33. [b] Vid. PRIDEAUX Connect. p. 56, 57. HEROD. ubi ſupr. [c] Idem ibid. [d] Jerem. xlvi. 1, 2. 2 Kings xxiv. 7.

dable

dable power of this newly-erected monarchy, marched towards the *Euphrates* with a very numerous army, againſt *Nebuchadnezzar*; but in the end *Necho* was routed with a terrible ſlaughter, and loſt *Carchemiſh*, and all *Syria* and *Judæa*, quite home to *Peluſium* [e]. He afterwards entered into a confederacy with *Jehoiakim*, and made as if he intended to renew the war againſt the *Babylonians*; but he did nothing of moment afterwards, nor ſtirred out of *Egypt*; and died about eight years after he had been defeated by *Nebuchadnezzar* [f], having reigned ſixteen, and left his ſon *Pſammis* to ſucceed him in the kingdom [g].

Year of the Flood, 2399. Year before Chriſt, 600.

Pſammis.

In the reign of Psammis the ſon of *Necho* there came ambaſſadors into *Egypt* from the *Elæans*, to know, if the moſt ſage *Egyptians* could add any thing to their regulations concerning the olympic games, or could perceive any defect in them. When the king was informed of their buſineſs, he called a council of the wiſeſt heads in the nation, and ſending for the ambaſſadors to come before this aſſembly, he aſked them, if their own citizens were allowed to contend at their games: to which they anſwered in the affirmative. Whereupon the *Egyptians* pronounced, that they erred from all the rules of hoſpitality; obſerving, that it was natural for them to favour their fellow-citizens more than ſtrangers. That if they were come to be informed concerning what ought, or ought not to be done, in the matter they had propoſed, the moſt equitable law they could make, would be to exclude their own countrymen, and admit none but ſtrangers to contend for the prizes. *Pſammis* reigned ſix years, and died in an expedition againſt the *Ethiopians*, leaving his ſon *Apries* to ſucceed him [h].

Year of the Flood, 2405. Year before Chriſt, 594.

Apries.

Apries is the *Pharaoh-hophra* of ſcripture. The firſt of his reign was great and proſperous; the laſt inſolent and miſerable. In the firſt year of his reign he received ambaſſadors from *Zedekiah* king of *Judah*, and with them he entered into league, promiſing to aſſiſt their king againſt the king of *Babylon* [i]; and about two years afterwards marched out of *Egypt* with ſeeming intent to relieve *Jeruſalem*, then cloſely beſieged by *Nebuchadnezzar*; who no ſooner heard of his motions than he raiſed the ſiege, and reſolved to meet *Apries* half way [k]. He did ſo; but the *Egyptians*, afraid of venturing a battle, retreated as faſt as the *Babylonians* approached, and ſo continued till they had fallen back into their own country [l], leaving

His affairs with the Jews.

[e] Josephus ubi ſupr. [f] 2 Kings xxiv. 7. Josephus ubi ſupr. [g] Herod. ubi ſupr. [h] Idem ibid. [i] Ezek. xvii. 15. [k] Jerem. xxxvii. 5. [l] Idem xxxvii. 7.

the

the *Jews* to the mercileſs rage of their enemy, in contempt of the moſt ſolemn engagements. And for this breach of faith it was, that *Ezekiel* denounced the heavy doom againſt them, that they ſhould be confounded and deſolate for forty years enſuing [m]; and that afterwards they ſhould degenerate to ſo baſe a degree, as not to have it in their power ever to ſet up a king of their own for the time to come [n]; which will be ſeen accompliſhed in the courſe of this hiſtory. The ſcriptures paint him in very diſadvantageous colours, and in the end threaten him with a violent death; which came to paſs, as we ſhall ſee anon. In the mean time it may not be amiſs to take notice, that *Herodotus* gives this king twenty five years of greater proſperity than any of his predeceſſors, except *Pſammitichus*, had enjoyed; though *Diodorus* allows his whole reign no more than twenty two years. However, they both agree in giving him the character of a martial prince, and ſpeak of ſucceſsful wars which he waged, both by ſea and land, againſt the *Tyrians* and *Sidonians*, and *Cypriots* [o]. The city of *Sidon* he took by ſtorm, and vanquiſhed both the *Phœnicians* and *Cypriots* in a ſeafight; and returned with immenſe ſpoil into *Egypt* [p]. And all this no way claſhes with what the ſacred writings record of him; but is rather conſonant therewith: For ſure it muſt have been a mighty king, in whom the *Jews* dared to confide againſt the monarch of *Babylon*. And as to the feint *Apries* made to relieve *Jeruſalem* and his ſhameful retreat, that rather reflected diſhonour on him, than amounted to a misfortune. *His victories.*

BUT now, in order to harmonize the ſacred and prophane hiſtorians, let us hear the former denounce judgment againſt him, and then ſee how the latter execute it; which is the moſt obvious and diſtinct method we can think of in this caſe, where we are obliged to reſort to both. We have already in general terms obſerved, that the ſcripture threatened this king with a violent death, let us attend to the words of the prophet himſelf: *Thus ſaith the Lord, Behold, I will give* Pharaoh-hophra *king of Egypt into the hand of his enemies, and into the hand of them that ſeek his life; as I gave Zedekiah king of Judah into the hand of Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon his enemy, and that ſought his life* [q]. Many predictions of the ſame kind are uttered againſt him in *Ezekiel*, but there he is only involved with the reſt of his ſubjects, and therefore we ſhall paſs them over. We are now to ſee how his deſtruction was brought about. The *Cyrenæans*, a

[m] Ezek. xxix. v. 8, 12. [n] Idem. xxx. 13. [o] HEROD. ubi ſupr. DIOD. ubi ſupr. p. 62. [p] Idem. ibid. [q] Jerem. xliv. 30.

colony of the *Greeks*, had a very numerous acceſſion of their countrymen under their third king *Battus the happy*; and, being impelled by an oracle from the *Pythians*, fell to ſharing the lands, and unjuſtly driving the *Libyans*, their neighbours, from their poſſeſſions, their king *Andicran* ſent an embaſſy of ſubmiſſion to *Apries*, and implored his protection from the violence of theſe new comers. *Apries* condeſcended to his requeſt, and ſent a powerful army to relieve him. But the *Egyptians* were beaten by the *Cyrenæans* with ſo cruel a ſlaughter, that the few who eſcaped were incenſed with the fierceſt rage againſt their king, as if he had ſent them to certain deſtruction, in hopes that they being cut off, he might tyrannize at will over the remainder of his ſubjects. What ground there was for this clamour does not appear, but the giddy multitude were ſo taken with it, that almoſt an univerſal defection enſued. Upon news that they were embodied in a tumultuous manner, and were talking loud of a revolution, *Apries* ſent a truſty friend, as he thought, and one much reſpected by the people, called *Amaſis*, to appeaſe them. He went; but inſtead of reconciling them with *Apries*, he made intereſt with them for himſelf; and as he was pretending to reproach them, and recal them to their allegiance, one of them came behind him, put an helmet on his head, and ſaluted him king of *Egypt*; and from that inſtant he prepared himſelf to war againſt his maſter[r]. *Apries* finding himſelf ſo foully betrayed, commanded one *Patarbemis*, the moſt conſiderable of all the *Egyptians*, who as yet adhered to him, to go to the rebellious camp, and bring *Amaſis* to him alive. He obeyed; and coming in ſight of *Amaſis*, called out to him, and charged him to attend on him to the king. At this, *Amaſis*, who was ſitting on horſeback, lifted up his thigh with the utmoſt ſcorn, and breaking wind, bid him carry that back to his maſter. Notwithſtanding this, *Patarbemis* ſtill urged him to obey the royal ſummons; but all he could obtain was this anſwer from *Amaſis*, That indeed he had been ſome time preparing to viſit the king, but that he might do it in a proper manner, he would bring a ſuitable equipage along with him. *Patarbemis* had now heard and ſeen too much to imagine he ſhould ſucceed in the buſineſs he was charged with, and began to think, that the beſt ſervice he could do for *Apries*, at this conjuncture, would be to give him the moſt early notice of the poſture and temper of the rebels. He therefore returned back; but when the king ſaw him come into his preſence without *Amaſis*, he ſpoke not one word to him, but ordered his ears and noſe to be cut off. This

The cauſe of his ruin.

Is betrayed by Amaſis.

[r] Herod. ubi ſupr. Diod. ubi ſupr.

inſolent

inſolent and tyrannical behaviour compleated his ruin: for when the reſt of the *Egyptians*, who had continued faithful to him, beheld the inhuman mutilation of ſo worthy and noble a perſon, they all withdrew from him and went over to *Amaſis*. And now the tyrant on the one hand, and the uſurper on the other, prepared for war; the one having the whole body of the natives under his banner; the other only ſuch *Carians*, *Ionians*, and other mercenaries and foreigners as he could engage in his ſervice [r].

Nebuchadnezzar waſtes and plunders Egypt

DURING theſe inteſtine broils, and theſe diviſions, which muſt have greatly weakened *Egypt*, it is probable that *Nebuchadnezzar*, who much about this time broke up his thirteen years ſiege of *Tyre*, and had at laſt nothing but an empty town for his pains, took advantage of the troubled ſtate of this kingdom, in hopes here to acquire ſuch ſpoil as might make amends for what he miſſed at *Tyre*. And this is perfectly conſonant to the ſcripture, where it is ſaid; *Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon cauſed his army to ſerve a great ſervice againſt Tyrus . . . . yet had he no wages, nor his army for Tyrus . . . . Therefore, thus ſaith the Lord God, Behold, I will give the land of Egypt unto Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon . . . . and it ſhall be the wages for his army* [t]. A nation in ſuch diſtraction, as *Egypt* muſt have been in at this time, was an eaſy prey to a number of experienced veterans; and beſides, muſt have been in the moſt proper condition to gratify an army already worn out with fatigue, as the *Babylonians* doubtleſs were. *Nebuchadnezzar* therefore entered *Egypt*, and miſerably harraſſed the country, and ſlew and led away great numbers of its inhabitants; ſo that ſome think it did not recover this incurſion for forty years, as had been foretold. At length he left the country; but whether he appointed *Amaſis* for his lieutenant, or what terms he made with him, is what we do not take upon us to ſay; no more than whether *Amaſis* and *Apries* ſtood their ground, and made head againſt the enemy; or whether they left him to act his pleaſure in *Egypt*. This alone is certain, that the *Babylonian* carried away immenſe ſpoil with him.

Civil war between Apries *and* Amaſis.

AND now we reſume the civil war, which we have been obliged to interrupt, by taking a view of the devaſtation of the country by a foreign enemy. *Apries* marched from *Saïs*, where he had a moſt ſumptuous and delightful palace, at the head of 30,000 *Carians* and *Ionians*; and *Amaſis*, on the other hand, was in motion at the head of an army of *Egyptians* [u]. They met in the fields near *Memphis*; and *Apries*

[r] HEROD. ubi ſupr. [t] Ezek. xxix. 18. 19. [u] HEROD. ubi ſupr. DIOD. ubi ſupr.

was so far from doubting the victory, that he is said to have entertained a notion, That it was not in the power even of any god to divest him of his kingdom [w], as he is upbraided by the prophet, *My river is mine own, and I have made it* [x]. But his confidence availed him nothing; the armies drew up at *Memphis*, and though the foreigners did wonders, yet they were overpowered by the multitude of the *Egyptians*, and were utterly overthrown, and *Apries* himself was taken prisoner.

Year of the Flood, 2430. Year before Christ, 569. Amasis.

And now Amasis of the tribe of *Saïs* usurped the kingdom. He confined *Apries* in the palace of *Saïs*, formerly his own; and treated him with great care and respect. But the people were implacable, and could not rest whilst *Apries* enjoyed his life *: and therefore murmuring against *Amasis*, and remonstrating that his lenity was wrong applied in extending it to his and their common enemy, he found himself under a necessity of delivering *Apries* into their hands. And now, being fallen under the power of those who *sought his life* [y], they strangled him, and laid his body in the sepulchre of his ancestors, which was in the temple of *Minerva*, adjoining to the palace, on the left hand going in. Here it was that all the princes of the tribe of *Saïs* were intombed [z].

Apries is strangled.

We know it is said, that *Amasis* did not thus seat himself on the throne; and that he did not succeed *Apries*. It was one *Partamis*, say they, whom *Amasis* succeeded, and that, by the following incident. *Partamis* celebrating his birth-day, *Amasis*, as yet a private person, presented him with a most beautiful and elegant garland of flowers: whereupon being invited to the table as a guest, and thenceforward added to the number of the king's friends; he was at last sent at the head of an army to reduce the *Egyptians* who had rebelled; but the army made him king, out of the hatred they bore to *Partamis* [a]. We are inclined to think, that the *Partamis* here and the *Patarbemis* above are the same man; and if so, he was rather the idol of the people's affections, than the object of their hatred. But we forbear enlarging any farther on this, and shall only say, that our author, in which we find this, is not always the most faithful transcriber.

Whoever *Amasis* succeeded, and which way soever he came by the crown, it is commonly allowed, that he was of plebeian extraction. And perceiving at first, that it was with reluctance the people payed him the respect due to the sublimity of his station, he took a golden cistern, in which his guests were used to wash their feet, and ordered it to be melted

[w] Herod. ubi supr. [x] Ezek. xxix. 3. * Plato in Tim.
[y] Jerem. ubi supr. [z] Herod. ubi supr. [a] Hellanic. apud Athenæ *Deipno.* l. 15. p. 680.

down,

down, and caſt in the ſhape of a god. This precious idol was ſet up in the moſt frequented part of the city; and all paid devout reverence and honour to it. He then called an aſſembly of the *Egyptians*, and acquainted them, That the god they now worſhipped was made of the veſſel in which they had often piſſed, vomited, and waſhed their feet: that his own caſe was the ſame; formerly he was a mean perſon, but, being now their king, he expected and required to be honoured and obeyed as ſuch. It was a rule with him to attend cloſely to buſineſs every morning, and to divert himſelf with his friends the remainder of the day, drinking and making merry with them: but his mirth was ſomewhat of too low an allay for a king; at which ſome of his friends were ſcandalized, and aſſured him, that ſuch forgetfulneſs of his dignity would draw the contempt of all his ſubjects upon him. To this he replied, that as a bow always bent would undoubtedly loſe much of its ſpring and energy, and in the end be wholly uſeleſs; ſo a man, who ſhould uninterruptedly attend upon ſerious matters, would grow ſtupid and loſe his ſenſes: and being perfectly convinced of this truth, he was determined to divide his time between buſineſs and diverſion. And indeed it is ſaid of him, that when a private man, he delighted in his cup and his jeſt; and was ſo averſe to buſineſs, that he ſupported himſelf in his riot and luxury by thieving. And in conſequence of this heinous practice, being oftentimes accuſed, and continually denying his guilt, they were uſed to carry him to the oracle of the place, wherever he was, by which he was ſometimes convicted, and ſometimes acquitted. When he came to the throne, he recollected the former tranſactions of his life, and calling to mind the deceitfulneſs and ignorance of the oracles, who had pronounced him innocent, he ſlighted the temples of ſuch gods, abſtained from their ſacrifices, and refuſed to preſent them with any donations. On the contrary, he highly revered thoſe for veracity and omniſcience, who had charged him with his odious crime.

The public works of Amaſis.

HE built a portico to the temple of *Minerva* at *Saïs*, which was of the utmoſt magnificence, both in the vaſtneſs of its proportion, and the maſſiveneſs of the materials, adorning it with coloſſuſes, and the monſtrous images of *Androſphynges*. Part of the ſtones of this building were taken out of the quarries at *Memphis*; but the largeſt of them came by water from the city of *Elephantis*, twenty days paſſage on the river, and a great many of theſe he prepared for other works. But what is moſt to be admired, he removed a houſe all of one ſtone from the ſame city to *Saïs*. The exterior dimenſions of it were twenty one cubits in front, fourteen deep, and eight high;

high: the interior meaſures were eighteen cubits, twelve, and five. Two thouſand mariners were employed three years in tranſporting this extraordinary edifice. It ſtood near the entrance of the temple, and was never carried quite in, either, as was ſaid, becauſe the chief engineer ſighed one day, as if he was tired out with the work, and therefore *Amaſis*, who ſtood by, taking offence, would never ſuffer him to have any thing more to do with it; or, becauſe rolling it in towards the temple, one of the men was cruſhed to death by it, and therefore might not be advanced any farther. He was very magnificent in the gifts and ornaments he beſtowed upon the other celebrated temples, and particularly at *Memphis*; where, before the temple of *Vulcan*, he cauſed a coloſſus of ſeventy five foot in length to be laid on its back, the face looking upwards: and on the ſame baſis, or pavement, whereon this lay, he erected two ſtatues of twenty foot high, cut out of the ſame ſtone, and ſtanding one on each ſide of the great one. In *Saïs* there was juſt ſuch another coloſſus as this. To conclude on this head, he built the great temple of *Iſis* at *Memphis*.

The ſtate of Egypt *under him, and his laws.*

Moreover, *Egypt* is ſaid to have been perfectly happy during his reign, in the fecundation of the *Nile*, and to have now contained no leſs than 20,000 populous cities. And, that good order might the better ſubſiſt in the midſt of ſo vaſt a multitude, *Amaſis* enacted a law, whereby every *Egyptian* was bound once a year to inform the governor of the province by what means he earned his living, and in default thereof to ſuffer death; which alſo was the puniſhment now ordained for thoſe who were not able to give a very ſatisfactory account of themſelves [b]: and for this, and for other laws he enacted, he is ſtiled the fifth law-giver of *Egypt* [c].

Is very favourable to all the Greeks.

He was a great friend to the *Greeks*, and had a viſit from *Solon* *. And, beſides the favours he conferred on particular perſons and cities of that nation, he allowed as many as pleaſed to come into *Egypt*, and either to ſettle in the moſt celebrated mart of *Naucratis*, or drive on their trade upon the ſea-coaſts; and granted them places where they might erect altars and temples to their own deities. Accordingly they erected ſeveral temples, the moſt frequented and noted of which was called the *Grecian* temple, being built at the joint charge of the *Ionian* cities of *Chios*, *Teos*, *Phocæa*, and *Clazomenæ*; together with the *Dorians* of *Rhodes*, *Cnidus*, *Halicarnaſſus*, *Phaſelis*; and of the *Æolians* only the city

[b] See Vol. I. p. 441. Herod. ubi ſupr. [c] Diod. ubi ſupr. p. 85. * Herod. lib. 1.

of

of *Mytelene*. Thoſe of *Ægina* alſo built a temple to *Jupiter* at their ſole expence; the *Samians* another to *Juno*, and the *Milleſians*, a third to *Apollo*. And to conclude, the *Greeks* elected officers to preſide over their commercial affairs, and over their religion, and from henceforward were a conſiderable body in *Egypt*.

So great was the fame of *Amaſis* for his generoſity and humanity, that when the *Delphians*, whoſe temple had been burnt, were going about from city to city to raiſe ſuch a contribution, as might enable them to pay that part of the expence which was impoſed on them, they applied not only to the *Greeks* in *Egypt*, but alſo to *Amaſis* himſelf, who gave them a thouſand talents of allom. He made an alliance with the *Cyrenæans*, and being deſirous of a *Grecian* woman, or elſe willing to give an ample teſtimony of the affection he had for that people, he married *Ladice*, the daughter of *Battus*, according to ſome; but others ſaid, ſhe was daugher of *Arceſilaus*; and others again, of *Critobulus*, a perſon of high authority among the *Cyrenæans*. This marriage was very extraordinary in its beginning, and could not be conſummated without the intervention of a deity. For *Amaſis*, though he at the ſame time found no impediment in himſelf with regard to other women, was ſenſible of a total inability in reference to his wife. Whereupon he, after ſome time, concluded, ſhe had inchanted him, and practiſed ſome infernal art to debilitate him; and therefore told her one night as they lay together, That as deeply verſed as ſhe was in ſupernatural contrivances, ſhe ſhould not have it in her power to eſcape the vengeance he intended to take on her, for the wickedneſs and ingratitude ſhe had been guilty of towards him. She earneſtly denied the unkind accuſation, and endeavoured to give him a better opinion of her; but in vain. In this diſtreſs ſhe ſighed out a prayer to *Venus*, and implored her aid, vowing, in caſe of deliverance, to ſend a ſtatue of her to *Cyrene*, and erect it there. The goddeſs was propitious, and *Amaſis* found himſelf like other men (the only expedient that could be effectual in this extremity), and continued to uſe *Ladice* as his wife, with the greateſt tenderneſs and affection. *Ladice* performed her vow to the goddeſs, whoſe ſtatue ſet up by her was ſeen without the gates of *Cyrene* ſome ages afterwards. This miracle, as it was doubtleſs called, brought the gods of the *Grecians* into as much credit with *Amaſis* as themſelves; as ſhould ſeem by his conſecrated donations to *Greece*. To the city of *Cyrene* he ſent a gilded ſtatue of *Minerva*, and his own picture done from the life. To the city of *Lindus* he gave two ſtone ſtatues of the ſame goddeſs, with a linen pectoral,

Marries a Greek.

A miracle.

His conſecrated donations to Greece.

toral, or ſtomacher, wonderfully wrought and adorned. To *Samos* he ſent two wooden images of himſelf, which were ſeen ſtanding, ſeveral ages afterwards, behind the gates of the great temple of *Juno*. This donation he made to *Samos* for the ſake of *Polycrates*, with whom he was in eſpecial alliance. As for *Lindus*, it was reported, that the daughters of *Danaus* founded the temple of *Minerva* there, when they fled from the ſons of *Ægyptus*. And add to all the great things which have been hitherto ſaid of him, he was the firſt that ſubdued *Cyprus*, and that exacted tribute from the *Cypriots* its inhabitants [d].

Conquers Cyprus.

HITHERTO we have repreſented this reign in the majeſtic colours the *Egyptian* prieſts beſtowed on it; and under ſo prudent a prince, as it is likely *Amaſis* was, the greateſt part of what they ſaid may be true enough: but they dwelt ſo much on the glory of this reign, as well as of thoſe that preceded it, as to forget all the ignominy that was mixed with it. *Xenophon* writes, that *Cyrus* conquered *Egypt* [e]; and if ſo, it muſt have been during this long reign; and *Herodotus* ſays, that *Amaſis* and *Cræſus* were leagued together againſt *Cyrus* [f]. It is certain, that *Nebuchadnezzar* almoſt ruined the whole kingdom; but we find no acknowledgment of it among prophane authors, who, ſo far as they have touched upon the *Egyptians*, have copied their archives, or depended upon the oral traditions of their prieſts. But now that it was no longer in their power to conceal their diſhonour, they frankly confeſſed it. For, according to themſelves, the latter days of *Amaſis* were darkened by a dreadful ſtorm, which threatened the utter ruin of *Egypt*; and, though he died juſt ſoon enough to eſcape the rage of it, yet his dead body was ſo cruelly abuſed and deſtroyed, that could he have been ſenſible of the hard fate he was doomed to in that particular, he, according to the *Egyptian* ſuperſtition, would have thought the loſs of his kingdom a trifle, if compared with it.

His latter days unhappy.

FOR by ſome means or other *Amaſis* had incenſed *Cambyſes* the *Perſian* (who was naturally a raſh and hot-headed prince) againſt him to ſo implacable a degree, as has ſcarce its parallel in the hiſtory of any nation. The ſeeds from whence this enmity ſprang are not poſitively, nor perhaps at all, known to us. On one hand it is ſaid, That *Amaſis* ſending an *Egyptian* oculiſt to *Cyrus* king of *Perſia*, who had deſired to have the beſt in his kingdom; the man, whoſe fortune it was

and why.

[d] HEROD. ubi ſupr. DIOD. ubi ſupr. [e] CYROPÆDIA ſub. fine. [f] HEROD. l. 1.

to

to be choſen by the king for this purpoſe, took it much at heart, that he ſhould be thus as it were exiled from his wife and children, and ſent into *Perſia*; and eſpecially ſince *Cyrus* had deſired the beſt oculiſt in *Egypt*, which he was conſcious was not himſelf. The angry *Egyptian* continuing in *Perſia*, and plainly perceiving the turbulent genius of *Cambyſes*, prevailed on him to ſend an herald to *Amaſis*, to demand his daughter to wife, aſſured, that whether *Amaſis* complied with this requeſt or not, he ſhould have his full meaſure of revenge on him. *Cambyſes* hearkened to this man, and did as he had ſuggeſted. When the *Perſian* herald came to *Amaſis* he knew not which way to reſolve: he dreaded the *Perſian* power if he refuſed, and was aſhamed of the diſhonour which muſt be reflected on his family if he complied, knowing, that inſtead of being a wife, his daughter would be no better than the *Perſian*'s concubine. At laſt he bethought him, that his predeceſſor was ſurvived by an only daughter, of great beauty and majeſtic deportment, called *Nitetis*. Her therefore he ſent, with all the pomp and ſplendour befitting his own daughter, to *Cambyſes* in *Perſia*; who, when he ſaw her, ſaluted her by the title of daughter to *Amaſis*. To this ſhe immediately anſwered, that *Amaſis* had deceived him; that ſhe was not his daughter; but the unhappy child of the unfortunate *Apries*, whom *Amaſis* had put to death, and whoſe throne he had ungratefully uſurped. At this *Cambyſes* was fired with indignation, and vowed deſtruction to *Amaſis*. This was the ſtory the *Perſians* told: but this is not likely to be true; for at this time *Nitetis* muſt have been ſomewhat upwards of forty years old, or at leaſt near it; and therefore but ill qualified for the bed of *Cambyſes*. But ſecondly, the *Egyptians*, to give themſelves ſome credit, even in this deſtructive miſunderſtanding, claimed kindred with *Cambyſes*, and ſaid, that it was *Cyrus* who ſent for the daughter of *Amaſis*, and that *Cambyſes* was the ſon of *Nitetis*. This may give a better account of the dreadful malice he wreaked upon *Amaſis*, in revenge of his unhappy grandfather *Apries*; which, as is ſaid, he was excited to by his mother. But *Herodotus* declares it was contrary to the cuſtom of the *Perſians* to admit of a ſon of the half-blood to ſucceed as heir to the kingdom. Thirdly, it was reported, that a *Perſian* lady being admitted to the preſence of the king's women, and admiring the children of *Caſſandana*, was anſwered by her, That notwithſtanding ſhe was the wife of *Cyrus* and the mother of thoſe fine children, yet he neglected her, and preferred an *Egyptian* ſervant, meaning *Nitetis*, before her: which *Cambyſes* her eldeſt ſon, at that time but ten years of age, hearing, told her,

her, that when he came to be a man he would for her ſake ruin all *Egypt*. This, ſay they, he remembered, and acted accordingly. But, notwithſtanding what is here ſaid, we chooſe to think with Dr. *Prideaux*, that *Amaſis* having ſubjected himſelf a *tributary* to *Cyrus*, upon his death withdrew his obedience from his ſucceſſor. Having thus laid before you the ſeveral cauſes of this war, as we find them, we leave *Cambyſes* to his preparation for it, and return to *Amaſis*.

Amaſis *is betrayed by* Phanes *of* Halicarnaſſus.

WHILST this cloud was gathering, *Phanes* of *Halicarnaſſus*, a commander of the *Grecian* auxiliaries, in the pay of *Amaſis*, took ſome private diſguſt, and embarked from *Egypt* to go into *Perſia*. He was a prudent counſellor, and a valiant captain, and perfectly well acquainted with every thing that related to *Egypt*; and beſides, had great credit with the *Greeks* in theſe dominions. *Amaſis* was immediately ſenſible how great the loſs of this man would be to him, and how much he had it in his power to ſtrengthen the hands of *Cambyſes*, or any prince elſe, who ſhould undertake to invade him; and therefore in all haſte he ſent a truſty eunuch with a ſwift galley to purſue him; and he was taken in *Lycia*. However, he was not brought back to *Egypt*; for making his guard drunk, he continued his way to *Perſia*, and preſented himſelf to *Cambyſes*, as he was meditating the downfal of *Egypt*, which he forwarded by his counſel and diſcoveries, as *Amaſis* had dreaded[g].

Makes Polycrates *his enemy.*

WE have already obſerved, that there had been an eſpecial harmony between *Amaſis* and *Polycrates* the tyrant of *Samos*; but, a miſunderſtanding ariſing between them, *Polycrates*, when occaſion offered, joined *Cambyſes* againſt his former *Egyptian* ally. For *Amaſis*, receiving continual accounts of the uninterrupted ſucceſſes and depredations of this *Samian*, feared, that in the end ſome heavy diſaſter would fall upon him, equal to the glory of his triumphs; and therefore ſent him this letter, adviſing him as follows: *Amaſis* to *Polycrates* ſpeaketh thus.----*It is with pleaſure I hear of the happy ſtate of my friend and ally. Nevertheleſs I fear for thy great proſperities, knowing the unſtableneſs of fortune. For my part, I ſhould rather chooſe, that my affairs and thoſe alſo of my friends, ſhould be ſometimes proſperous and ſometimes unhappy, than have them go on with continued ſucceſs. Therefore do thou now hearken to my counſel, and do as I ſhall bid thee, to take away from thy happineſs: conſider then with thyſelf what thou poſſeſſeſt of greateſt value to thyſelf; and what would the moſt*

[g] HEROD. l. 2.

bitterly

bitterly grieve thee if loſt: and when thou haſt found it, caſt it away from thee, ſo that it may never more be beheld by man. If thy happineſs, after this, knoweth no mixture of evil, preſerve thyſelf againſt the ſorrow that may come upon thee, by repeating the remedy I have ſhewn thee. When *Amaſis* heard that *Polycrates* had taken his advice, and had accordingly thrown a very valuable ſignet into the ſea, but that it was found a few days afterwards in the belly of a fiſh, and reſtored to him; he gave him over as the moſt unhappy of men, and dreading to partake as a friend in ſome diſmal calamity, which he feared muſt befal him, he diſpatched a herald to *Samos* to renounce the alliance, and all the obligations between him and *Polycrates*, that he might not mourn his misfortune with the ſorrow of a friend [h]. *Amaſis*, by thus diſſolving the cement of this conjunction, left *Polycrates* to act againſt him, if his inclination led him ſo to do; and accordingly he offered a fleet of ſhips to *Cambyſes* to aſſiſt him in his invaſion of *Egypt*. Thus we ſee *Amaſis* in danger of an inexorable, cruel, and moſt powerful enemy, in concert with a diſguſted and formidable friend. But before the dreadful day came his life ended, after he had reigned forty four years. His dead body was embalmed, and depoſited in a ſepulchre he had built for himſelf in the temple at *Saïs*; but there, to ſpeak in the antient *Egyptian* phraſe, he enjoyed but a ſhort repoſe, as will be ſeen hereafter. He was ſucceeded by his ſon, called *Pſammenitus*.

His death.

Year of the Flood, 2474. Year before Chriſt, 525.

THIS following reign, in which *Egypt* ſubmitted to a foreign yoke, was of very ſhort duration, and deeply calamitous. For PSAMMENITUS the ſon of *Amaſis* was ſcarce ſeated on the throne, when he was forced to put himſelf at the head of an army, with which he marched to *Peluſium*, and there encamped to receive the *Perſian*, who now drew near to vent his fury upon *Egypt*. Under this new king a fearful prodigy happened: ſhowers of rain fell at *Thebes*, where it had never been known to rain before. This was doubtleſs conſtrued to portend a change, and a great one ſoon followed it: for now *Cambyſes*, by the aid and aſſiſtance of the king of *Arabia*, and the politic counſel of *Phanes*, had croſſed the dry and ſandy deſerts, and coming in ſight of the *Egyptian* camp, immediately drew up to give them battle. The *Egyptians* prepared themſelves for an aſſault, and in the interim their *Carian* and *Ionian* auxiliaries gave a dreadful inſtance of their zeal in the cauſe of *Pſammenitus*, and deteſtation of their traiterous countryman *Phanes*. For they led his ſons he had

Pſammenitus.

He is overthrown by Cambyſes

[h] Idem l. 3.

left

left behind him out of the camp, and butchered them over a bowl, which received their blood in ſight of the father and his new friends; and pouring wine and water into the ſame, drank of that cruel and unnatural mixture, and then began the onſet. The fight was obſtinately maintained on both ſides; but in the end the *Egyptians* gave ground and fled in great confuſion to *Memphis*. Here they ſoon after were guilty of a horrid and imprudent outrage towards a herald, whom *Cambyſes* ſent to them in a ſhip of *Mytelene*; for they no ſooner ſaw her come into the port than they flocked down to the ſhore, and deſtroyed the ſhip, and tore the *Perſian* herald and all the crew to pieces, carrying their mangled limbs in a barbarous triumph into the city. Not long after, they were cloſely beſieged by the *Perſians*, and in the end obliged to ſurrender: and ſo fell the glory of *Egypt*. The news of this ſtruck ſuch a terror upon the minds of the *Libyans*, *Cyrenæans*, and *Barcæns*, that they humbled themſelves to *Cambyſes*, and implored his protection.

Taken priſoner, and loſes his kingdom.

The particulars of his captivity.

Upon the tenth day after *Memphis* had been taken, *Pſammenitus* and the chief of the *Egyptian* nobility were ſent ignominiouſly into the ſuburbs of that city, to act a part in one of the moſt doleful tragedies that can be conceived: for, being there ſeated in a proper place, he ſaw his daughter coming along in the habit of a poor ſlave, with a pitcher to fetch water from the river, and followed by the daughters of the greateſt families in *Egypt*, all in the ſame miſerable garb, and going on the ſame errand, with pitchers in their hands; all weeping and wailing with the utmoſt lamentation. When the fathers ſaw their children in this diſtreſs, and reduced to ſo ſordid a degradation, they burſt out into tears, and could not contain themſelves, all but *Pſammenitus*, who, though ready to ſink under the burthen of his grief, only threw his eyes towards the ground, and there fixed them. Theſe paſt by, came the ſon of *Pſammenitus* and two thouſand of the chief *Egyptian* youths, all with bits in their mouths, and halters round their necks, going to be executed, to expiate the murder of the *Perſian* herald and *Mytelenæan* ſailors. But *Pſammenitus*, like one perfectly ſtupified, as they paſſed by, obſerved the very ſame conduct as before, whilſt the *Egyptians* about him cried out with the loudeſt lamentations. A ſhort ſpace afterwards he ſaw an intimate friend and companion, who, now that he was advanced in years, was plundered of all he had, and walking up and down the ſuburbs begging his bread. As ſoon as he perceived this man he wept bitterly, and calling out to him by his name, ſtruck himſelf on the head as one frantic. Now *Pſammenitus* had ſpies privately

ſet

ſet over him to mark his behaviour, and they inſtantly repaired to *Cambyſes*, and gave him a particular account of it; and ſoon after a meſſenger came from him to the captive king to know what might be the reaſon of it. To this he anſwered, "That the calamities of his own family confounded him, "and were too great to be lamented by any outward ſigns of "grief; but the diſtreſſed neceſſity of a boſom friend gave "him more room for reflection, and therefore extorted tears "from him." By this anſwer he wrought ſo much upon *Cambyſes*, that he ſent to ſtop the execution of his ſon; but his orders were given too late; for the young prince was the firſt put to death. At the ſame time *Pſammenitus* himſelf was ſent for into the city, and reſtored to his libery: and had he not betrayed a deſire of change and revenge, he might have been entruſted with the adminiſtration of *Egypt*; but being vindictively diſpoſed, he was ſeized, and condemned to drink bull's blood [i]; and ſo ended his life after a diſmal reign of ſix months, and a ſhort captivity; and with him died the antient ſplendour and liberty of *Egypt*. *and death.*

THE *Egyptians* now felt the heavy preſſure of conqueſt in a very extraordinary manner. They ſaw their late king *Amaſis* inhumanly taken out of his tomb, and cruelly mangled, and finally burnt. They ſaw their god *Apis* ſlain, and their prieſts ignominiouſly ſcourged; all which made ſuch dreadful impreſſions on the minds of the whole nation, that they afterwards bore a moſt uncommon averſion to the *Perſians*, and never reſted eaſy under their dominion. *The dead body of* Amaſis *burnt; and the god* Apis *ſlain.*

THUS were the *Egyptians* reduced to the loweſt degree of ſubmiſſion; their royal line was extinct; their religion was trampled on in the moſt outrageous manner; and themſelves perſecuted and deſpiſed for the profeſſion they made of it. Egypt *a province of the* Perſian *empire.*

A PEOPLE, who had been bred up to ſuch a ſolemn obſervance of the inſtitutions of their forefathers, muſt needs think themſelves unhappy under ſuch governors as held their laws in deriſion; and therefore they continually conſulted, how they might ſhake off the intolerable yoke of their *Perſian* oppreſſors.

AT length they broke out into an open revolt in the reign of *Darius Hyſtaſpes*, and continued in a ſtate of rebellion againſt the *Perſians* all the firſt year of *Xerxes* [k]; but in the ſecond year [l] of the ſame prince they were reduced to harder ſubjection than before, as is uſually the caſe; and had one *Achæmenes*, brother to *Xerxes*, for their governor. *The* Egyptians *revolt from the* Perſians; *but ſubdued again.*

[i] HEROD. lib. 2. [k] HEROD. lib. 7. [l] Idem ibid.

BUT

Year of the Flood, 2539. Year before Chriſt, 460.

Revolt a ſecond time, and chooſe Inarus *for their king.*

But the more ſeverity they ſuffered, the more they were exaſperated. In the fifth year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* they revolted again; choſe Inarus king of *Libya* to fill their throne; and called in the *Athenians* to their aſſiſtance, who chearfully embraced this opportunity of expelling the *Perſians* out of *Egypt* [m]. The *Egyptians* almoſt ſucceeded in their project. The *Athenians* falling on the *Perſian* fleet at ſea, took and deſtroyed fifty ſail of them; and then ſailing up the *Nile*, landed under the command of *Charitimis*, and joined the *Egyptians* and *Libyans* under *Inarus*. They all attacked *Achæmenides* the *Perſian* general, though his army was 300,000 ſtrong; of whom there fell 100,000, together with the general himſelf. The reſt betook themſelves to flight, and returned to *Memphis*; but, being purſued by the *Egyptians*, they took refuge in a very conſiderable, and by much the beſt fortified, part of that city, called the *white wall*. The *Egyptians* had the reſt of it, and blocked up the *Perſians* three years within the *white wall*.

By this ſucceſs the *Egyptians* hoped they had wrought a total deliverance for themſelves and deſcendants; but their proſperity was by no means of long duration. They were at the end of three years obliged to raiſe the ſiege of the *white wall*, by the *Perſian* army under the command of *Artabazus* governor of *Cilicia*, and *Megabyzus* governor of *Syria* [n]. In the mean time, when *Inarus* heard of the formidable preparations, which were making by theſe *Perſian* governors to relieve the beſieged, he redoubled the attacks on the *white wall*, and made the utmoſt efforts to carry it; but the *Perſians* within defended themſelves with ſuch bravery, that the *Egyptians* made no conſiderable progreſs towards the reduction of the place [o].

In the third year of this ſiege, and the ninth of *Artaxerxes*, *Inarus* and his auxiliaries were not only obliged to raiſe the ſiege of the *white wall*, but alſo defeated with a fearful ſlaughter, which fell chiefly on the *Egyptians*. In this fight *Inarus* was wounded by *Megabyzus*; but nevertheleſs he retreated with his *Athenian* confederates, and ſuch of the *Egyptians* as adhered to him, to the city of *Biblus* in the iſland of *Proſopitis*, which being waſhed on each ſide by navigable branches of the *Nile*, the *Athenian* fleet was ſtationed in one of them; and here they held out a ſiege of a year and a half. But

[m] Thucydid. lib. i. Cteſias. ſupr. Cteſias. Diod. Sic. l. xi. ubi ſupr. p. 281.

[n] Thucydid. ubi

[o] Cteſias. Diod.

the

the bulk of the *Egyptians* ſubmitted to the conqueror, and acknowledged *Artaxerxes* for their ſovereign; all but *Amyrtæus*; he retreated with a party into the *Fens*, where he ruled many years; not in the leaſt moleſted by the *Perſians*, who were never able to get at him through the inacceſſibleneſs of the place.

IN the mean time *Inarus* and his auxiliaries on the iſland of *Proſopitis* were buſy in defending themſelves againſt the *Perſians*, who attacked them with great vigour: but theſe finding that bare ſtrength was not like to effectuate a reduction of the beſieged, had recourſe to art and ſtratagem; for draining that branch of the *Nile* in which the *Athenian* fleet rode, they at once rendered the ſhipping uſeleſs, and made a paſſage, by which the whole body of their army might march over to the iſland. When *Inarus* ſaw this, he and all the *Egyptians*, and fifty of his *Athenian* auxiliaries delivered themſelves up to *Megabyzus*, on the condition of being ſecured in their lives: the reſt of the *Athenians*, being ſix thouſand in number, ſet fire to their ſhips, reſolved to die ſword in hand; which the *Perſians* perceiving, thought it adviſeable to offer them ſome reaſonable terms: and this they did, and their propoſals were accepted [p]. The *Athenians* had ſent a fleet of fifty ſail to relieve the iſland of *Proſopitis*, where their citizens were in conjunction with the *Egyptians*; but they arrived too late, and as ſoon as they entered the river were aſſaulted by the *Perſians*, both on the river and from the ſhore; ſo that they all periſhed [q]. And thus ended the war between *Inarus* king of *Egypt* and *Artaxerxes* king of *Perſia*, under whom the *Egyptians* ever afterwards kept quiet, and made no attempts to recover their liberties. *Sartamas* was appointed governor of *Egypt*, and *Inarus* was carried priſoner to *Suſa*, and was there crucified, notwithſtanding the promiſe he had of his life when he ſurrendered [r].

Inarus taken priſoner, and Egypt *reduced again to the* Perſians.

AMYRTÆUS the *Saïte* in the mean time held the *Fens*, and in the fifteenth year of *Artaxerxes* was joined by a fleet of ſixty ſail of *Athenian* ſhips [s]; but nothing of moment was tranſacted at this time to the prejudice of the *Perſians* in *Egypt*.

IN the tenth year of *Darius Nothus*, the *Egyptians* revolted once more from the *Perſians*. For *Amyrtæus*, being apprized of the diſcontents of the *Egyptians*, and that they were ripe for any attempts to regain their liberty and independance,

The Egyptians *revolt a third time, and* Amyrtæus *heads them.*

[p] THUCYDID. ubi ſupr. CTESIAS. DIOD. ubi ſupr. p. 282.
[q] THUCYDID. ubi ſupr. [r] CTESIAS. [s] PLUTARCH in vita Cimon. THUCYDID. ubi ſupr. DIOD. ubi ſupr. p.

ſallied

ſallied out of his *Fens*, and being joined by all the *Egyptians*, he drove the *Perſians* out of the kingdom, and became king of the whole country of *Egypt* [t].

Year of the Flood, 2583. Year before Chriſt, 414.

AMYRTÆUS thus in poſſeſſion of the kingdom of *Egypt* by the total expulſion of the *Perſians*, reſolved to attack them in *Phœnicia* alſo, having the *Arabians* in confederacy with him in this undertaking [u]. But he was engaged by *Darius* in perſon and overthrown; about which time *Amyrtæus* either died or was ſlain in the battle.

Amyrtæus *dies*.

PAUSIRIS his ſon ſucceeded him in the kingdom, with the conſent of the *Perſians* [w]. And now the *Egyptians*, though perhaps tributary to the *Perſians*, had a governor of their own nation to alleviate the burthen of it.

Pauſiris.

PSAMMITICHUS ſucceeded *Pauſiris*. He was deſcended from the famous *Pſammitichus*, whoſe hiſtory we have given above. He was a barbarous and ungrateful man, as appears by the only incident we have of his reign: for *Tamus*, who had been admiral in the *Perſian* ſervice, though he was a *Memphite* by birth, thinking it adviſeable for reaſons of ſtate to leave the *Perſian* ſervice, and confiding in the friendſhip of *Pſammitichus*, whom he had formerly obliged by many friendly offices, put all his family and effects on board his ſhips, and ſailed for *Egypt*. But when *Pſammitichus* heard of his arrival, and that he had brought great riches with him, he unmindful of what *Tamus* merited of him, and of all the laws of humanity and hoſpitality, fell upon him as an enemy; and having ſlain him, his family, and all his followers, ſeized on thoſe treaſures which *Tamus* hoped to have enjoyed in his native country [x]. This is all we know concerning this cruel prince.

Nephereus.

HIM ſucceeded NEPHEREUS. This king was invited by the *Lacedemonians* into a confederacy againſt the *Perſians*; and he ſent them a ſquadron of an hundred gallies to carry on the war by ſea, and 600,000 meaſures [*buſhels*] of corn for the ſubſiſtance of their army; but the veſſels, which were laden with this valuable preſent, ignorantly putting into *Rhodes*, whoſe inhabitants had juſt then thrown themſelves under the protection of the *Perſian* fleet, which then rode at anchor there under the command of *Conon* the *Athenian*, they fell a prey to him, and never reached the *Lacedemonians* [y].

[t] EUSEBIUS in Chronico. [u] DIOD. SIC. lib. 13. p. 355. [w] HEROD. lib. 3. [x] DIOD. SIC. lib. 14. p. 415. [y] Idem. ubi ſupr. p. 438. JUSTIN. lib. 6. c. 2. OROSIUS lib. 3.

ACHORIS ſucceeded *Nephereus*. He joined *Evagoras* king of *Cyprus*, and the *Arabians*, and *Tyrians*, and *Barcæans*, a people of *Libya*, againſt the *Perſians* [z]. *Achoris* ſent ſome forces to the aſſiſtance of *Evagoras*, the chief of this league, who being defeated came into *Egypt*, to engage *Achoris* to aſſiſt him with his full ſtrength; but *Achoris* could not be prevailed on to come ſo totally into his meaſures, and only diſmiſſed him with a ſupply of money, by no means equal to the neceſſitous occaſions of that diſtreſſed prince. Soon after *Gaus*, the only ſurvivor of the family of *Tamus*, whom *Pſammitichus* murdered for the ſake of his wealth, and as well as his father had been now promoted to the degree of an admiral in the *Perſian* ſervice, being diſguſted at the ill uſage of *Tiribazus*, the king of *Perſia*'s general in the former part of the *Cyprian* war againſt *Evagoras*, revolted from the *Perſians*, in which he was followed by a great part of the fleet and army; and entered into a league with *Achoris* and the *Lacedemonians*. But the year after *Gaus* was treacherouſly ſlain by ſome under him; and *Tachos*, who had undertaken to execute the ſame project, dying in the midſt of it, the whole fell to the ground, and the *Perſians* were freed from the troubleſome effects which threatened them from this new alliance [a]. Achoris.

IT was now thirty years ſince the *Egyptians* had ſhaken off the *Perſian* yoke under *Amyrtæus*, and had all along, upon all occaſions, ſignalized their averſion to the *Perſian* government. But *Artaxerxes Mnemon* being now at full leiſure to chaſtiſe them, they once more were threatened with a cruel war. Great preparations were made on both ſides. *Achoris* joined a great number of *Greeks* and other mercenaries, under the command of *Chabrias* the *Athenian*, to his own ſubjects [b]; but, the *Perſians* being pretty dilatory in their proceeding towards this war, *Achoris* died before it commenced, and was ſucceeded by

PSAMMUTHIS, who reigned only a year [c]. Pſammuthis.

AFTER him NEPHEROTES (who is called the laſt of the *Mendeſian* race) reigned four months [d]. Nepherotes.

AND then NECTANEBES, the firſt of the *Sebennytic* race *. In the ſecond year of his reign the *Perſian* army and fleet came upon his coaſts and borders, and made their attempts firſt upon *Peluſium*: but *Nectanebes* having had time ſufficient to prepare himſelf, that city and adjacencies were ſo well provided for the reception of an enemy, that no impreſſion Nectanebes. Year of the Flood, 2618. Year before Chriſt 379.

[z] THEOPOMP. in Excerpt. Photii. DIOD. SIC. lib. 15. p. 459. [a] Idem ibid. [b] Idem ubi ſupr. p. 471. [c] See Vol. I. p. 500. [d] See Vol. I. ibid. * See Vol. I. ibid.

could be made there. The commanders on the *Perſian* ſide differing in their counſels, and entertaining jealouſies of each other's glory, they did nothing in this war; for though they entered the *Mendeſian* mouth of the *Nile*, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the fortreſs that guarded it, and ſtruck the *Egyptians* with the utmoſt conſternation; yet they gave them time to recover heart again: For *Nectanebes* lodged a ſufficient garriſon in *Memphis*, and taking the field, with the reſt of his forces, ſo annoyed *Pharnabazus* the *Perſian* general, that he could make no conſiderable progreſs up the country; and the *Nile*, at the accuſtomed period, overflowing the land, the *Perſians* were obliged to march off; which they did not without conſiderable loſs[e]. Thus ended this war.

About five years afterwards, *Ageſilaus* king of *Sparta* came as an ambaſſador to *Nectanebes*, to ſollicite ſuccours for the *Lacedemonians*, then driven to great diſtreſs by the *Thebans*[f]. Seven years after this *Nectanebes* died.

Year of the Flood, 2630. Year before Chriſt 367. Tachos.

Tachos ſucceeded him. He gathered together all the ſtrength he was able, to defend his country againſt the ambitious deſigns of the *Perſians*, who notwithſtanding their many miſcarriages, had not laid aſide the thoughts of ſubjecting *Egypt* to their dominion once more.

His impolitic conduct towards Ageſilaus.

To ſtrengthen himſelf the more he ſent to *Greece* to raiſe mercenaries; and ſucceeded ſo well in his application to the *Lacedemonians*, that they diſpatched a good number of forces to him, under the command of *Ageſilaus*[g]. *Tachos* had promiſed this king, that he ſhould be generaliſſimo of all the forces; but upon the firſt interview, he conceived ſuch diſadvantageous ideas of the old gentleman, that he thenceforward ſlighted his counſels, and deſpiſed his perſon. He expected to have ſeen a gay and magnificent man, whoſe habit and train were equal to the fame and ſplendour of his exploits, and not a plain, mean-looking, old man. This haſty and ill-grounded impreſſion may be properly enough ſaid to have been the ruin of *Tachos*, as will be plainly ſeen. For *Tachos* allowed *Ageſilaus* to be nothing but general over the mercenaries at land, which alone had been ſufficient to diſguſt ſo great, ſo old, and ſo experienced a commander, and was the firſt cauſe of his averſion to *Tachos*. The command of the fleet he gave to *Chabrias* the *Athenian*, reſerving to himſelf the ſupreme dignity over all. Having joined his mercenaries and *Egyptians* together, he marched out of *Egypt*, deſigning

[e] Diod. ubi ſupr. p. 478, 479. Cornel. Nepos, in Iphicrate. [f] Plutarch. in Ageſilao. [g] Idem ibid. Diod. ubi ſupr. p. 506.

to

marching

A Map of Ancient Egypt and its

AN SEA

CANAAN

Sea of Tiberias

MOAB AMMON PART OF ARABIA the DESART

The Rhestic
The Mendesian
The Tanitic
The Pelusian

Rhinocolura
Ostracine

Pelusium
Anguftammica
Bubastus
Babylon
Heliopolis
Aphroditopolis
Leontii
Cynopolis
Antæopolis
Panopolis

EDOM
Jabin
Casio
Heroopolis
ARABIA PETRÆA
M. Sinai
The Heroopolitan Gulf
The Elanitic Gulf
THE ARABIAN GULF or RED SEA
MIDIAN PART OF ARABIA the HAPPY

Coptos
The lesser City of Apollo
Thebes the Great or Diospolis
Tuphium
Chnubis
Elethya
Ombri
Apollo
Syene
Elephantine
Cataracts the Upper
Phila

33
32
31
30
29
28
26

OF CANCER

to attack the *Perſians* in *Phœnicia*, contrary to the advice of *Ageſilaus*, who repreſented to him the unſettled ſtate of *Egypt*, and remonſtrated how much more it would be for his intereſt to manage the war by lieutenants, and ſtay himſelf in his kingdom. The event ſhewed, that *Ageſilaus*'s counſel was the reſult of a very prudent forecaſt; for while *Tachos* was in *Phœnicia* the *Egyptians* revolted, and ſet up his kinſman *Nectanebus* in his ſtead. *Ageſilaus*, taking this opportunity to vent his reſentment againſt *Tachos*, joined *Nectanebus*, and deprived the other of his kingdom, who fled through *Arabia*, and went to the king of *Perſia*.

Is driven out of his kingdom. Year of the Flood, 2630. Year before Chriſt 367.

NECTANEBUS was ſcarce ſeated on the throne, when a *Mendeſian* roſe up in oppoſition to him, with a force conſiſting of 100,000 men. *Nectanebus* was now adviſed by *Ageſilaus* to fall on them immediately, and diſperſe them before they had formed themſelves into a regular body by diſcipline: but he took it into his head, that *Ageſilaus* intended to betray him, as he had betrayed *Tachos*, and therefore gave no ear to him. In the mean time the enemy gathered ſtrength and regular order every day, and became ſo formidable a body, that *Nectanebus* was conſtrained to ſhut himſelf up in one of his Towns, and endure a ſiege. He would now have urged *Ageſilaus* to ſally out upon the beſiegers, that, putting them into diſorder, he might in the mean time march out himſelf and take the field: and becauſe he refuſed to comply, *Nectanebus* grew more and more jealous of him. The enemy had run their lines almoſt round the town; which when *Ageſilaus* perceived, he told *Nectanebus*, that now was his time to ſally out; that by the lines the beſiegers had raiſed, they would not be able to encompaſs him; and that the gap which was not yet filled up, was wide enough for him to march through with ſafety and convenience. Hereupon a battle enſued, in which the beſiegers were defeated; and the remaining part of the war being left to the management of *Ageſilaus*, *Nectanebus*'s competitor was every where driven out of the field, and at length taken priſoner. And thus was *Nectanebus* ſettled in the full and quiet poſſeſſion of the kingdom of *Egypt* [h].

Nectanebus *the laſt King of* Egypt.

A rebellion againſt him.

which is quelled.

IN the twelfth year of his reign, the *Sidonians* and *Phœnicians* revolted from the king of *Perſia*, and entered into a confederacy with him againſt that monarch. This happened very opportunely for him; for as the *Perſians* had been in conſtant agitation againſt him, and were now making vaſt preparations to reclaim *Egypt*, he had a very good barrier, ſeeing the *Perſian* forces could not approach his borders, but by

He is joined by the Sidonians, Phœnicians, *and* Cypriots, *againſt the* Perſians.

[h] Idem ibid. PLUTARCH. ubi ſupr.

marching through *Phœnicia*. Therefore, to keep up their ſpirits, *Nectanebus* detached a body of four thouſand *Greek* mercenaries, under the command of *Mentor* the *Rhodian*, to join them, in hopes to manage the war at a diſtance. The *Phœnicians*, encouraged by this ſupply, drove the *Perſians* out of their territories [i]; and immediately after, the *Cypriots* made themſelves of the alliance againſt *Perſia* [k]. *Darius Ochus*, finding that his lieutenants made no progreſs in the ſuppreſſion of theſe revolters, reſolved to head his troops in perſon, keeping his eye chiefly upon *Egypt*. *Mentor* the *Rhodian* when he heard this, and the prodigious numbers of the *Perſian* army, went over to the king of *Perſia*, by whom he was kindly received, as one who might do him ſignal ſervice by his knowledge of the country of *Egypt*, and every thing that related to it: but we are not now on the affairs of *Perſia*, which will be particularized in their proper place; let us therefore turn our eyes towards *Nectanebus*. When he found that the king of *Perſia* was thoroughly reſolved to ruin him, and that he was by all means endeavouring to do it without interruption, and effectually, he got together an army of 100,000 men, conſiſting of 20,000 mercenaries from *Greece*, as many from *Libya*, and the reſt *Egyptians*; but all of them did not amount to a third part of the *Perſian* army. With ſome of them he gariſoned his frontier-towns, and with the others he guarded the paſſes through which the *Perſians* were to march. The *Perſian* detached three bodies from his army. The firſt of them, commanded by *Lachares* the *Theban*, ſat down before *Peluſium*, gariſoned by five thouſand *Greeks*. The ſecond, under the command of *Nicoſtratus* the *Argive*, embarked on board a ſquadron of the *Perſian* fleet, and ſailing up the *Nile* into the midſt of the country, landed there, and made a ſtrong encampment. Hereupon the whole country being alarmed, *Clinius* of the iſland of *Cos* muſtered all the neighbouring gariſons, and offered to diſlodge *Nicoſtratus* from his intrenchments. This led them to a battle, which was fought with great obſtinacy; but at laſt the *Egyptians* gave way, having loſt *Clinius* and five thouſand more of their number, and were utterly broken and diſperſed. The loſs of this battle was the ruin of *Egypt*. For when *Nectanebus* heard it, he drew off from the paſſes, where he had very prudently poſted himſelf, and marched for *Memphis* to defend that city againſt *Nicoſtratus*, whom he feared had a deſign upon that capital with his victorious fleet and army. When

Is invaded by the Perſians.

[i] Diod. lib. 16. p. 531, 532, 533. [k] Idem ubi ſupr. p. 532.

the

the *Greek* garison in *Pelusium* heard that *Nectanebus* had deserted his post, they thought there was no further room for hope; and therefore they came to a parley with *Lachares*, and delivered up the city to him, upon condition that they and their effects should be safely conveyed to *Greece*. *Mentor* the *Rhodian*, who commanded the third body of the *Persian* detachment, finding the passes unguarded, entered the country through them, and causing it to be universally spread abroad, That *Ochus* would graciously receive all that submitted; but utterly cut off such as resisted, as he had been known to have done before; both the *Egyptians* and the *Egyptian Greeks* strove which should make the most humble and ready submission. This when *Nectanebus* saw, he was driven to despair, and taking what treasure he could carry with him, he fled from his palace in *Memphis* into *Æthiopia*, and never returned more. He was the very last *Egyptian* that ever governed *Egypt*, which has ever since been under foreign subjection. *Nectanebes* lost his kingdom by relying too much on himself. He, as has been shewn, was seated on the throne by *Agesilaus*: his wars against *Persia* (for they were always attempting a reduction of *Egypt*) were managed by the prudence and valour of *Diophantus* the *Athenian*, and *Lamius* the *Lacedemonian*; but arrogating to himself a share of their successes, he took upon him to act by his own suggestions [l], and so brought ruin upon himself, and ignominy and slavery upon his subjects, even to this day. For henceforward *Egypt* was a province of *Persia*, till *Alexander* subverted that monarchy, and was received by the *Egyptians* with open arms, as their deliverer from the *Persian* tyranny. They never had any tolerable understanding with that nation; which, it is likely, may have purely, if not chiefly, been owing to the wide difference between them in religious matters. We now conclude this section with the severe prediction of the prophet; *There shall be no more a prince of the land of Egypt* [m].

and flies into Æthiopia. Egypt *finally reduced by the* Persians. Year of the Flood, 2642. Year before Christ 355.

Submits to Alexander. Year of the Flood, 2660. Year before Christ 337.

SECT. VI.

The succession of the kings of Egypt, *according to the oriental historians.*

AS the oriental histories differ entirely from the *Greeks* in their accounts of the *Egyptian* affairs, it may be perhaps deemed an omission, if we should take no notice of the series of the kings of *Egypt* given us by the *Eastern* writers.

[l] Idem ubi supr. p. 534, 535.

[m] Ezek. xxx. ver. 13.

writers. Wherefore we ſhall ſet down their names, and briefly mention their principal actions, leaving the reader to judge what credit ought to be given thereto.

Some write, that before the flood *Nakraüs*, or *Bakraüs*, the ſon of *Meſr*, the ſon of *Tarakil*, the ſon of *Zarayîl*, the ſon of *Aryân*, the ſon of *Adam*, when contention and violence began to reign among mankind, retired into *Egypt* with ſeventy eight perſons; and finding it a fine fruitful country, ſettled there, and built a city on the banks of the *Nile*, which he called after the name of his father[n]. But this city, others ſay, was built after the flood, as will be obſerved by and by; and that the kings who reigned in *Egypt* before that deſtruction, were of the race of *Cain*. Their names follow.

Antediluvian kings of Egypt.

1. Nakraus called alſo *Amasûs*; who reigned 180 years.
2. Natras, ſon of *Nakraüs*, built ſeveral cities.
3. Mesram, brother of *Natrâs*. Theſe three princes are ſaid to have been great diviners and magicians.
4. Aicam alſo practiſed divination. In his reign *Edrîs*, or *Enoch*, was tranſlated.
5. Aryak, ſon of the preceding prince. In his time the angels *Harût* and *Marût*, it is ſaid came down from heaven[o].
6. Hasilim, who firſt invented and built a nilometer.
7. Husal. In his reign *Noah* was born.
8. Tedarson, ſon of *Hûsâl*, was the firſt who cut canals from the *Nile*.
9. Sarkak.
10. Sahluk, his ſon.
11. Saurid, ſon of *Sahlûk*. This prince, as the *Copts* affirm, built the pyramids, and lies buried in one of them, with all his treaſures[p].
12. Hujib, brother of *Saurîd*; who, as the ſame people aſſure us, is buried in the next pyramid[q].
13. Manus, or *Mankaüs*.
14. Afrus, his ſon.
15. Malinus, ſon of *Afrûs*.
16. Pharaoh, couſin of the laſt prince; who periſhed in the flood.

After the flood, *Kibt*, or *Kût* (which we imagine to be a miſtake for *Phût*,) one of the ſons of *Ham*, founded a monarchy in *Egypt*; and the greater part of that nation were

[n] Al Soyuti, Vol. I. p. 404. [o] See Vol. I. p. 168. in the notes. [p] See his

his deſcendants [r]. But after the diſperſion, *Ham* himſelf went into *Egypt*, and there begat *Baiſer*; who having ſettled near the place where he afterwards built *Meſr*, was declared by the idolatrous inhabitants of the country king of *Monf*, or *Memphis*, the moſt antient city of *Egypt* and the royal ſeat in the time of *Joſeph*.

Kings of Egypt *after the deluge.*

1. BAISER, the ſon of *Ham*, built *Meſr*; being aſſiſted therein by *Cancahendi*, or *Cancah* the *Indian*, a perſon famous for his great learning and knowledge in nature, and the inventer of ſeveral noble arts; by whoſe ſkill in architecture this prince erected many magnificent ſtructures.

2. MESR, the ſon of *Baiſer*, ſucceeded his father. He was ſo named becauſe he happened to be born while the city of *Meſr* was building. This prince was employed, during his whole reign, in building cities, and warring againſt his enemies. It is ſaid, he divided *Egypt* among his ſons, giving the middle part to *Kift*, the upper to *Aſhmun*, and the lower to *Athrib* and *Sa*.

3. KIFT, or *Kibt* aſcended the throne on the death of his father *Meſr*; and from him the *Copts* received their name.

4. ASHMUN who ſeems to be the ſame with *Eſmunus*, or *Æſculapius* [f], ſucceeded his brother; though ſome reckon him not among the kings. From him the city *Aſhmunain* in the upper *Egypt* took its name.

5. ATHRIB, the ſon of *Meſr*, built *Ain Shams*, or *Heliopolis*, ſome miles diſtant from *Meſr*. *Athribis*, the capital of a nome in the lower *Egypt*, was ſo called from this prince.

6. SANA, or *Sa*, another ſon of *Meſr*, is ſuppoſed to have built the city *Saïs*; and was the firſt who made laws, and eſtabliſhed rules for the government of the ſtate.

7. TEDARIS, or *Edris*.

8. MALIK.

9. KHARAYA, the ſon of *Malik*.

10. KELKELI, the ſon of *Kharâya*, a wiſe and potent prince. Some ſay, he was the firſt who introduced the uſe of magic, which others tell us, was firſt taught *Solomon* by the *Genii*.

11. HARBIYA, the uncle of *Kelkeli*, of whom nothing is recorded, but that he was an infidel, and very wicked.

[r] EBN SHOHNAH. [f] See Vol. I. p. 302. note (P.)

12. Tulis was as bad as his predeceſſor, and a great lover of women; to obtain whom he ſcrupled not, on occaſion, to uſe force. In his reign *Abraham* came into *Egypt*, and knowing the king's character, to preſerve the honour of his wife *Sarah*, ſhut her up in a cheſt, thinking to paſs the guards poſted at the city gate by that means; but they, opening the cheſt, and finding a beautiful woman in it, carried her before the king. *Tulis* no ſooner ſaw her, than he determined to enjoy her; but was not able to effect his purpoſe, being ſuddenly ſtruck with frigidity; ſo that after he had in vain attempted it thrice, he was obliged to deſiſt, and ſent her back to her huſband, having given her *Hagar* for a maid-ſervant, as ſome reparation for the affront he had offered her; but ſtill continued an infidel.

13. Juriak *Khatûn*, daughter of *Tulis*.

14. Dhalka, or *Zalkâ*, daughter of *Manûn Khatûn*. This princeſs being unable to defend her kingdom, *Walid*, the ſon of *Thardân*, king of the *Amalekites*, who originally dwelt in *Syria*, took that opportunity of invading *Egypt*; and, having ſubdued the *Copts*, ſeized the crown. Theſe *Amalekites* ſeem to have been the ſame people who are by the *Greek* hiſtorians ſtiled *Shepherds*; whoſe invaſion of *Egypt* was, in all probability, a famous piece of hiſtory in the *eaſt*.

15. Walid, the firſt king of *Egypt*, of the race of *Amalek*, took the ſurname of *Pharaoh*, which in the *Coptic* tongue ſignifies *King*, and was uſed by all his ſucceſſors. He is ſaid to have been an impious man, and rebellious againſt God; and delighting too much in hunting, and paſſing his time abroad and in the deſerts for the ſake of that exerciſe, he was at length ſlain.

16. Riyan, the ſon of *Walid*, ſucceeded his father; and firſt dwelt at *Ain Shams*, but afterwards removed to *Memphis*. In his reign *Joſeph* was ſold into *Egypt*, and having lain in priſon twelve years, was at length delivered thence, on his interpreting of a dream, and being brought to court, was made *Wazir* (or *Viſir*) in the room of *Kolfair*, and had the management of the whole kingdom put into his hands. This *Riyân* is reported to have embraced the true religion, and to have been a ſtrict adminiſtrator of juſtice. One author [t] tells us, that he ſpoke no leſs than ſeventy different languages; in every one of which he put queſtions to *Joſeph*, who anſwered him in the ſame. This prince flouriſhed four hundred years before the *Pharaoh* of *Moſes*.

[t] Kitab Tafasir.

17. Darem,

17. DAREM, the ſon of *Riyân*, was an impious perſon, rebellious againſt heaven, and exceſſively proud; for which he was, by a juſt judgment of GOD, drowned in the *Nile*.

18. CATHIM, the ſon of *Mádân*, an *Amalekite*, was famous throughout the world for the magnificent buildings erected by him. Some aſcribe the pyramids to this prince; adding, that thoſe ſtructures being in after-times propoſed to be demoliſhed, for the ſake of the treaſures hidden in them, that deſign was laid aſide, on a remonſtrance of the wiſe men of the country; who made it appear, that the riches, which might be found in them, would not countervail the charge of pulling them down. *Cathim* was the laſt king of *Egypt*, of the race of the *Amalekites*.

SOME writers ſay, that the *Wazir* of *Cathim* ſucceeded to the crown, and was the *Pharaoh* of *Moſes*; but the more exact, leaving out both theſe laſt princes, tell us, that *Riyân* was ſucceeded by his grandſon.

19. KABUS, the ſon of *Maſáb*[u], who being invited by *Joſeph* to embrace the true religion, refuſed, and died ſoon after that patriarch. Some hiſtorians will have *Kabûs* to be the *Pharaoh* of *Moſes*, pretending, that he lived ſix hundred and twenty years, and reigned four hundred; which is more reaſonable, at leaſt, than the opinion of thoſe who imagine his father *Maſáb*, or his grandfather *Riyân*, to have been that *Pharaoh*[w].

20. WALID, the brother of *Kabûs*, is generally ſuppoſed to be that king of *Egypt* with whom *Moſes* had to do, and who was drowned in the *Red-ſea*. Moſt of the commentators on the *Korân* tell us this prince was an *Arab*, of the tribe of *Ad*, or, as others ſay, of *Amalek*, who were alſo *Arabians*; though ſome pretend he was of *Coptic* deſcent. What the oriental authors write concerning this *Pharaoh*, and his conteſts with *Moſes*, we may take notice of in another place.

21. DALUKA, ſurnamed *al Ajûz*, or the *old woman*, of the royal blood, ſucceeded the *Pharaoh* who periſhed in the *Red-ſea*. This queen is ſaid to have been the moſt expert woman of her time in magic. She lived an hundred years; and encompaſſed the city of *Meſr* with walls which were looked on as one of the wonders of the world; and ſome attribute the pyramids to her.

22. DARKUN, the ſon of *Maltûs*, came to the crown very young; and, being of an illuſtrious family among the *Copts*, was greatly beloved and reverenced by his ſubjects.

23. TARDAS reigned a long time.

[u] Ibid. [w] KITAB TAFASIR LEBAB, et al KESHAF.

24. LOFASH

24. Lofash ſucceeded; but who he was is unknown.
25. Marina.
26. Malus.
27. Manakil.
28. Bula. The actions of theſe ſix laſt kings are not recorded; and there ſeems to be an omiſſion of ſome intermediate princes; as alſo between the two following.

29. Ashyaf; or, as *Ebn Shohnah* more correctly writes the name, *Shiſhâk*, was contemporary with *Solomon*; and after his death took *Jeruſalem*, and greatly diſtreſſed the *Iſraelites*.

30. Pharaoh, ſurnamed *al Araj*, or *the lame*. In his time *Nebuchadnezzar*, governor of *Babylon*, led an army of 600,000 men againſt *Jeruſalem*, and ſlew a third part of the *Iſraelites*, carried a third part of them into captivity, and impoſed a tribute on the remaining third. But many of them flying into *Egypt*, he purſued them thither, and demanded them of *Pharaoh*; who refuſing to deliver them up, *Nebuchadnezzar* beſieged his capital city *Meſr*; and having taken it, hanged him. Then he burnt and demoliſhed the city, and proceeded forward into *Africa*. *Meſr*, they ſay, remained deſolate forty years; but was afterwards rebuilt, and the nation ruled by governors, who reſided there, firſt for the kings of *Perſia* of the ſecond race, called *Cayânians*; then for *Alexander*, who conquered *Perſia*: afterwards for the *Greek* kings, or *Ptolemies*; and at length for the *Romans*, and the *Chriſtian* emperors of *Conſtantinople*, who held *Egypt* till it was ſubdued by *Amru Ebn al As*, a general of *Omar*, the ſecond *Khaliff*, or ſucceſſor of *Mohammed*; ever ſince which that kingdom has been in the hands of *Mohammedan* princes [x].

There is a ſeries of the kings of *Egypt* ſomewhat different from this, given by a *Jewiſh* hiſtorian [y]: but as the names are moſt of them corrupted, and ſeem to have been originally taken from the *Arab* writers, we ſhall not trouble the reader with them; having perhaps already ſaid too much of ſo apocryphal a piece of hiſtory.

[x] Ex libro Mirat Cainat dicto. [y] R. Abr. Zacuth, in libro Juchaſin.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

The History of the Moabites, Ammonites, Midianites, Edomites, Amalekites, Canaanites, *and* Philistines.

SECT. I.

The History of Moab.

DESIGNING in this chapter to write the histories of those nations with whom the children of *Israel* had to do, before, or upon their settling in the land of *Canaan*, we shall begin with that of the *Moabites*. *The descent of the Moabites.*

THIS people were descended from *Moab* the son of *Lot*, by his eldest daughter: but before we mention the occasion of that incest, it may be proper to take the history a little higher.

LOT was the son of *Haran*, the brother of *Abraham*; and after his father's death was brought by his grandfather *Terah*, together with the rest of his family, from *Ur* of the *Chaldees*, their native city, to *Haran* in *Mesopotamia*; where *Terah* dying, *Abraham* afterwards took his nephew under his protection, and, as *Josephus* tells us [a], adopted him, despairing of any children of his own. He therefore carried him with him into *Canaan* [b]; where, after they had dwelt some time, they were obliged by a famine to go into *Egypt* [c]; soon after their return from whence, they parted: for their flocks and herds were so much encreased by this time, and their substance was so great, that they could not dwell together any longer; the pasture and water not being sufficient for both; which occasioning disputes betwen their herdsmen, *Abraham* proposed to prevent any misunderstanding between so near relations, that they should separate; and gave *The life of* Lot *their ancestor.*

[z] See Vol. I. p. 294. [a] Antiq. l. 1. c. 7. [b] Gen. xii. 4, &c. [c] Gen. xii. 10, & xiii. 1.

Lot

Lot the choice of removing to what part of the country he thought fit. Whereupon *Lot* choſe the plain of *Jordan*, lying eaſtward of *Bethel* and *Ai*, between which *Abraham* and he then dwelt, and which, at that time, before the terrible deſtruction of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, was ſo fruitful and well watered, that it is compared to the land of *Egypt*, and even to *Paradiſe* it ſelf[d]. To this delightful plain or valley therefore *Lot* came, and pitched his tent not far from *Sodom*, infamous for the unnatural wickedneſs of its inhabitants; and afterwards dwelt in the city itſelf[e]: but that city, with others in the ſame plain, being not long after taken by *Chedorlaomer* and his allies, *Lot*, who, as *Joſephus* tells us[f], aſſiſted the *Sodomites*, had the misfortune to be taken by the enemy, with his family and all his ſubſtance; and had been carried into captivity, had he not been timely reſcued by *Abraham*, who not only delivered him, but recovered all his goods[g]. Notwithſtanding this warning, and the abominable wickedneſs of the inhabitants, *Lot* ſtill continued to live in *Sodom*, and had periſhed in the fearful cataſtrophe of that people, if he had not been miraculouſly preſerved, and that partly for *Abraham*'s ſake[h]. Two angels, who were ſent to deſtroy the place, came to *Sodom* in the evening in the appearance of travellers; and *Lot* ſitting in the gate no ſooner ſaw them, than he invited and preſſed them to be his gueſts that night, according to the hoſpitality of the eaſtern nations. They had ſcarce refreſhed themſelves, when the inhabitants of the city, both old and young, being informed that *Lot* had ſtrangers with him, and in all probability tempted by the beautiful forms which the angels had aſſumed[i], encompaſſed the houſe, and demanded them to be delivered to them, that they might abuſe them. *Lot* endeavoured to diſſuade them from their purpoſe; and, rather than violate the rights of hoſpitality, offered to give up his two virgin daughters to their diſcretion, if they would not moleſt his gueſts; but, inſtead of accepting this offer, they came to violence, and preſſed forward to break open the door: whereupon the angels ſuddenly pulled *Lot* into the houſe, ſhut the door, and ſtruck the riotous aſſembly with blindneſs (A); ſo that they ſought in vain to find the door, till they were tired.

Whilst

[d] Gen. xiii. 10. [e] Gen. xiv. 12. [f] Antiq. l. 1. c. 10.
[g] Gen. xiv. 16, &c. [h] Gen. xix. 29. [i] Joseph. Antiq. l. 1. c. 11.

(A) It is a very probable opinion, that thoſe men were ſtruck, not with actual blindneſs, but with a dizzineſs, which diſturbed their

WHILST they were thus buſied, the angels acquainted *Lot* with their commiſſion; that they were ſent to execute the divine vengeance upon that ſink of iniquity; and adviſed him, if he had any friends, for whoſe ſafety he was concerned, that he would immediately let them know their danger, and warn them to depart in time. Whereupon *Lot*, before it was light, went to his ſons-in-law, to whom his daughters were contracted (B), and telling them what they muſt expect if they ſtaid longer in the city, earneſtly perſuaded them to leave it: but they, thinking he either laughed at them, or was out of his wits, rejected his advice[k].

THIS circumſtance is the only one which *Moſes* mentions of *Lot*'s admoniſhing his fellow-citizens; though it is probable this juſt perſon omitted no opportunity of endeavouring their reformation; for it is ſaid, that, *in ſeeing and hearing*, he *vexed his righteous ſoul from day to day, with their unlawful deeds*[l]: which words give countenance to the traditions adopted afterwards by *Mohammed*, of *Lot*'s being ſent to preach to the inhabitants of *Sodom*[m].

[k] Gen. xix. 1—14. [l] 2 Pet. ii. 8. [m] *Korân*, c. vii. ver. 81. c. xxvi. ver. 159. c. xxvii. ver. 55. c. xxix. ver. 28, &c.

their ſight, and repreſented objects falſely, and in confuſion (1), as were the *Syrians*, who were ſent to take *Eliſha* (2): and this is the ſenſe of the *Septuagint*. The author of the book of *Wiſdom* ſuppoſes ſome change in the air, ſaying, that they were *compaſſed about with horrible great darkneſs*, which he compares to that with which *Moſes* plagued the *Egyptians*: he adds, that they could not even find the way home: but *every one ſought the paſſage of his own doors* (3).

(B) The *Septuagint*, *Syriac*, *Arabic*, and other tranſlations, and ſome of the *Rabbins* ſuppoſe, theſe were the huſbands of other daughters of *Lot*, who were married, and had left their father's houſe: which ſeems to be confirmed by the angels ordering *Lot* to take with him his wife and his two daughters *which were there* preſent (4). But the original words, which in our verſion are rendered *his ſons-in-law which married his daughters* (5), may be tranſlated, according to the interpretation of *Onkelos*, *his ſons-in-law, which were to marry*, &c.; the contract having been paſſed, but the marriage not conſummated; and there is no mention in ſcripture of any daughters *Lot* had, except the two who were ſaved with him; but if he had, they muſt have periſhed with their huſbands.

(1) *Vide Auguſtin. de civit. Dei. l.* 22. *c.* 19. *Heidegg. Hiſt. Patr. T.* 2. *Exerc.* viii. § 16. *Cleric. in Loc.* (2) 2 *Kings* vi. 18. (3) *Wiſd.* xix. 17. (4) *Gen.* xix. 15. (5) *Ibid. ver.* 14.

LOT

Lot not having been able to prevail on his ſons-in-law to ſave themſelves; as ſoon as it was day-break, the angels ordered him immediately to depart, with his wife and two daughters, leſt they ſhould be involved in the common ruin: but he delaying to go, being probably intent on preſerving ſome of his moſt valuable goods, the angels haſtily laid hold on them, and brought them out of the city, commanding them to make a ſpeedy eſcape, for that their lives were in danger; and in particular directed them not to look behind them, nor to ſtay in the plain; but to make the beſt of their way to the mountains. Upon which *Lot*, conſidering the mountains were at a good diſtance, began to fear he could not reach them time enough, and begged, he might be permitted to eſcape to a ſmall city not far from *Sodom*, then called *Bela*, but from this accident *Zoar*, or *the little*, which was elſe to have been deſtroyed with the other cities of the plain. This requeſt was granted; and the angels promiſed him, that their commiſſion ſhould not be executed till he got thither; which he did by ſun-riſe. Immediately upon which the fearful deſtruction of thoſe cities enſued: and *Lot*'s wife, contrary to the expreſs command of the angel, looking back, was changed into a pillar of ſalt [n] (C), which *Joſephus*[o] tells us was remaining in his days, and that himſelf had ſeen it.

After

[n] Gen. xix. 15—26. [o] Antiq. l. 1. c. 11.

(C) It is not agreed by commentators what was the crime for which *Lot*'s wife was thus ſeverely puniſhed. Some are of opinion, ſhe deſerved it merely for diſobeying the command of the angel, and expreſſing too much concern for a people who deſerved no compaſſion (6): which yet ſhe might be the more apt to entertain, as ſhe was probably a native of *Sodom* (7), and had near relations among them. Others ſay, that being anxiouſly ſollicitous for her daughters, who were married there, and turning about to ſee whether they followed her, ſhe ſaw the divine *Shechinah*, or majeſtic appearance of God, deſcending to deſtroy the place, which was the occaſion of her metamorphoſis. The writer from whom we take this, calls her *Adith* (8). *Mohammed*, from ſome traditions he met with, goes farther, and repreſents her as rebellious to her huſband (9); and the commentators of the *Korân*, who name her *Waïlah*, ſay, ſhe was in confederacy with the *Sodomites*; telling them her huſband was diſtracted, and giving them notice when any ſtrangers came to lodge with him, by a ſign of ſmoke by day, and

(6) *Joſ. Ant. l.* 1. *c.* 13. *Heidegg. ubi ſupr.* § 18. *p.* 23. (7) *Targum Hieroſol.* (8) *R. Eliezer Pirke, c.* 25. (9) *Korân, c.* 66.

of

AFTER this cataſtrophe, *Lot* ſtaid not long in *Zoar*, fearing ſome further misfortune; but went with his daughters to the mountains on the eaſt of the *Dead-ſea*, and dwelt in a cave there. In this ſolitude the two young women ſeeing no

of fire by night (10); or, according to others, by knocking at the wall, and crying, *Give me ſome ſalt* (11). Others however think the ſcripture does not repreſent the fate this woman met with as a puniſhment for any crime; but ſuppoſe it merely accidental, as will be obſerved immediately.

The manner of her transformation or death is alſo differently apprehended. From the various acceptations of the word we render *pillar*, ſome have fancied ſhe was turned into an *heap of ſtones* (12); others into a pillar (13), without any reſemblance of human ſhape; and a third party have imagined ſhe was changed into a ſtatue (14), having the perfect form of a woman. Nor is there any better agreement as to the matter of this monument, than the figure of it. Some ſuppoſe it to have been of rock ſalt, which laſts a long while and is not ſubject to be waſted or diſſolved by the weather, as common ſalt is (15). *Aben Ezra* is of opinion, that *Lot*'s wife was burnt with fire mixed with ſalt; and *Grotius* is of the ſame ſentiment (16). But others think the word *ſalt* does not relate to the matter of the pillar or ſtatue, but either deſcribes the place where it ſtood; and then the meaning of the paſſage is no more, than that it was in a *ſalt*, or barren ſoil (17); or elſe that it ſignifies only the permanency of the ſtatue's duration; as *a covenant of ſalt* is elſewhere (18) uſed to expreſs a *laſting*, or *perpetual covenant* (19). Hence the *Rabbins* take occaſion, according to their cuſtom, to carry the matter farther, and ſay, this ſtatue was deſigned for an everlaſting monument of divine juſtice, and ſhall remain till the day of judgment (20). They add, that though it is continually licked by the cattle, yet it is always miraculouſly repaired again (21); that it has not only the lineaments of a woman, but alſo the diſtinction of ſex, and regular purgations, as if it were alive (22): which fable has been ſwallowed by ſome *Chriſtian* writers (23). Some late commentators (24), after all, think, that there was no miraculous metamorphoſis at all in the caſe; but that ſhe either turned back out of curioſity to ſee the burning nearer, and ſo periſhed in the dreadful ſhower, or by ſome poiſonous vapour; or elſe that

(10) *Jallaloddin, &c.* (11) *Pentat. Ebn Sina.* (12) *Sulpic. Sever.* (13) *Septuag.* (14) *Hieron. Onkelos.* (15) *Vide Watſii Miſcel. Tom. 2. and Howell's Hiſtory of the Bible.* (16) *Deut.* xxix. 23. (17) *Pſal.* cvii. 34. (18) *Numb.* xviii. 19. (19) *Vide Clerici Diſſert. de ſtatua ſalina.* (20) *Targ. Hieroſ.* (21) *R. Eliezer, ubi ſupr. Benjam. Itin. p.* 44. (22) *R. Eliezer, ibid.* (23) *Tertul. vel Auctor Carm. de Sodoma, Irenæus, l.* 4. *c.* 51. (24) *Vatablus, Bodinus, P. Simon, Bibl. Crit. T.* 4. *Let.* 44. *Clerici Diſſert. de ſtatua ſalina.*

the

no hopes of their ever being married (D), and being very deſirous of having children, to want which was reckoned a great reproach and ſcandal in thoſe days, plotted together to deceive their father, and have iſſue by him. Accordingly they put their project in execution: and making him drink wine plentifully one evening, the eldeſt daughter lay down by him the firſt night, and the old man knew not when ſhe lay down, nor when ſhe aroſe: not that we ſuppoſe he was ſo far overcome as not to be ſenſible of what he did, which would have rendered him rather unfit than fit for their purpoſe; but he knew not who it was he lay with, imagining, probably, that it was a ſervant, to make uſe of which was then reckoned no crime. The next night they employed the ſame artifice, and the youngeſt took her turn. They both proved with child; and from this inceſtuous commerce proceeded two ſons; that of the eldeſt daughter was therefore named *Moab*, ſignifying (though not in pure *Hebrew*, yet perhaps in ſome dialect of that tongue) *Of a father*, and was the progenitor of the people we are now ſpeaking of [p].

The

[p] Gen. xix. 30—37.

the horror of the ſight, when ſhe looked back, and plainly beheld the terrible deſtruction of a place ſhe had but juſt quitted, ſtruck her ſtiff, and motionleſs like a ſtatue, and that ſhe died of the fright. And as to what is urged from *Joſephus* (25), and ſome books of travels (26), that this ſtatue or pillar was many ages after, or is now to be ſeen, it is anſwered, that *Joſephus* might be deceived therein, as many others have been, and daily are, in things of this nature: which really ſeems to have been the caſe; becauſe the more intelligent and credible travellers ſay they could never ſee it; and when they have aſked the people of the country after it, they either aſſured them there was no ſuch thing (27), or pretended it ſtands ſomewhere in the mountains, where the acceſs to it is very dangerous, becauſe of the wild beaſts and ſerpents, but more ſo on account of the *Arabs* (28).

(D) Several writers (29) excuſe this act of *Lot*'s daughters, by ſuppoſing what they did was for the reparation of mankind, which, as they thought, had been utterly deſtroyed, and none left, except their father and themſelves. But there is no manner of foundation for ſuch an opinion; wherefore St. *Auſtin* very juſtly condemns

(25) *See alſo Wiſdom*, x. 7. (26) *Vide Quareſm. Elucid. terræ ſanct. Tom.* 2. *l.* 6. *c.* 14. (27) *Radzivil, Itiner. Hieroſ. p.* 95. (28) *Brochard, Deſcr. terræ ſanct. p.* 1. *c.* 7. *Numb.* 24. (29) *Joſeph. Antiq.* l. 1. *c.* 12. *Chryſoſt. Hom.* 34. *in Gen. Irenæus, l.* 4. *c.* 51. *Ambroſ. de Abrah. l.* 1. *c.* 6. *Theodor. in Geneſ. quæſt.* 69. *c.* 5.

THE poſterity of this perſon ſettled in the country bordering on the mountain where he was born, which ſome authors make part of *Cœle-Syria* [q], others of *Arabia* [r]; and having driven out the old inhabitants, poſſeſſed a large tract, thence called *Moabitis*, or the land of *Moab*, bounded on the weſt by the mountains on the eaſt of the lake *Aſphaltites*, or the *Dead-ſea*, and by the river *Jordan*; on the north by the country poſſeſſed by the *Ammonites*, the deſcendants of *Lot* by his younger daughter; on the ſouth by the brook, or little river *Zered*, which runs into the *Dead-ſea*, and by the countries of *Midian* and *Edom*; and on the eaſt by the deſerts of *Arabia*; which tract might be about forty miles long, and as many broad. This country, which is chiefly mountainous, intermixed with vallies proper for paſturing of cattle, was given by GOD to the children of *Moab*; and the *Iſraelites*, notwithſtanding the great provocations they received from them, were expreſly forbidden to diſturb them [s]. However, by the time of *Moſes*, the *Amorites*, who had poſſeſſed themſelves of great part of the land of *Ammon*, took alſo the adjoining part of the land of *Moab*; reducing their limits on that ſide to the brook *Arnon*, called alſo the river of *Gad* [t], which empties itſelf into the lake *Aſphaltites*, and before paſſed through the midſt of their territories. This the *Iſraelites* ſeizing on, as part of *Sihon*'s kingdom, which was theirs by right of conqueſt, kept it for ſeveral centuries, till recovered by the *Moabites*, when they brake into the borders of *Reuben* and *Gad*, on the declenſion of the kingdom of *Iſrael*, as will be obſerved hereafter.

Of the country poſſeſſed by the Moabites.

THE chief city of *Moab* was *Ar* [u], ſituate on the river *Arnon*, called alſo *Rabbah* [w], or, *The Great*; and to diſtinguiſh it from a city of the ſame name in the land of *Ammon*, *Rabbath-Moab* [x]. In after-times it was called *Areopolis* [y], by addition of a *Greek* word ſignifying *a city*. The other cities of *Moab* were *Mizpeh*, *Luthith*, *Horonaim*, and ſome others, whoſe ſituations are not certainly known.

[q] JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 1. c. 12. [r] STEPHAN. de urb. in Μώαβ. [s] Deut. ii. 9. Judg. xi. 15. [t] 2 Sam. xxiv. 5. [u] Deut ii. 9, 18, 29. Numb. xxi. 15, 28. Iſaiah xv. 1, &c. [w] Joſh. xiii. 25. [x] HIERON. in *Moab*. [y] Idem ibid.

the action, ſaying they ought never to have been mothers, rather than to have made ſuch uſe of their father (30). One of theſe daughters a *Jewiſh* writer calls *Pelotith* (31).

(30) *Auguſt cont. Fauſt. l.* 22. *c.* 43. (31) *R. Jehuda, apud Eliezer. Pirke, c.* 25.

Their government, customs, &c.

THE customs and manner of life of these people we know very little of. They were governed by kings, used circumcision [a], and seem to have employed themselves mostly in pasturage, and breeding of cattle, wherein their riches chiefly consisted. They were one of the nations whose good the *Jews* were forbidden to seek [a]; nor were they to be admitted to intermarry with the *Israelites*, even to their tenth generations [b]. However, they appear to have cultivated a good understanding with that people after their settlement in *Canaan*, as appears from the sojourning of *Elimelech* there [c], and the reception *David* met with in his troubles at *Mizpeh* [d]. What language they used we cannot say; but suppose they spoke a dialect of the *Canaanitish*, or *Hebrew*.

Their religion.

THAT this people had once the knowledge of the true GOD, we may not only conclude from the piety of their great ancestor, who, without doubt, instructed his offspring in their duty, but it appears from scripture; for they retained this knowledge till the time of *Moses*, even after they had monstrously corrupted their religion by introducing the worship of false gods [e]; which they seem to have done pretty early, though the time cannot be fixed.

THE idols of the *Moabites* taken notice of in scripture are *Chemosh* [f] and *Baal-peor* [g], sometimes simply *Peor* [h]; or, as the *Septuagint* write the name, *Phegor*. But what gods these were, learned men are not agreed. St. *Jerom* supposes, that they were both names of one and the same idol [i]: and from the debaucheries into which those fell who defiled themselves with their worship, several writers, both antient and modern, have represented them as obscene deities, not much different from *Priapus* [k]. This opinion they endeavour to support from the etymologies of the names, and fancy some filthiness is implied therein (E). Others [l] however imagine, that though the

[a] Jerem. ix. 25, 26. [a] Deut. xxiii. 3—6. [b] Ibid. ver. 3. [c] Ruth i. 1, 2. [d] Sam. xxii. 3, &c. [e] See Numb. xxv. 2. [f] Numb. xxi. 29. 1 Kings xi. 7. Jerem. xlviii. 13. [g] Numb. xxv. 1, and 3. [h] Ibid. ver. 18. Josh. xxii. 17, &c. [i] HIERONIM. in Esai. l. 5. [k] Idem in Oseam, & contr. Jovin. l. 1. c. 12. ORIGEN. in Numer. Homil. 20. THEOPHYLACT. in Hoseam. CUMBERLAND on Sanchon. p. 67, &c. [l] SELDEN de Diis Syris, Syntag. 1. c. 5. CLERIC. in Numer. PATRICK's Comment. on Numb. xxv.

(E) *Peor* they derive from פער *paar*, to *open*, or *stretch*; because they used an indecent posture before the idol (*distendebant coram eo foramen podicis*,) and offered him dung; which the *Jews* pretend

the *Iſraelites* and *Solomon* were drawn in to worſhip thoſe idols by debauching themſelves with *Moabitiſh* women *; yet it does not thence follow, that any immodeſt ceremonies were uſed in their worſhip; nor are any ſuch mentioned in the moſt antient authors [m]; and the etymologies, we think, are not much to be built on. *Peor* was the name of a mountain, where the high places of *Baal* [n], which word ſignifies no more than *Lord*, and was a title of the ſun, were ſituate; and probably was added to that name by way of diſtinction, to denote the deity adored in that place [o], though he had probably alſo a temple in *Beth-Peor*, which ſtood in the plain [p]. *Voſſius* [q] ſuppoſes *Baal-peor* to be *Bacchus*; and Dr. *Cumberland* [r] ſays he was properly called *Meon*, and will have him to be the ſame with *Menes*, *Mizraïm*, and *Oſiris* (F), who, according to his

* Numb. xxv. [m] See PATRICK's Comment. ubi ſupr. [n] Numb. xxiii. 38. [o] THEODORET. ad Pſal. cv. Vid. SUID. in Βεελφεγωρ. [p] See Joſh. xiii. 17 & 20. [q] De idololatr. l. 2. c. 7. [r] On Sanchon. p. 67.

pretend was the worſhip proper to this idol (31). If this derivation be true, it was moſt probably a name of contempt impoſed by the *Jews*; and the naſty ceremonies they mention may have been invented to give ſome reaſon for the name.

Chemoſh, for want of a better etymology, they will have to come from the verb משש *Maſhaſh*, to *feel*: but Dr. *Hyde* derives it from the *Arabic Khamûſh*, which ſignifies *gnats* (though in the particular dialect of the tribe of *Hodail*), ſuppoſing it to have been an aſtrological Talliſman in the figure of a *gnat*, made to drive away thoſe inſects (32): and *le Clerc*, who takes this idol for the ſun, from *Camoſha*, a *root* in the ſame tongue, ſignifying *to be ſwift* (33).

(F) This learned prelate ſuppoſes *Peor* was not his true name; and finding *Baal-Meon* (34) and *Beth-Meon* (35), and *Beth-Baal-Meon* (36), mentioned in ſcripture, as a place lying within the old territories of *Moab*, concludes *Meon* was the proper, or honourable title of this deity, whom he will have to be the ſame with *Oſiris*, becauſe of the obſcene proceſſions uſed in honour of the latter, agreeing very well with the immodeſt ceremonies uſed in the worſhip of the former, and from the affinity between the names of *Meon* and *Menes*. The chief reaſons he gives, why *Meon* was the

(31) *Solom. Yarhi in Numer.* 25. 3. *Maimonides More Nev. part* 3. *c.* 46. *Vid. Philon. Jud. de nomin. mutatione, p.* 1061. (32) *Hyde de rel. vet. Perſ. c.* 5. *p.* 131. (33) *Cleric. in Numb. xxxi.* 28. (34). *Numb. xxxii.* 38. 1 *Chron. v.* 8. *Ezek. xxv.* 9. (35) *Jerem. xlviii.* 23. (36) *Joſh. xiii.* 17.

his hypotheſis, were all one and the ſame man [r]. *Chemoſh* ſeems to have been a different idol. *Nebo* [t] is thought by ſome to have been another deity of the *Moabites*. It was without diſpute an idol of the *Babylonians*, and poſſibly the ſame with *Mercury:* but whether the *Moabites* worſhipped it is not ſo certain. There was a town of this name in that part of the antient dominions of *Moab*, conquered by *Sihon*, which the *Iſraelites* rebuilt, and changed its name [u]; and a part of mount *Abarim* in the ſame tract was alſo called *Nebo*.

Of their religious rights and ceremonies we can ſay very little. The obſcenity attributed to them by ſome authors we have already mentioned: of which, however, the *Pſalmiſt* takes no notice, in ſpeaking of thoſe who *were joined to* Baal-peor; but ſays only, that they *ate the offerings of the dead:* by which words he may either mean, that the idol, to which they impiouſly gave divine honour, was no more than a dead man; or elſe that their oblations were made to the infernal gods. They ſacrificed both in the open air, on mountains dedicated to that ſervice [w], and alſo in temples built to their idols in their cities; and, beſides oxen and rams, on extraordinary occaſions offered human victims, according to the *Phœnician* cuſtom; an inſtance of which will be given by and by.

[r] See Vol. I. p. 309, (Z), 310 [t] Iſai xv. 2. Jerem. xlviii. 1—22. [u] Iſai. xlvi. 1. Pſal. cvi. 28. [w] See Numb. xxii. 41, &c.

name of an idol, and the ſame with *Peor*, are, 1. The *Septuagint* and *Arabic* verſions have *Meon* for a proper name or title of a deity (37). 2. The *Targum* of *Jonathan* (38) calls *Baal-Meon a city of* Balak, *in which* Iſrael *deſtroyed the idol* Peor *in the houſe of altars*. 3. *Meon* was ſo great a title of honour, that it is given to God himſelf in ſcripture (39), though it is tranſlated *dwelling-place*. But we think nothing can be concluded from paſſages where the word is plainly an appellative. 4. *Beth-Meon* ſignifies the *houſe* or *temple* of *Meon*; and no other than a ſuppoſed deity can be ſaid to have a temple dedicated to it. Yet there are ſeveral names of places compounded with the word *Beth*, which have no relation at all to idols. 5. The *Iſraelites* changed the name of the city *Baal-Meon*, when they had rebuilt it, as they did that of *Nebo*, becauſe they were ſo named from falſe gods (40). But this is no neceſſary conſequence.

(37) *Ibid.* 1 *Chron.* v. 8. *Jerem.* xlviii. 23. (38) *On Numb.* xxxii. xxxviii. (39) *Pſal.* xc. *and* xci. 9. (40) *See Cumberland on Sanchon. chap.* 2.

The

THE firſt inhabitants of the land, afterwards poſſeſſed by the poſterity of *Moab*, were the *Emims*, a great and powerful people and of extraordinary ſtrength and ſtature [x]. They were, moſt probably, deſcendants of *Ham*, and of the ſame gigantic race with the *Anakims* and *Rephaims*, though the *Moabites* called them by the name of *Emims* [y], which in *Hebrew* ſignifies *terrible*. Theſe having been much weakened by the invaſion of *Chedorlaomer*, king of *Elam*, and his allies [z], became the eaſier conqueſt to the *Moabites*; who drove them out, and took poſſeſſion of their country; but about what time is uncertain. However, they kept not their new dominions long entire; for in the days of *Moſes*, *Sihon* king of the *Amorites*, who bordered on them eaſtward, fought againſt the king of *Moab*, the predeceſſor of *Balak*, and took from that nation all their land, to the north of the river *Arnon* [a].

The Moabites *drive out the* Emims. *But loſe part of their acquiſitions to the* Amorites.

BALAK the ſon of *Zippor*, was on the throne of *Moab* when the *Iſraelites*, having ſubdued *Sihon*, were incamped in part of their new acquiſitions, called the plains of *Moab*, becauſe they had lately belonged to that nation [b]. This prince, being exceedingly diſmayed at the approach of the victorious people, whom he was not in a condition to reſiſt, and not knowing that GOD had forbidden them to attempt the conqueſt of his remaining territories, aſſembled the nobles, and alſo the princes of the *Midianites* (a branch of which nation dwelt within the borders of *Moab*, as we ſhall obſerve hereafter), and acquainted them with his apprehenſions, that the *Iſraelites* ſhould, as he expreſſed it, *lick up all that were round about them, as the ox licketh up the graſs of the field.* Having conſulted together, and not daring to truſt to their arms alone, the aſſembly agreed to ſend for *Balaam*, the ſon of *Beor*, a famous prophet (G), or diviner of that

Balak *ſends for* Balaam *to curſe the* Iſraelites. Year of the Flood, 1547. Year before Chriſt 1451.

[x] Deut. ii. 10. [y] Ibid. p. 10, 11. [z] Gen. xiv. 5. [a] Numb. xxi. 26. [b] Numb. xxii. 1.

(G) Some *Jews* imagine this *Balaam* was an aſtrologer, who obſerving when men were under a bad aſpect of the ſtars, pronounced a curſe upon them; which ſometimes coming to paſs in neighbouring nations, gained him a great reputation. Several of the antient fathers ſuppoſe him to have been no more than a common ſoothſayer (41), who pretended to foretel future events, but by no juſtifiable arts. *Origen* will have it, that he was no prophet, but only a ſorcerer, who went to enquire of the devil; but that God was pleaſed to prevent him, and to put what anſwer he

(41) *See Joſeph.* 13. 22.

that time, in the prevalency of whoſe prayers and imprecations they had great confidence, that he might come and curſe the people, which gave them ſo much uneaſineſs(H). Accordingly ambaſſadors of both nations were ſent, not empty-handed, but with preſents, as is uſual in ſuch caſes, to *Balaam*, who dwelt at *Pethor*, a city of *Meſopotamia*, ſituate on the *Euphrates* [c], and told him the occaſion of their coming. The prophet deſired them to ſtay with him that night, that he might enquire of God, whether he ſhould go with them and curſe the *Iſraelites* or not: but being commanded not to go, nor to curſe a people whom God had determined to bleſs;

[c] Num. xxii. 5. Deut. xxiii. 4.

thought fit into his mouth. It cannot be denied however, but that the ſcripture expreſly calls him a *prophet*; and therefore ſome later writers (42) are of opinion, that he had been once a good man, and a true prophet, till loving the wages of unrighteouſneſs (43), and proſtituting the honour of God to his covetouſneſs, he apoſtatized from God, and, betaking himſelf to idolatrous practices, fell under the deluſion of the devil, of whom he learned all his magical enchantments; though at this juncture, when the preſervation of his people was concerned, it might conſiſt with God's wiſdom to appear to him, and vouchſafe him revelations. *Balaam* indeed was a man of no great probity, and might by profeſſion be a diviner; but by the free acceſs he had to God, it ſeems apparent, that he was no common ſorcerer or magician (44).

The *Jews* ſay *Balaam* was not his true name; but that he was ſo called, becauſe by his counſel בלע עם *Bala am*, i. e. *he deſtroyed the people* of God (45): and ſome have taken him to be the ſame perſon who in the book of *Job* is named *Eliſha* (46). The prophetical traditions of *Balaam* the *Perſian Magi* are ſaid to have had (47), and it is thought, that from his prophecy (48) the wiſe men knew the ſignification of the ſtar which appeared at our Saviour's birth (49).

(H) It was a received opinion among the heathen nations, that imprecations might be made which would have effect, not only on private perſons, but even whole armies and nations; and there were particular forms and ceremonies for that purpoſe (50).

(42) *See Patrick's Comment. on Numb.* xxii. (43) 2 *Pet.* ii. 15. (44) *Stackhouſe's Body of Divinity*, p. 465, *&c.* (45) *Vide Hottinger. Semegma Orient. p.* 444. (46) *See Patrick's Comment. ubi ſupr.* (47) *D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p.* 528. (48) *Numb.* xxiv. 17. (49) *Theodor. Tarſenſis, apud Hyde de rel. vet. Perſ. p.* 384. (50) *Vid. Macrob. Saturn. l.* 3. *c.* 9. *Plutarch. in vita Craſſi, p.* 553.

the

the next morning he told them, he could not diſobey the divine command, and ſo diſmiſſed them. On their return with this anſwer, *Balak*, whoſe ſole hopes lay in the prophet, ſent a ſecond embaſſy to him, conſiſting of perſons of more diſtinguiſhed quality, and in greater number, with promiſes of great riches and preferment, if he would comply with his requeſt. *Balaam* told them, that if he might gain ever ſo much wealth, he durſt not act contrary to the divine directions: however, being willing to gratify *Balak*, and tempted by the large offers which had been made him, notwithſtanding he knew it was a thing diſagreeable to GOD, yet he conſulted the oracle once more, and had then leave given him to go, provided he ſaid nothing, but what GOD ſhould put in his mouth. *Balaam* therefore went with the ambaſſadors, reſolving, as it ſeems, with himſelf, to do his utmoſt for the ſervice of thoſe who had employed him. But his intentions being diſpleaſing to GOD, he ſent an angel to withſtand him by the way, who placed himſelf in the road with a drawn ſword in his hand, as *Balaam* came riding on his aſs, attended by two ſervants only, and at a diſtance from the reſt of the company; the aſs ſeeing the angel (though her maſter did not) turned out of the way into the field; on which *Balaam* ſtruck her: then the angel went forward, and ſtood in a path between two walls: againſt one of which the aſs thruſting her ſelf to avoid the angel, cruſhed *Balaam*'s foot, and provoked him to ſtrike her again. At length the angel went farther, and ſtood in a place ſo narrow, that there was no room for the aſs to turn out of the way; but ſhe fell down under the prophet, and enraged him ſo that he ſtruck her a third time. Whereupon GOD miraculouſly opened the aſs's mouth (I), and ſhe ſpoke to her maſter with an articulate voice,

(I) This was ſo extraordinary an event, that ſome *Jews*, as great lovers of miracles as they are, have not been able to perſuade themſelves that it really came to paſs. *Philo* (50), in relating the ſtory of *Balaam*, wholly omits this circumſtance; and *Maimonides* (51), pretends it happened to *Balaam* in a prophetical viſion. But as there is no doubt of God's power to effect ſuch a miracle, and the words of ſcripture are very expreſs, there can be no reaſon for diſbelieving it. The heathens cannot reproach *Moſes* with any abſurdity in this ſtory, ſince they themſelves relate ſo many of the like nature, but not near ſo well ſupported. Witneſs what they ſay of the aſs upon which *Bacchus* rode; of the ram of

(50) *De vita Moſis, l.* 1. (51) *More Nevoch. part.* 2. *cap.* 42.

voice, and asked him, why he had given her thoſe three blows? *Balaam*, in the heat of his paſſion not conſidering the prodigy (K), angrily anſwered, that ſhe had purpoſely provoked him; and wiſhed he had a ſword to kill her. But on the aſs's demanding if ever ſhe had ſerved him in that manner before, he confeſſed that ſhe had not. Immediately on this *Balaam*'s eyes were opened, and he ſaw the angel ſtanding before him armed with a naked ſword; whereupon he fell proſtrate on his face, and the angel told him, that he had ſtruck his aſs without cauſe, ſince it was he that oppoſed him becauſe of his perverſeneſs; and that if the aſs had not turned out of the way he ſhould have killed him, and ſaved her alive (L). The prophet on this reprimand offered to return home again; but the angel bid him go on, taking care only to ſay no more than what God ſhould direct him [d].

Balaam being come to the borders of *Moab*, *Balak* went out to meet him; and, after ſome expoſtulations for not coming on the firſt meſſage, brought him to *Kirjath-huzoth*, where the king offered ſacrifices, and feaſted *Balaam* and the princes who were with him. The next day *Balak* brought the prophet up into the high places of *Baal* on mount *Abarim*, where he might have a full proſpect of the camp of the *Iſraelites*, whom he had hired him to curſe [e]. There *Balak*, by the prophet's direction, built ſeven altars, in which number there might poſſibly be ſome ſuperſtition; but the altars, as it appears, were erected to the true God, to whom they offered a bullock and a ram on each altar; and the ſame they did afterwards in two other places on the mountain. The

[d] Numb. xxii. 20, 35. [e] Numb. xxii. 36—41.

Phryxus; the bull of *Europa*; the horſes of *Achilles* and *Adraſtus*; the elephant of *Porus* in *India*, and the lamb in *Egypt* when *Bochchoris* reigned there (52).

(K) This ſeems to be the true reaſon why *Balaam* expreſſed no more ſurprize on this occaſion. But ſome ſuppoſe *Balaam* might have imbibed the doctrine of tranſmigration of ſouls, which was, and ſtill is, too common in the eaſt, and from thence might be the leſs aſtoniſhed to hear a brute ſpeak (53). *Joſephus* indeed tells us, but without authority, that he was afrighted at the accident (54).

(L) An inſtance of a prophet's being ſlain for diſobedience, and his aſs being ſaved alive, we have in the firſt book of Kings (55).

(52) *See Patrick's comment ubi ſupr.* (53) *Vide Cleric. comment. in locum.* (54) *Joſeph. Ant. l.* 1. (55) *Chap.* xiii. 23, *&c.*

two

two first times *Balaam* sought for enchantments [f], or used such means as he was able, to obtain leave of GOD to curse the children of *Israel*; but without success; for on the contrary he was commanded to bless them, sore against his inclination, and to the great mortification of *Balak* [g]. Wherefore the third time, finding that no enchantments could prevail against *Jacob*, nor any divination against *Israel*, he omitted his former arts, and not only blessed them a third time, but pronounced those cursed who should utter any imprecations against that people. *Balak* was exceedingly enraged at this disappointment, and ordered him to depart immediately; but *Balaam* before he went, pronounced in *Balak*'s presence a noble and magnificent prophecy of the future successes of the *Israelites*, and what should befal several nations and kingdoms [h]. As to *Moab* in particular, he foretold, *that a star* (M) *should come out of Jacob, and a sceptre should arise out of Israel, which should smite the corners* (or, as it may be better translated, the *princes*) *of* Moab, *and destroy all the children of* Seth [i] (N). Which prophecy the most judicious interpreters take to be primarily spoken of *David*, and fulfilled by his victories over that nation; though it be allowed also secondarily, and in a more exalted sense, to refer to the *Messiah*. After this *Balaam* returned home [k], but not

[f] See Vol. I. p. 477, 478. [g] Numb. xxiii. [h] Ibid. c. 24. [i] Ibid. ver. 17. [k] Ibid. ver. 25.

(M) The eastern nations denoted a king by a star or comet, the appearance of which they thought portended the rise of great princes, and the revolutions of empires (56).

(N) According to the genius of the *Hebrew* tongue, wherein it is elegant to repeat the same sentence in different expressions, by *the children of* Seth, the *Moabites* should be intended; but why they are so called we cannot find There is a passage in *Jeremiah*, which seems to prove, that in his time this place was differently read. *A fire* says that prophet, *shall come out of* Heshbon, *a flame from the midst of* Sihon, *which shall devour the corner of* Moab, *and the crown of the head of the tumultuous ones*, or, as it is better rendered in the margin, *of the children of noise* (57). The former part of this passage is taken from another text (58), and the latter from that which we are now speaking of. The difference between them is very little in the original: *Jeremiah* instead of קרקר *karkar, shall destroy*, having קדקד *kadkod*, the *crown of the head* (which is the reading of the *Samaritan* pentateuch in this very place) and instead of שת *Seth*, שאון *Shaon, noise*. But we dare not hence make any correction.

(56) *Vide Cleric. in loc.* (57) *Jerem. xlviii.* 45. (58) *Numb. xxi.* 28.

without

without giving a moſt wicked counſel (O) to *Balak* and the *Midianites*, which proved very pernicious to the children of *Iſrael*: for he told them, that it was in vain to expect that God would ever deſert that nation, ſo long as they continued in their duty; and therefore the only way to hurt and diſtreſs them, would be to tempt them to idolatry and diſobedience, which he thought no means ſo proper to effect, as by inticing them to debaucheries with the *Moabitiſh* and *Midianitiſh* women. And therefore he adviſed them, to ſend the moſt beautiful virgins they could find to the *Iſraelitiſh* camp, with proper inſtructions [l].

This was put in execution; the chief men among them making no ſcruple to proſtitute their daughters on this occaſion [m]: and the ſtratagem ſucceeded but too well. For the *Iſraelites* were immediately ſmitten with the charms of theſe fair idolatreſſes; and, having begun to commit whoredom with them, were eaſily ſeduced in another point, and prevailed on to comply with the worſhip of their falſe gods. This occaſioned a dreadful plague, which deſtroyed 24,000 of them, beſides thoſe who were put to death by the order of *Moſes* [n].

Their hiring of *Balaam* to curſe *Iſrael* was the reaſon why the *Moabites* were not to be admitted to mix, or intermarry with that people, as has been obſerved [o]; but the *Midianites*, who ſeem to have been more particularly the inſtruments of ſeducing them to idolatry, were more ſeverely puniſhed ſoon after, as will be related in a more proper place: and *Balaam* himſelf had his reward, being ſlain by the *Iſraelites* when they took their revenge on *Midian* [p].

[l] Joseph. Antiq. l. 4. c. 6. [m] Numb. xxv. 15. [n] Ibid. ver. 1——5. [o] See before, p. 82. [p] Numb. xxxi. 8. Joseph. Antiq. l. 5. c. 5.

(O) Though *Moſes* mentions not this where he deſcribes the interview between *Balaam* and *Balak*, yet in another place (59), he lays the whole blame on *Balaam*, ſaying, that the *Iſraelites* treſpaſſed *through his counſel*. *Joſephus* is very particular in relating this circumſtance, and tells us, that *Balaam* bethought himſelf of it when he came to the *Euphrates*, and thence ſent to ſpeak with *Balak* and the princes of *Midian* (60). The *Targum* of *Jonathan* and that of *Jeruſalem* ſuppoſe he gave this counſel juſt before he pronounced the laſt prophecy; and that the ſame is intimated by theſe words, *I will adviſe*, or *counſel thee* (61).

(59) *Numb. xxxi.* 16. *See alſo Revel. ii.* 14. (60) *Joſeph. Antiq. l. 4. c. 6.* (61) *Numb. xxiv.* 14. *Vid. etiam Cleric. in loc.*

The

THE next action which is recorded of the *Moabites* is, that they were the inſtruments of the ſecond oppreſſion of the *Iſraelites* after their ſettlement in the land of *Canaan*. For that people, on the death of *Othniel* the ſon of *Kenaz*, being without a head, returned again to idolatry; whereupon GOD raiſed up *Eglon* king of *Moab* to puniſh them. This prince therefore having entered into an alliance with the *Ammonites* and *Amalekites* his neighbours, with their aſſiſtance ſucceſsfully invaded *Iſrael*, and ſeized on the eaſtern part of their country, and particularly on a city called by *Moſes* the city of *palm trees*, by which is generally underſtood *Jericho* (P), which was in the lot of the tribe of *Benjamin*; and having left gariſons to keep the inhabitants in ſubjection, obliged them to pay tribute, and exerciſed great tyranny over them for no leſs than eighteen years. At the expiration of which time the children of *Iſrael*, returning to a better mind, had recourſe to GOD in their diſtreſs, who raiſed up to them a deliverer, a *Benjamite*, named *Ehud*. This perſon, being deputed by his countrymen to carry a preſent, or rather the tribute which was exacted of them, to *Eglon*, formed the deſign of freeing them from the intolerable oppreſſion they had ſo long undergone, by taking off their tyrant; he therefore provided himſelf with a dagger fit for the execution of his purpoſe, though ſhort enough to be hidden under his garments; and, being left-handed, he girt it on his right thigh, which alſo gave the leſs ſuſpicion of his being armed. Having delivered the tribute to the king, he ſent away thoſe who had brought it, and followed them ſo far homewards as the quarries near *Gilgal* (Q); but when he came thither he turned

(P) *Jericho* was famous among other things for the great numbers of palm trees of different kinds which grew in its neighbourhood (62). *Joſephus* ſays, that *Eglon* removed his court to this city (63): but he ſeems to have been miſtaken: for after it had been burnt by *Joſhua* (64), who curſed the perſon that ſhould rebuild it (65), it lay in ruins till the days of *Ahab* (66). However, the place might ſerve for a gariſon to keep the country in awe, for which uſe it was very well ſituated.

(Q) The word *Peſilim*, which in our verſion is rendered *the quarries*, is by the *Septuagint* tranſlated τὰ γλυπτὰ, and in the vulgate, *the idols, the ſculptures*, which ſome ſuppoſe to have been ſet up there by *Eglon* (67).

(62) *Deut. xxxiv.* 3. *Joſeph. de bello Jud. l.* 5. *c.* 4. (63) *Idem Antiq. l.* 5. *c.* 5. (64) *Joſh. vi.* 24. (65) *Ibid. ver.* 26. (66) 1 *Kings xvi.* 34. (67) *Chytræus, &c. See Vol. I. p.* 163, *in the notes.*

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back again, and being admitted into the king's preſence, who was then in a ſummer apartment, he pretended to have ſomething to impart to him in private. Whereupon *Eglon* ordered his attendants to withdraw: and *Ehud* told him, that he had a meſſage to deliver him from God; which the king riſing from his ſeat to receive, *Ehud* ſtabbed him with his dagger in the belly, and that with ſo violent a thruſt, that the haſt went in after the blade; and *Eglon* being a very fat man, the fat cloſed upon it, ſo that he was obliged to leave it in his body. Having thus executed his purpoſe, he locked the door of the apartment upon the king, and went out unſuſpected (R). The ſervants, after *Ehud* was gone, coming, and finding the door locked, concluded the king was eaſing himſelf, and therefore waited at the door till they were aſhamed; but at length they opened it, and found their maſter breathleſs on the floor. *Ehud* in the mean time eſcaped beyond *Jordan*, and gathering together what forces he could, attacked the *Moabites*, that were gariſoned on the weſt of the river within the land of *Canaan*, and ſlew ten thouſand of their beſt men; which utterly broke the power of *Moab*, and freed the *Iſraelites* from the yoke of that nation [q].

We hear no more of the *Moabites* after this diſaſter till the time of *Saul*, who warred againſt them with ſucceſs [r]. The enmity which ſubſiſted between him and this nation probably induced *David*, when perſecuted by that prince, to aſk the king of *Moab*'s protection for his parents, till his affairs ſhould be in a better poſture [s]; which the *Moabites* readily granted, and treated them with great hoſpitality, while *David* lay in the cave of *Adullam*. However, when he came to the crown, the *Moabites* entered into a confederacy againſt him with ſeveral of the neighbouring nations [t]: whereupon he declared war againſt them; and having obtained a ſignal victory,

[q] Judges iii. 12—30. [r] Sam. xiv. 47. [s] 1 Sam. xxii. 3, 4. Joseph. Antiq. l. 6. c. 14. [t] Pſal. lxxxiii. 5, 6, &c.

(R) This action of *Ehud* ſome juſtify, by ſuppoſing he had God's expreſs command for it (68). But as the ſcripture intimates no ſuch thing, others think he might lawfully rid his country of a tyrant, who had unjuſtly enſlaved it, by any means (69). A poſition which may encourage aſſaſſinations in every caſe, where the actor judges the cauſe he engages in to be righteous.

(68) *Vid. Patrick, in loc.* (69) *Cleric. in loc.*

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put two thirds of them to the ſword (S), and made the reſt his vaſſals and tributaries [u].

FROM this time they continued ſubject to *Solomon* and *Rehoboam* till the revolt of the ten tribes; upon which it ſeems they became tributaries to the kings of *Iſrael*, though they had all along kings of their own, which were little better than viceroys. *Meſha*, one of them, paid *Ahab* a yearly tribute of 100,000 lambs, and as many weathers, with the wool; his riches conſiſting chiefly in ſheep [w]. But when *Ahab* was dead he rebelled againſt his ſon *Ahaziah* [x], whoſe ſhort reign not permitting any attempt to reduce him, his brother and ſucceſſor *Jehoram*, aſſiſted by *Jehoſhaphat* king of *Judah*, his ally, and the king of *Edom* his tributary, made an expedition for that purpoſe, and took a compaſs of ſeven days march through the deſert of *Edom*, in order to ſurpriſe the enemy. Having reached the land of *Moab*, the army was diſtreſſed for want of water, and muſt have periſhed, had not the prophet *Eliſha* obtained a ſudden and large ſupply for them by a land-flood. The *Moabites*, being by this time alarmed, got together all that were able to bear arms, and early in the morning, ſeeing the water to the weſtward look red, like blood, by reaſon of the reflection of the ſun, and never ſuſpecting it to be water in that dry deſert, and in ſo great a quantity, they immediately took it to be blood, and, ſuppoſing the confederated princes had fallen out and turned their arms againſt one another, concluded they had no more to do than to take the ſpoil. On this imagination they ran in confuſion to the camp of *Iſrael*, but ſoon found their miſtake; for not being able to ſuſtain the firſt attack of the *Iſraelites*, they preſently turned their backs, and great numbers of them were

[u] 2 Sam. viii. 2. 1 Chron. xviii. 2. JOSEPH Antiq. l. 7. c. 5.
[w] 2 Kings iii. 4. [x] 2 Kings i. 1. & iii. 5.

(S) This is the meaning of the ſacred hiſtorian, when he ſays, *That* David *meaſured them with a line, caſting them down to the ground; even with two lines meaſured he to put to death; and with one full line to keep alive.* It ſeems to have been a cuſtom in the eaſt, to order the priſoners of war to lie down, and to meaſure by a line ſuch a part of them as they deſigned to put to death. *Le Clerc* thinks this probably was a juſt retaliation for ſome cruelties of the ſame kind which the *Moabites* had been guilty of. As the ſcripture does not ſay whether *David* put to death two thirds of the whole nation, or only of thoſe who appeared in arms againſt him; it is more for the honour of that prince to ſuppoſe the latter (70).

(70) *Idem in* 2 *Sam. viii.* 2.

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ſlain by the enemy, who purſued them into the very heart of their country, waſted their lands, and demoliſhed their cities, except *Kir-haraſeth*, where the king of *Moab* ſhut himſelf up. *Meſha* being beſieged and cloſely preſſed, made a ſally with 700 choice men, and endeavoured to eſcape, by breaking through the quarters of the *Edomites*, which were the weakeſt; but failing in the attempt, in the height of deſpair he took his eldeſt ſon, who ſhould have ſucceeded him in the throne, and offered him for a burnt-ſacrifice on the wall (T). Which barbarous act raiſed ſuch horror and indignation in his enemies, that they immediately raiſed the ſiege, and returned home [y].

It was not long before the *Moabites* attempted to revenge the loſſes they had ſuſtained in this invaſion, on *Jehoſhaphat* king of *Judah* (U), by whoſe aſſiſtance chiefly *Jehoram* was inabled to undertake it; and, to ſtrengthen themſelves, entered into alliance with the *Ammonites*, the *Edomites* of mount *Seir* (who were almoſt ripe for rebellion, and actually did rebel againſt *Jehoſhaphat*'s ſon), and ſome other neighbouring nations (W), and formed a very large army, carrying on their

[y] Ibid. ver. 6, 27. Joseph. Antiq. l. 9. c. 1.

(T) Several writers (71) ſuppoſe *Meſha* did not ſacrifice his own ſon, but the ſon of the king of *Edom*, whom, they ſay, he took in the ſally; and that this is the ſame action with that mentioned by the prophet *Amos*, who threateneth *Moab*, *becauſe he burnt the bones of the king of* Edom *into lime* (72). But they ſeem to be different actions; for, not to inſiſt on the ſtrict acceptation of the two paſſages, one ſpeaking of a king of *Edom*, and the other of a king's ſon, it was a known cuſtom in antient times, for princes in extreme calamities of the public, to offer their moſt beloved child as an expiatory ſacrifice, to avert the impending vengeance of the gods (73).

(U) Some make this action prior to the invaſion of *Moab* by this prince and *Jehoram*; but we ſhall elſewhere ſhew that it ought to be placed after it.

(W) Who theſe nations were is uncertain. The original word *Mehaammonium* ſhould be tranſlated (as it is in the *Vulgate*) *with the Ammonites*, were it not that the children of *Ammon* are mentioned before. To avoid the abſurdity of which repetition, the *Septuagint*, if their copies were not different from the preſent *Hebrew* in this

(71) *See the Argument to the iii chap. of 2 Kings, in the Engliſh Bible; and Uſher's Annals, ad Annum Mundi, &c.* (72) *Amos ii.* 1. (73) *See Vol. I. p.* 305. *Vide etiam Porphyr. de Abſtin. l.* 2. *Ælian. var. Hiſt. l.* 12. *c.* 28. *Juſtin. l.* 18. *c.* 6. *Plut. in Pelopida, &c.*

their deſign with ſuch ſecrecy and diſpatch, that they were entered the kingdom by the way of *Edom*, and were got to *Hazazon-tamar*, or *En-gedi*, on the weſt of the *Dead-ſea*, before *Jehoſhaphat* had any advice of their motion. That good prince was greatly diſmayed at the news, and, being unprepared for the reception of his enemies, had recourſe to GOD, who promiſed him by the prophet *Jahaziel* to deliver him from his enemies without his ſtriking a blow. And it happened accordingly: for while *Jehoſhaphat* and his army, in confidence of the prophecy, were marching towards the enemy, with the prieſts and ſingers at their head, praiſing GOD, the ſeveral nations that had leagued againſt them, deſtroyed one another by falling into the ambuſhes which themſelves had ſet againſt the men of *Judah*; ſo that the *Ammonites* and *Moabites* firſt fell upon their confederates of *Edom*; and, having put them to the ſword, began to cut one another's throats till none were left alive. And when *Jehoſhaphat* and his people came up with them, they had no more to do than to ſeize the plunder, which was very rich, and in ſuch abundance that they were three days in gathering it [z].

AFTER this we do not find, that the *Moabites* diſturbed *Iſrael* for many years; however, between this and the reign of *Uzziah* king of *Judah*, they had invaded their neighbours of *Edom*; and having the better of them, inhumanly burnt their king (whether alive or dead is not ſaid), and reduced his bones to aſhes: for which piece of cruelty GOD denounced

[z] 2 Chron. xx. 1—25. JOSEPH. ubi ſupra.

place, render it *ſome of the* Minæans; of which name *Bochart* ſuppoſes there were two people, one of the race of *Shem*, dwelling in *Arabia felix*, and the other of the race of *Ham*, who ſettled in *Arabia petræa*, and are meant in this place, being, as he thinks, by the *Jews* called *Meonim*, which word occurs in two places of the book of *Chronicles* (74), (though the *Engliſh* tranſlation in the firſt place takes it for an appellative, and renders it *the habitations*) and is in both by the *Septuagint* tranſlated *Minæans*. Wherefore *Bochart* prefers the *Greek* reading, in the paſſage before us, to the *Hebrew*; being of opinion, that there is a tranſpoſition of the letters *Mem* and *Ain* (75). The *Chaldee* paraphraſt has it, *with the Edomites*. But there ſeems to be no occaſion for any change, ſince the particle prefixed may, agreeably to its force elſewhere, be rendered *beyond* or *beſides*; (76) for which reaſon the *Engliſh* verſion is judged to have rightly interpreted the words, *and others beſides the Ammonites*.

(74) 1 *Chron. iv.* 41. 2 *Chron. xxvi.* 7. (75) *Bochart. Phaleg. l.* 2. *c.* 23. (76) *Vide Cleric. in loc.*

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ſevere judgments againſt them by the prophet *Amos* [a]. And on the declenſion of the kingdom of *Iſrael*, they alſo ſeem to have retaken from the tribes of *Reuben* and *Gad* great part of the land which had formerly belonged to them before the invaſion of *Sihon*; for, in the prophecies of *Iſaiah* and *Jeremiah* againſt *Moab*, ſeveral cities in thoſe territories are mentioned, as then in the poſſeſſion of that nation, or of the *Ammonites* [b], who were probably their confederates in oppreſſing the *Iſraelites*. Theſe ſucceſſes elated the *Moabites* ſo much, that for their pride and inſolence God threatened them with utter deſtruction, by ſeveral of his prophets [c]: And *Iſaiah* in particular foretold, that within three years *Ar* and *Kir-Haraſeth*, two of their principal cities, ſhould be deſtroyed, and the reſt of their country brought to contempt and deſolation [d]. This prophecy being dated in the firſt year of king *Hezekiah* [e], muſt have been executed the very year that *Samaria* was firſt beſieged by *Salmaneſer* king of *Aſſyria*, who probably ſubjected *Moab*, and placed gariſons in thoſe towns, to ſtop the incurſions which the *Arabs* might that way make on him, before he began the ſiege [f].

After the fearful deſtruction of the army of *Sennacherib* the ſon of *Salmaneſer*, the *Moabites* often revolted from his ſucceſſors, and were as often reduced, till they were entirely ſubdued by *Nebuchadnezzar*, into whoſe hands their king was given, according to a prediction of *Jeremiah* [g], the fifth year after his taking *Jeruſalem* [h]. For the *Babyloniſh* yoke ſat ſo uneaſy on them, that though they took advantage of the low condition of *Judah*, and miſſed few or no opportunities of harraſſing that nation [i], yet on *Nebuchadnezzar*'s departure from *Judæa* and *Syria*, after his ſecond expedition into thoſe parts, they with the other neighbouring nations propoſed to *Zedekiah*, to enter into a league with him againſt the *Chaldeans*; which that prince [k], notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of *Jeremiah* to the contrary, conſenting to, on the acceſſion of the *Egyptians* to their confederacy, it became the occaſion of his utter ruin; his new allies deſerting him in his diſtreſs.

From this time hiſtory makes very little mention of the *Moabites*, who were henceforward ſubject to the great empires, and at length coaleſced with, and were ſwallowed up

[a] Amos ii. 1, 2, 3. [b] Iſaiah xv. & xvi. Jerem. xlviii. ix. [c] Ibid. & Ezek. xxv. 8, & 9. Zeph. ii. 8, 9, 10, 11. [d] Iſai. xv. 1. xvi. 7. [e] Ibid. c. xiv. 28. [f] Vide Prid. Connect. Part 1. B. 1. p. 18. [g] Jerem. xxvii. 3—5. xxv. 21. [h] Joseph. Antiq. l. x. c. 11. [i] 2 Kings xxiv. 2. [k] Jerem. xxvii.

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in, the neighbouring nations which inhabit the deserts of *Syria*; so that though *Josephus* mentions the *Moabites*, as a distinct nation long after, saying they were subdued by *Alexander Jannæus* king of the *Jews* [l], and tells us they were a populous nation, even in his time [m]; yet by the third century after CHRIST they lost their antient name, and became comprehended under the more general denomination of *Arabians* [n].

SECT. II.

The History of Ammon.

THIS people were the posterity of *Ammon*, otherwise called *Ben Ammi* (tho' that is not positively known) signifying *the son of my people*, our kindred, the offspring of *Lot* and his younger daughter [o]. We have given the history of this incestuous birth in speaking of *Moab*, the son of the elder sister by her father [p].

THE children of *Ammon* possessed themselves of the country called, after their own name, *Ammonitis*, adjoining to the north of *Moabitis*, after having driven out the *Zamzummims*, as they called them, who were giants, and the antient inhabitants of the land [q]. This country [r], as well as *Moabitis*, is by some reckoned a part of *Cœle-Syria* [s], and by others of *Arabia*, and was, in its first state under the *Ammonites*, bounded by the river *Jabbok* on the north [t]; though elsewhere it seems as if it extended beyond that northward, into the mountains of *Gilead* [u]: on the west, it had the river *Jordan*; on the south the river *Arnon* [w], or the confines of *Moabitis*; on the east, the deserts of *Arabia*. But in the days of *Moses* the *Amorites* had dislodged them from their first boundaries, at the same time they disturbed the *Moabites*, driving the *Ammonites* from the western part of their possession into, and across the mountains, which served them for an immediate defence, perhaps, against the farther pursuit of the *Amorites*, and as a strong barrier to protect them, in part, from invasions thereafter [x]. Their exact boundaries, especially after this expulsion, we cannot settle. We have only to add, that

Of the country possessed by the Ammonites.

[l] JOSEPH. de bello Jud. l. 1. c. 4. [m] Idem. Antiq. l. 1. c. 11. [n] ORIGEN. in Job. l. 1. [o] Gen. xix. 38. [p] See before, p. 79, 80. [q] Deuter. ii. 20. [r] JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 1. c. 16—5. [s] Steph. de urb. in Ἀμμανος. [t] Judg. xi. 22. [u] Josh. xiii. 24, 25. [w] Judg. ubi supra. [x] See Numb. xxi. 24.

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THE children of *Ammon* poſſeſſed themſelves of the country called, after their own name, *Ammonitis*, adjoining to the north of *Moabitis*, after having driven out the *Zamzummims*, as they called them, who were giants, and the antient inhabitants of the land [q]. This country [r], as well as *Moabitis*, is by ſome reckoned a part of *Cæle-Syria* [s], and by others of *Arabia*, and was, in its firſt ſtate under the *Ammonites*, bounded by the river *Jabbok* on the north [t]; though elſewhere it ſeems as if it extended beyond that northward, into the mountains of *Gilead* [u]: on the weſt, it had the river *Jordan*; on the ſouth the river *Arnon* [w], or the confines of *Moabitis*; on the eaſt, the deſerts of *Arabia*. But in the days of *Moſes* the *Amorites* had diſlodged them from their firſt boundaries, at the ſame time they diſturbed the *Moabites*, driving the *Ammonites* from the weſtern part of their poſſeſſion into, and acroſs the mountains, which ſerved them for an immediate defence, perhaps, againſt the farther purſuit of the *Amorites*, and as a ſtrong barrier to protect them, in part, from invaſions thereafter [x]. Their exact boundaries, eſpecially after this expulſion, we cannot ſettle. We have only to add, that

[l] JOSEPH. de bello Jud. l. 1. c. 4. [m] Idem. Antiq. l. 1. c. 11. [n] ORIGEN. in Job. l. 1. [o] Gen. xix. 38. [p] See before, p. 79, 80. [q] Deuter. ii. 20. [r] JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 1. c. 16—5. [s] Steph. de urb. in Ἀμμανον. [t] Judg. xi. 22. [u] Joſh. xiii. 24, 25. [w] Judg. ubi ſupra. [x] See Numb. xxi. 24.

their kingdom, probably, was not of very wide extent, no more than that of *Moab*; and that it was chiefly a corn country, as may be gathered from the tribute on its inhabitants, which will be ſeen in the courſe of their hiſtory.

The cities of this kingdom we know little enough of. The metropolis was called *Rabbah*; which to diſtinguiſh it from the chief city of *Moab*, which bore the ſame name or epithet was called *Rabbah of the children of Ammon* [y]. It was alſo known by the name of *Ammana* [z]. This capital ſeems to have been diſtinguiſhed into two parts, *Rabbah* properly ſo called, and the *city of waters*. Whence the waters were derived to it, whether from the river *Jabbok*, or whether from exuberant ſprings in or about it, cannot be determined. This only we have ſome authority to ſay, that it was the moſt delightful part of the city, and that the king's houſe ſtood there; from whence this part may have been ſtiled the *royal city* [a]. *Rabbah* moreover was famous for being the place where the great iron bedſtead of *Og* king of *Baſhan* was to be ſeen [b]. In proceſs of time this city was called *Philadelphia* [c], from *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, who rebuilt it in a ſumptuous manner; and for ages after it was a city of firſt note: nay, of ſuch eminence as to impoſe its name upon the countries of *Ammonitis*, and *Moabitis*; from whence you have the *Philadelphian Arabia* [d]. The other conſiderable cities of this kingdom were *Minnith* (concerning which there is ſome doubt) and *Abel* of the vineyard [e]. *Jaſer*, or *Jazar*, is alſo reckoned among the cities of *Ammon* [f], but inaccurately [g].

We know very little of the manners and cuſtoms of this people. They had kings, and were circumciſed [h], and ſeem to have been principally addicted to huſbandry. They, as well as the *Moabites*, were among the nations, whoſe peace or proſperity the *Iſraelites* were not to ſtrive after. Neither the one nor the other of them were to be admitted into the congregation to the tenth generation; ſo wide was the diſtance between the *Iſraelites* and them! The reaſon, becauſe they did not come out to relieve them in the wilderneſs; and becauſe they joined to hire *Balaam* to curſe them [i]. How-

[y] Deut. iii. 11. [z] Steph. in Αμμαν. [a] See 2 Sam. xii. 26, 27. [b] Deut. ubi ſupr. [c] Vide Euseb. Onomaſt. urbium & locorum. [d] Vide Cellarii notitiam Orbis antiqui. c. 14. [e] Judg. xi. 33. [f] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 11. 1 Maccab. v. 8. [g] Vid. Cellar. ubi ſupr. [h] Jerem. ix. 25, 26. [i] Deut. xxxiii. 4.

ever,

ever, we find there was afterwards a very good underſtanding between their king *Nahaſh* and *David* [k].

THE religion of the *Ammonites*, as we have already obſerved concerning that of the *Moabites*, was originally as pure as it could flow from ſo clear a ſtream as the inſtruction of *Lot*; but they alſo ſwerved therefrom by degrees, and at length degenerated into the moſt ſtupid, and, as is generally ſuppoſed, the moſt cruel idolatry. *Their religion.*

THEIR chief and peculiar deity is in the ſcripture called *Molech*, or *Moloch*. He is thought alſo to be underſtood under the names of *Baal*, *Milcom*, *Melech*, *Adramelech*, *Anamelech*, and the like. Theſe names, or titles, ſignify no more than lord, or king, and ſometimes have a pre-junctive epithet, as in the two laſt, where he is ſtiled the *mighty* and *rich Melech*, *Moloch*, or king: theſe two were the gods of the *Sepharvites*. We ſhall only ſpeak of the *Ammoniti ſh Moloch* in this place. The learned are not poſitively agreed in what relates to him. It is on all hands allowed, that they addreſſed him under the title of king, or *Moloch* [l]. His image is ſaid to have been hollow, and to have been divided into ſeven receptacles. The firſt was opened for an offering of fine flour; the ſecond for an offering of turtles; the third for a ſheep; the fourth for a ram; the fifth for a calf; the ſixth for an ox; the ſeventh for a child. It had the head of an ox, and the arms of a man ſtretched out in act to receive [m] (A). Now theſe ſeven receptacles are alſo called ſeven chapels; and inſtead of

[k] 2 Sam. x. 2. [l] Vide Voss. de Idololat. & SELDEN de Diis Syr. Syntag. 1. c. vi. [m] PAUL. FAGIUS apud eund. ubi ſupr.

(A) An antient *Jewiſh* traveller ſays, "that when he was in "theſe parts, there were yet ſtanding remains of the antient temple "of the *Ammonites*, and therein their idol ſeated upon a throne. "This idol was of ſtone, gilt over with gold, and had on each "hand the image of a woman in a ſitting poſture (77): before the "idol was the altar on which the *Ammonites* offered their ſacrifices "and incenſe." *Selden* thinks this idol and this temple cannot be thought to have been erected to *Moloch*, that moſt antient deity of the *Ammonites* (78). And indeed we think this traveller muſt have been ſome how or other impoſed on, or miſtaken. However, we muſt not apprehend, that the images of *Moloch* were always large and fixed: they were likewiſe ſmall and portable, and carried up and down in ſhrines, according to appearance, and as the cuſtom was with other idolaters, as will be obſerved at due times (79).

(77) *Benjamin. Itinerar.* (78) *In Syntag. prim. de diis Syr.* (79) *Vide eund. ibid.*

being within the image itſelf, are placed orderly before it [n]. Whatever was the diſpoſition of theſe ſeven places, their number correſponding with that of the ſun, moon, and five planets, has given room to ſuppoſe, that they worſhipped the ſun intentionally [o]; and the rather, as the oblations ſeem to riſe in ſuch proportion as might, according to this people, beſt befit the degree of each of theſe heavenly bodies. But it were endleſs to expatiate in a conjectural way upon ſo obſcure a matter, as the learned have done. Some accounts there are farther concerning this idol, but they are very doubtful (B). *Chemoſh* alſo was a god of the *Ammonites*, concerning whom we have ſaid all we can already *.

As to the ſuperſtitions paid to *Moloch*, there is a wide diſcrepancy among authors. By the ſcripture it is often ſaid, that the *Ammonites paſſed their ſeed through fire to* Moloch. This expreſſion is taken in a literal ſenſe by ſome, in a figurative ſenſe by others. The firſt ſentiment is embraced by the *Jewiſh* writers (C), who for the moſt part hold, that the

[n] See Bedford's Script. Chronol. p. 259. [o] Vide Voss. ubi ſupr. * See before, p. 82.

(B) To give you the various opinions of ſome learned men, *Moloch* has been taken for *Priapus*, for *Mercury*, for *Saturn*, and for *Venus* or the morning ſtar (80). But as fancy, chiefly, rules over theſe conjectures, it is enough that we give the bare mention of them.

(C) Some of the *Jewiſh* writers hold, That the children were ſolemnly delivered to the prieſts; who returning them again, they were carried by their parents, upon their ſhoulders, between two fires. According to others, the prieſts carried them. A very eminent writer of this ſort ſays, "That the prieſts or ſervants of fire "perſuaded men that their children would die if they did not paſs "them through fire: wherefore, parents being anxious for the "lives of their children, and perceiving there was neither dan-"ger nor difficulty in performing the ceremony, no one neglected "it, conſidering that the children were not to be conſumed by fire, "but only to paſs through it" (81). This alſo is the opinion of *Solomon Yarhi*, *Joſeph Karo*, and others; but *Aben Ezra* diſſents therefrom, and affirms, that *paſſing through fire* muſt be here underſtood of *burning*. *Voſſius* inſiſts on it, that wherever the expreſſion of *paſſing through fire* is met with, it muſt be taken in the ſtrictneſs of the letter; but allows, that in caſes of great calamity and upon other particular occaſions, they gave up their offspring as an

(80) *Vide Voſſ. de Idololatria, lib.* 2. *c.* 5. (81) *Moſes Maim. More Nevoch. lib.* 3. *c.* 38.

expiatory

the children were barely carried or led between two fires, by way of purification: the latter is adopted by the chriſtian writers chiefly, who think that they actually burnt their children, by way of ſacrifice to this grim idol. There was a place near *Jeruſalem* where this horrid cuſtom was obſerved. It was called the *valley of the ſons of* Hinnom [p] (D), ſo named from the ſhrieks of the children ſacrificed: as alſo *Tophet* [q], from a *Hebrew* word *Toph*: ſignifying a drum or tabret, which they uſed among other inſtruments, to drown the dreadful outcries of the unhappy victims. Whence this cruelty took birth, is what we may have occaſion to diſcuſs at large hereafter.

They drive out the Zamzummims.

As the *Moabites* drove out the *Emims*, and poſſeſſed themſelves of their country, ſo the *Ammonites* forced the *Zuzims*, or *Zamzummims*, as they called them, from their habitations, and ſettled themſelves there. Theſe *Zamzummims*, as well as the *Emims*, are ſtiled giants [r], and were doubtleſs both derived from the ſame ſtock [s]. This gigantic race had been invaded by *Chedorlaomer* king of *Elam* [t], who, deſtroying great numbers of them, as ſhould ſeem, made it the eaſier for the children of *Ammon* to diſlodge them. When this expulſion was effected, or in what manner, we know not. However, the *Ammonites* themſelves underwent the ſame fate in the days of *Moſes*, being diſpoſſeſſed by *Sihon* the *Amorite*, who drove them into, and to the eaſtward of, the mountains.

Their hiſtory.

THE names of their firſt kings do not occur. They joined *Eglon* king of *Moab* againſt *Iſrael* [u], and ſhared in the ſuc-

[p] 2 Chron. xxviii. 3. [q] 2 Kings xxiii. 10. [r] Deut. ii. 20, 21. [s] See before, p. 85. [t] Gen. xiv. 5. [u] See before p. 91.

expiatory ſacrifice to their god (82). *Selden* is of a quite different ſentiment, and will have it, that they not only led their children through fire, but burnt them alſo at the ſame time. This he proves as far as a matter of this nature can be aſcertained (83). Upon the whole, remembering how common a practice it was to offer up theſe unnatural oblations among ſome of the neighbouring nations, the ſame may probably have prevailed among the *Ammonites*.

(D) This valley was a very delightful place, watered by the ſprings of *Siloah*. It was ſhady and beautified with gardens. And indeed it is remarkable that the heathens commonly choſe fountain-heads and ſolemn groves for the ſcenes of the homage they paid their deities. This cuſtom our author ſuppoſes they borrowed from the *Ammonites* (84).

(82) *Vide Voſſ. ubi ſupr.* (83) *Vide Seld. ubi ſupr.* (84) *Hieron. in Jerem. c. vii. xxxii.*

ceſſes of that war; but who was their leader at this time is not ſaid.

They war with the Iſraelites *under an anonymous king.*

About two hundred years after this, we find the *Ammonites* as principals in a war, under an anonymous king, againſt the *Iſraelites*. This prince took it into his head to attempt the recovery of the antient country of *Ammonitis*; and making an irruption into it, he bore down all before him, and reduced the land, and kept it in ſubjection to him eighteen years. Encouraged by his ſucceſs, he croſſed over the river *Jordan*, and inſulted the tribes of *Judah*, and *Benjamin*, and *Ephraim* [w]; but returned to the other ſide again, and prepared (E) to make a compleat conqueſt of the country on both ſides of the river [x]; or at leaſt to get a handſome portion of it. For it is ſaid, that the *Philiſtines* alſo at this time invaded *Iſrael*; but whether with ſeparate views, or in combination with the *Ammonites*, does not appear; though it is moſt likely they intended to ſhare the ſpoil between them. But to ſpeak of the king of *Ammon* ſingly, he perſevered in his purpoſe, and encamped in *Gilead*; and the *Iſraelites* having turned to God, who had ſuffered them to be ſo long oppreſſed for their wickedneſs, they were inſpired with a courage to oppoſe this arrogant invader, and not only ſtop the progreſs of his arms, but drive him out of *Gilead*, where he had lorded it for eighteen years. Accordingly, meſſengers came to him from their new general *Jephthah*, to demand his reaſons for perſiſting in his enmity againſt them, and threatening them with farther calamities. His anſwer to them was, that the remembrance of the injuries his fore-fathers had ſuſtained when the *Iſraelites* diſpoſſeſſed them of their country, had

[w] Judg. x. 8. [x] Joseph. Antiq. lib. v. c. 9.

(E) There is pretty conſiderable difference here between the ſcripture and *Joſephus*. He ſays, the *Ammonites* and the *Philiſtines* had only prepared to croſs the river *Jordan*. The ſcripture ſays, the *Ammonites* did actually croſs over to fight with *Judah*, and *Benjamin* and *Ephraim*; ſo that the *Iſraelites* were in great diſtreſs. We have therefore harmonized the one with the other; in which we know not but we may be miſtaken. For, after all, this warfare is not very clearly related in ſcripture. If they croſſed to this ſide of *Jordan*, what did they here? we are not told. How came it to paſs that the inhabitants of thoſe tribes did not croſs over to *Gilead*, where the war was decided? we know not. In a word, this war ſeems by the ſcripture to have affected only the north-eaſtern *Iſraelites* who had been oppreſſed by the *Ammonites*, and ſhook off the yoke at laſt by their own ſtruggles, without any other aſſiſtance.

excited

excited him thereto; and therefore required them forthwith to reſtore that realm to him, as in juſtice they ought. In reply to this pretenſion, there came ambaſſadors to him again from *Jephthah*: and theſe made an hiſtorical remonſtrance to him of his miſtake, in ſaying *the Iſraelites* had driven out the *Ammonites*, and, ſtifly expatiating upon the truth of the ſtory throughout the ſeveral circumſtances, expected his anſwer: but he gave no ear to them, and was bent at all hazards upon a war. And therefore as he lay near *Aroer*, he was attacked by *Jephthah*, who gave him a total overthrow; and being put to flight, he was purſued with great loſs of blood, even into his own dominions, to *Minnith*, and from thence as far as *Abel of the vineyards*: ſo that not only his army was ſlaughtered, but good part of his country alſo was pillaged and waſted [y]. This was the event of the war, which put an end to the tyranny of *Ammon* over the *Iſraelites* on the other ſide *Jordan*, and which had laſted eighteen years.

THE next of their kings we find mentioned, is called NAHASH. He flouriſhed in the days of *Saul*, from whom he received the juſt reward of his great inſolence and barbarity. For reviving the old claim upon the territory inhabited by the *Iſraelites* on the other ſide *Jordan*, he waged war with them, and in the beginning was attended with all the ſucceſs imaginable. At length coming to the city of *Jabeſh*, he beſieged it. The terrour of his arms was ſo great, that the inhabitants were at once for throwing themſelves at his feet, and acknowledging him for their lord and king. This ſubmiſſion, which might have mollified the leaſt generous heart, ſerved only to harden his. He would hearken to them upon no other condition than their conſenting every one to the loſs of his right eye, that in them he might ſtigmatize the whole body of *Iſrael*. The inhabitants returned, That if he would allow them but ſeven days to endeavour a deliverance from him, they would ſubmit to his terms after the expiration of that time, if none was found to deliver them. This he granted them, and, ſecure within himſelf, waited for the cruel ſatisfaction he propoſed ſhortly to enjoy. But he was aſſaulted in three ſeveral parts of his camp by *Saul*, very early on the eighth morning, when he expected the inhabitants to march out to him, as they deceitfully told him they ſhould the night before; and his army was put into ſuch confuſion, that the *Iſraelites* had little elſe to do but to put them to the ſword. Inſtead of a battle it is termed a ſlaughter, which laſted till the heat of the day; at which time the ſurviving remnant of *Nahaſh*'s army was ſo perfectly diſperſed, that Nahaſh *king*.

[y] Judg. xi.

there was no two of them to be ſeen together [z]. Thus ended this war. We are informed, that *Nahaſh* did ſome kindneſſes to king *David*. *Joſephus* differs from ſcripture in his account of this war (F).

Hanun *king.*

Hanun ſucceeded his father *Nahaſh* (G). in the kingdom; but whether this *Nahaſh* be the very ſame who was defeated by *Saul* at *Jabeſh*, we are not told. However this was, we are informed, that *Nahaſh*, the father of *Hanun*, had lived in a very fair intelligence with *David*. Wherefore when this latter heard, that *Nahaſh* was dead, and that his ſon ſucceeded, he, for the father's ſake, ſent ambaſſadors to the young king, to condole with him for his loſs, to congratulate him upon his acceſſion, and to offer a continuance of the friendſhip which had been cheriſhed between the late king and him. *Hanun* ſeems to have been a weak prince, and had very ignorant counſellors about him. Whence it came to paſs, that when he received theſe compliments from king *David* by the mouth of his ambaſſadors, he, inſtead of improving them to advantage, took a falſe ſtep which he never could recover. For inſtead of entertaining theſe ambaſſadors with the hoſpitality and decency which became him, he ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded, that they were no better than ſpies; and accordingly forgetting the ſacredneſs of their character, he ſhaved off the half of their beards, cut away their garments by the

[z] 1 Sam. xi.

(F) There ſeems to be ſomething very unaccountable in *Joſephus*'s hiſtory of this war: he ſays, that *Nahaſh* began it, and carried it on for ſome time with the violences uſual in the like caſes, and with this political addition, of plucking out the right eyes of all thoſe he took, that they might loſe the uſe of their bucklers, which covered the left eye, or the uſe of that eye at all; and ſo reduce them to ſlavery for life, ſeeing they would be unable to defend themſelves. But may it not be aſked how it could come to paſs, that thoſe, who preſſed on ſo haſtily to relieve *Jabeſh*, could have ſuffered *Nahaſh* to have gone on in a courſe of this cruelty for even the ſhorteſt ſpace of time? this hiſtorian ſeems here to be quite wide of the ſenſe of the ſacred text.

(G) Notwithſtanding *Joſephus* informs us, that *Nahaſh* was killed upon the breaking up of the ſiege of *Jabeſh*, (85) we cannot forbear thinking that he lived many years afterwards, and was the father of this *Hanun*. His behaviour at *Jabeſh*, ſpeaks him to have been a raſh, hot-headed, young man at that time, and he might naturally enough have lived fifty or threeſcore years afterwards. We are ſeemingly ſupported in our opinion by the ſcripture itſelf.

(85) *Joſeph. Antiq. lib.* 6. 6.

buttocks,

buttocks, and in that ſhameful diſguiſe ſent them back to their king. This amazing defect in policy and contempt of *David*, in open defiance of the laws of nature, hoſpitality, and gratitude, brought on a war *, which ended very deſtructively upon him and his kingdom.

IT was ſoon told him how grievouſly *David* reſented the affront, and what preparations he was making to chaſtiſe him for it. *Hanun*, therefore, perceiving himſelf on the brink of a war, to which he ſingly was unequal, diſpatched ambaſſadors to the neighbouring princes, to hire and ſolicit the aſſiſtance of troops from them, to enable him to withſtand the invaſion which threatened his kingdom. What the troops he procured were, either in quality or number, is not clearly evident, inaſmuch as the ſcripture varies (H) concerning them. Firſt, we are told, that *Hanun* ſent to the *Syrians* of *Bethreboh*, and to the *Syrians* of *Zobah*, from whom he had twenty thouſand footmen; to the king of *Maachah*, who furniſhed one thouſand men; and to the king of *Iſhtob*, who ſent twelve thouſand men [a]. With this *Joſephus* agrees pretty well in reſpect of number, retrenching only the one thouſand men ſupplied by the king of *Maachah*, and allowing him and the king of *Iſhtob* to have contributed twelve thouſand men between them [b]. Whence, inſtead of making the number of theſe mercenaries to have amounted to thirty three thouſand, as the ſcripture does, he gives them at thirty two thouſand. Again, we are told, that *Hanun* ſent a thouſand talents of ſilver, therewith to hire chariots and horſemen out of *Meſopotamia*, and out of *Syria Maachah*, and out of *Zobah*; and that he actually hired thirty two thouſand chariots beſides the king of *Maachah*'s men [c]. Between *Joſephus* and this paſſage of Scripture there is a more material difference than before: He ſays, thoſe which came out of *Meſopotamia* were footmen [d]. Here alſo we ſee the ſcripture keeps to the number of thirty three thouſand. However, though the number be the ſame as before, the difference is very great. But let us proceed to the actions and event of this war.

* 2 Sam. x. 1 Chron. xix. JOSEPH. Antiq. lib. 7. c. 6. [a] 2 Sam. ubi ſupra. [b] JOSEPH. Antiq. ubi ſupra. [c] 1 Chron. ubi ſupra [d] ubi ſupra.

(H) This we cannot pretend to account for, nor do we know that it was ever cleared by any one, in a ſatisfactory manner. *Hadarezer* is in ſcripture mentioned as the chief prince of the *Syrian* nations; *Joſephus* ſpeaks of one *Syrus* as chief, and calls him king of *Meſopotamia* (86).

(86) *Id. lib.* 7. b.

HANUN

Hanun having thus drawn a considerable force from the neighbouring countries, and raised an army of his own subjects, marched out of *Rabbah* to fight *Joab*, whom *David* had sent at the head of his army. The *Ammonites* and their auxiliaries drew up in two distinct bodies; (*viz.*) the *Ammonites* under the walls of their city, and the auxiliaries at some distance on the plain. By this disposition they thought to have charged *Joab*'s front, and at the same time to have fallen upon his rear; but this took not effect. For the *Ammonites* were attacked by *Abishai*, *Joab*'s brother, whilst *Joab* himself charged the *Syrians*. The *Ammonites* (I) sustained *Abishai*'s charge with great constancy, and maintained the conflict with intrepidity, till, perceiving their *Syrian* friends to give ground, they thought it most adviseable to retreat into their city, and they did so.

The next year their *Syrian* allies, ashamed of their last defeat, made head again, (K) but being utterly routed by

(I) In what concerns this battle we reject *Josephus* *, and choose to interpret the scripture according to reason and the nature of things. He says, the *Ammonites*, perceiving their allies to be routed, hurried into their city without striking a stroke. Partiality for his fore-fathers might perhaps have tempted him to represent them so very formidable to their enemies. But can it be supposed, that when *Joab* divided his army between his brother and himself, that they did not advance with an equal pace each against his opposite? And especially, as *Josephus* allows, that the *Syrians* stood their ground till a considerable slaughter was made among them, which could not be the work of a minute; *Abishai* must have moved on very slowly, if before the *Syrians* were broke he did not charge the *Ammonites*. On the other side the *Ammonites*, who were principals in this war, if they had perceived *Abishai* afraid to give them battle, or seemingly so, and at the same time beheld their auxiliaries in a furious and doubtful conflict with *Joab*, they must have had sense and courage enough to march up to *Abishai*, and force him to battle, before the *Syrians* began to flee. If the whole story be well considered, it is not to be imagined, that *Abishai* and the *Ammonites* kept looking at one another, or what is next of kin to it, made very slow advances towards each other.

(K) Thus it appears by scripture, which turning the tables, makes the *Syrians* principals in this war, rather avenging their last overthrow, than espousing the cause of the *Ammonites*. *Josephus* strays here again very unaccountably. He makes the *Ammonites* send to one *Balama*, a king of the *Syrians* beyond the *Euphrates*, for another army thrice as big as that they hired before (87).

* *Antiq. lib.* 7, *c.* 7. (87) *Ubi supra.*

David

David in perſon, the *Ammonites* were left to defend themſelves againſt the violent and juſt reſentment of their injured enemy [e].

IT came down heavily upon them. For the very next year, the third of this war, the country was entered by *Joab*, who harraſſed and waſted it far and wide; and at length beſieged *Hanun* in *Rabbah*, the capital of his kingdom. The place held out about two years; during which *Hanun* made one deſperate ſally, and cut off many of the beſiegers, and, among the reſt, *Uriah* the huſband of *Bathſheba*. At length the city was reduced to the utmoſt extremities of famine, and was ſtormed by *David* in perſon, who came to have the honour of compleating the work. In the aſſault *Hanun* was ſlain, and his crown, which weighed a talent of gold (one hundred thirteen *pound* ten *ounces*, one *penny weight* 10 $\frac{2}{7}$ Gr. of our *Troy* weight *), and was adorned with precious ſtones, a ſardonyx, *Joſephus* ſays, was taken from off his head by *David*. What other ſpoil was found in this metropolis is no where ſpecified. The inhabitants were treated with extraordinary ſeverity, being led out, and put to death by the moſt exquiſite torments, harrowed, ſawn, and hacked with axes, and paſſed through the brick-kiln. This dreadful uſage extended to the reſt of the cities of *Ammon* (L), which held out againſt the conqueror; all ſuch ſharing in the fate of the city of *Rabbah*, which was deſtroyed, and laid level with the ground [f]. And thus did the *Ammonites* ſuffer, ſeemingly too much, for the raſhneſs of a young king, and the fooliſh advice of empty counſellors.

AFTER this vengeful execution, it is no wonder we hear nothing of a king of *Ammon*, nor indeed of the nation itſelf, till the reign of *Jehoſhaphat* king of *Judah*. At this time we find them united with their brethren the *Moabites*, and the inhabitants of mount *Seir* againſt the ſaid king of *Judah*. The particulars of this war, and how it ended, we have given in the hiſtory of *Moab* [g].

[e] Sam. ubi ſupra. JOSEPH. Antiq. ubi ſupra. * See ARBUTH. Tab. of an. coins, weights, and meaſures, Tab. XX.
[f] See 2 Sam. xii. 29, 31. JOSEPH. ubi ſupra c. 7. 1 Chron. xx. [g] See before p. 94.

(L) The ſcripture ſays it extended to all the cities of *Ammon*; but we cannot forbear thinking, that this expreſſion means only all ſuch as held out obſtinately, and defied the king of *Iſrael*; and herein we are ſupported by *Joſephus*.

AFTER

After this they were overthrown by, and made tributary to, *Uzziah* king of *Judah* [h].

The *Ammonites* bore this yoke as long as *Uzziah* lived, but in the reign of his son *Jotham* they had an anonymous king over them, who ſtirred them up to rebellion againſt him. The nation at this time muſt have been pretty well recovered, and having a martial prince at the head of them, they reſolved to free themſelves from the oppreſſions of their old enemies in *Judah*. The event was unhappy; they were overthrown in battle, and were reduced to compound for their peace with *Jotham*, by paying a tribute of one hundred talents of ſilver, ten thouſand meaſures of wheat, and as many of barley [i], in all about one hundred ſixty thouſand of our buſhels; and this ſame tribute did they pay for three ſucceſſive years [k].

At length when the *Babylonians* grew mighty, and threatened all the kingdoms of this part of *Aſia* with ſubjection, it is likely they might have entertained thoughts of withſtanding the common enemy with their joint force. From hence, poſſibly a good underſtanding between *Baalis*, the laſt king of *Ammon*, and *Zedekiah*, the laſt king of *Judah* [l], might ſeemingly ariſe. But when deſtruction came upon *Zedekiah* and *Jeruſalem*, the *Ammonites* ſhewed themſelves, and exulted over the ruins of that unhappy city [m], for which they were ſeverely threatened by the prophet. It ſeems impoſſible that they ſhould have refrained from it, conſidering the ſteadfaſt enmity which had ſo long ſubſiſted between the nations. However, *Baalis* received all the *Jews*, that fled into his dominions to avoid the captivity, and among thoſe one *Iſhmael*, of the royal blood, whoſe intereſt he pretended to have much at heart. And, to give him an inſtance of his readineſs to aſſiſt him, with his counſel at leaſt, adviſed him to go back again into his own country and aſſaſſinate *Gedaliah*, who by the expreſs appointment of the *Babylonians*, was left ſet over the poor remnant of the *Jews*. By thus ſtirring up a pretender, he ſeems to have aimed at the utter extirpation of the nation, either out of a pure deſire of revenge, or with ſome view to his own advantage at the ſame time. His bloody counſel was taken, and the aſſaſſin did his work, and was obliged to fly back again to *Baalis* who received him into his protection [n]. But *Baalis* lived not long unpuniſhed for having been ſo nearly acceſſary to the murder of the innocent

[h] 2 Chron. xxvi. 8. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 9 c. 11. [i] Vid. Arbuth. ubi ſupra. [k] Idem ubi ſupra. [l] 2 Chron. xxvii. 5. [m] See Jerem. xxvii. 3. [n] See Jerem. xl, xli.

Gedaliah:

Gedaliah: for, a ſhort time afterwards, he was attacked by *Nebuzaradan* the *Babylonian* general, who put his country to fire and ſword, and deſtroyed his chief city *Rabbah*, and carried away *Baalis* and moſt of the nobles of *Ammon* into captivity, as had been propheſied by *Amos*: "*I will kindle a fire in the wall of* Rabbah, *and it ſhall devour the palaces thereof, and their king ſhall go into captivtiy, he and his* princes *together, ſaith the Lord*; *and* Ezekiel: *and I will deliver thee for a ſpoil* [o] *unto the men of the Eaſt, and will give them the* Ammonites *in poſſeſſion, that the* Ammonites *may not be remember'd among the nations* [p].

THIS laſt prophecy was in due time compleated, their name being blotted out from the book of nations in the end. But in the mean time they are mentioned as conjoined with the *Arabians*, *Moabites*, and *Samaritans*, in giving all the diſturbance they were able to the rebuilding of the temple of *Jeruſalem*; which they endeavoured to prevent as much as in them lay. One *Tobiah* called the ſervant, is ſaid to have been at the head of them upon theſe occaſions [q].

LIVING in peace and quietneſs under the great monarchies, the *Ammonites* in proceſs of time grew to be more conſiderable, and in the days of *Judas Maccabæus* were aſſembled together, in a very great army under their governor *Timotheus*, to fight againſt that heroic *Jew*. They came to a battle, wherein *Timotheus* and the *Ammonites* were worſted, and the ſame ill fortune attended them in other ſubſequent conflicts, under the ſame leader, and againſt the ſame enemy. In the end their city *Jaſer* (it was not antiently reckoned a city of theirs) and the neighbouring towns, fell a prey to the *Jews*, who ſmote the men, and carried their wives and children into captivity, and plundered and burnt the city of *Jaſer*; and thus ended this, as it ſeems, their laſt warfare with the deſcendants of *Iſrael* [r].

NEVERTHELESS, towards the beginning of the ſecond century of the chriſtian *æra*, they were thought worthy of being called a numerous nation [s]; but towards the latter end of the ſame their name was vaniſhed, and they themſelves blended among the *Arabians* [t], as happened alſo to the *Moabites*, *Edomites*, and others.

[o] See Ezekiel xxv. [p] Idem. xxv. 7—10. [q] See Nehem. ii, iv, vi, xiii. [r] See 1 Macc v. 6—8. JOSEPH. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 11, 12. PRIDEAUX Connect. part 2. book 4. p. 212. [s] Vide JUST. MART. in dial. cum. Tryph. p. 272. [t] ORIG. lib. 1. in Job.

The End of the Hiſtory of Ammon.

SECT:

SECT. III.

The Hiſtory of Midian, *or* Madian.

Their deſcent.

IT is generally agreed, that this people drew their origin from *Midian*, the fourth ſon of *Abraham* by *Keturah*, from whom they were called *Midianites*. He received large gifts from his father, as did the reſt of his brethren, and was, as well as they, ſent eaſtward, *into the eaſt country*, to be at a proper diſtance from *Iſaac* [a]. The ſons of *Midian* were *Ephah*, and *Epher*, and *Hanoch*, and *Abidah*, and *Eldaah* [b].

THE *Midianites* were, in their moſt early times, evidently confounded with the *Iſhmaelites* [c]; and many ages afterwards they are mentioned in conjunction with the *Nebatæans* and *Kedarenes*, the poſterity of *Nebaioth* and *Kedar*, the ſons of *Iſhmael* [d]. Doubtleſs, remembering their kindred, they adhered to each other, and were pretty much blended together. On the other hand, we find them to have been ſo incorporated as it were with the *Moabites*, that *Moſes* almoſt conſidered them as but one nation [e]. Their religion was the ſame, and they acted in the ſtricteſt concert together againſt him and the *Iſraelites*. The ties of blood united theſe likewiſe, as on the one ſide they were deſcended from *Abraham*, and on the other from *Lot*. So, juſt as they happened to live in the northern or ſouthern parts of their country, they joined themſelves either to the *Moabites* or the *Iſhmaelites*. From hence we, in part, gather the extent of their territory, and that there was a pretty wide difference between the *Midianites* and *Madianites*.

The country poſſeſſed by the Midianites.

THE country of *Midian* was a part of *Arabia Petræa*. Its exact limits cannot be aſcertained. From what we find in ſcripture, it muſt have lain ſouth-eaſtward of the lake *Aſphalites*, or the *Dead-ſea* [f]. On the north, it was bounded by *Moab*, or rather mixed with it [g]. Its boundary on the eaſt is uncertain. On the ſouth, it was bounded by the *Red-ſea*. On the weſt, by *Edom*, or *Idumæa*, and, partly, alſo on the north, as ſhould ſeem [h].

BEING a part of *Arabia Petræa*, it was moſtly rocky, mountainous, and ſandy. Theſe barren and difficult defects

[a] Gen. xxv. 2. 6. 1 Chron. i. 32. [b] Ibid. ver. 33. Gen. xxv. 4. [c] See Gen. xxxvii. 25—28. Judg. viii. 24. [d] Iſa. lx. 6, 7. [e] See Gen. xxxvi. 35. 1 Chron. i. 46. [f] See Exod. iii. 1. xviii. 5. Judg. vi. 3. vii. 12, 24, 25. [g] See Numb. xxii. 4. [h] See 1 Kings xi. 18.

were pretty well amended by the numbers of camels and dromedaries it abounded with; creatures moſt admirably adapted for the uſe of ſuch whoſe lot it was to live upon ſo dry and rugged a ſoil. It was alſo well ſtored with other cattle, which in great herds were driven about to paſture, and to ſprings of water [i]. Though it is certain, that this country was not very well furniſhed with fixed habitations, ſuch as towns and cities, yet we read of their *cities* and *goodly caſtles*: but theſe we muſt underſtand to have ſtood in the neighbourhood of *Moab* only [k]. Two of its cities we have expreſs mention of, and both called *Midian*, or *Madian*; the one ſituated in the north, towards *Rabbah* of *Moab*, or *Areopolis*; the other in the ſouth, by the *Red-ſea* [l]; and was very probably the ſame which *Ptolemy* calls *Modiana*, and is perhaps the ſame with a ruined place which the *Arabs* call *Madyan*, to this day. Finally, we muſt not forget, that mount *Sinai* is placed within this territory [m].

THE *Midianites* were a very numerous race, and may be diſtinguiſhed into two ſorts, ſhepherds and merchants. The ſhepherds moved up and down in tents, and drove their cattle before them, even when they went to war [n]. The merchants alſo travelled from place to place in companies [o], or caravans, as the merchants of thoſe parts do at this day, and left the care of their cattle to the women, as ſeems by the ſtory of *Jethro*'s daughters (A). The ſhepherds, it is likely, had few or no fixed habitations, except ſome ſtrong holds near their borders; the merchants probably had few or none but *Their Manners.*

[i] See Judg. vi. 5. [k] Numb. xxix. 10. [l] HIERON. in Numb. xxxi. 8, 10. [m] Vide EUSEBIUS Onomaſt. in vocem Χωρηβ. [n] See Judg. vi. 5. [o] See Gen. xxxvii. 28.

(A) That ſtory ſeems to inform us, that the men in the ſouth part of *Midian* were not ſhepherds; and therefore we imagine they were merchants. *Joſephus* expreſly tells us, that it was the cuſtom of the women in this part, (which he miſtakenly calls *Troglodytica*) to look over the cattle; though indeed in this he ſeemingly contradicts what he ſays but a line or two before, *viz.* that the ſhepherds of the country were continually at ſtrife, which ſhould get firſt ſerved with water; and from thence infers the irregularity committed upon *Jethro*'s daughters (1): Thus ſeemingly inconſiſtent is this author with himſelf. But if this laſt cuſtom prevailed, *Jethro*'s ſon *Hobab* (for that he had ſuch a ſon we ſhall endeavour to make out hereafter) would have been much more equal to ſo troubleſome a taſk, than all the young women, his daughters.

(1) *Joſeph. Antiqui. lib.* 2. *c.* xi.

marts

marts and ſtations, in places convenient for their trade. Theſe grew to be exceeding rich, and by exchanging their gold and jewels with their brethren for their cattle, the ſhepherds were thereby ſtored with precious ornaments [p]. Their manners muſt have been in many reſpects as different as their way of life. However, they are in general repreſented to have been very ſumptuous in their exterior. We read of their *jewels of gold, chains, bracelets, rings, ear-rings, tablets* [q], *the purple raiment of their kings, and the gold chains, or collars round the necks of their camels* [r].

Their learning.

It appears very plain from *Job*, that they had the uſe of writing very early in theſe parts [s] among the deſcendants of *Abraham*; and the *Midianites* being alſo of the number, we cannot ſuppoſe them to have been ignorant therein (B). Sir *Iſaac Newton* gives them the honour of having inſtructed *Moſes* in writing [t]. The merchants muſt alſo have been verſed in arithmetic of ſome kind or other; and there being ſhips on the *Mediterranean* ſo early as in the days of the patriarch *Jacob* [u]; and theſe being themſelves traders, and ſituated on the *Red-ſea*, it cannot be ſuppoſed that they could refrain from ſhip-building, and exploring the ſhores of their own ſea, and the coaſts thereunto contiguous. From hence we may naturally enough extend the circle of their ſciences beyond bare writing

[p] See Numb. xxxi. 50, 51, 52. Judg. viii 24. [q] Numb. ubi ſupr. [r] Judg. ubi ſupr. ver. 26. [s] See Job. xix, 23, 24. [t] Chron. of antient kingd. amended, p. 210. [u] See Gen. xlix. 13.

(B) It is almoſt plain that *Jethro* himſelf had the art of writing, and, though we dare not poſitively aſſert it, ſent a letter to prepare *Moſes* for his rēception, when he was on his way to the *Iſraelites* with his daughter *Zipporah* and her two ſons. This is very naturally inferred from *Jethro*'s form of addreſſing himſelf to *Moſes*, and what is ſaid to have happened thereupon: *I, thy father-in-law*, Jethro, *am come unto thee, and thy wife, and her two ſons with her.* What was the conſequence of this? Moſes *went out to meet his father-in-law.* Had theſe words been uttered face to face, *Moſes* could, with no manner of propriety, be ſaid to have gone out to meet his father-in-law. Nor could this notice have been delivered by a meſſenger, who could not, without the moſt ridiculous abſurdity, have ſaid, *I* Jethro *am come unto thee*, and ſo on (2). As to the manner of writing in theſe days, and in theſe parts, there is mention made of graving with an iron pen or ſtyle upon lead, in the book of *Job* (3).

(2) *Vide Lightfoot Spicilegia in Exod.* § xxiii. (3) *Chap. xix.* 24.

and

and arithmetic, and allow them a competent ſkill in geography, geometry, and aſtronomy.

Their religion.

IT is very apparent that the *Midianites* varied as much from each other in the matter of religion, as in their manner of life. At firſt they were, to be ſure, pure and right in their way; how long they perſevered in it is not ſaid. But in the days of *Moſes* they partly wallowed in all the abominations of the *Moabites* [w]; thoſe we mean who were neareſt to that idolatrous nation; nay, exceeded them in their endeavours to pervert the children of *Iſrael*, when they lay in the plains of *Moab*, and perſuaded them to bow down to *Peor* [x]; but we are indeed told, that *Peor* was worſhipped by the *Midianitiſh* women chiefly [y]. Thus ſtood religion in the north of *Midian*. Now in the ſouth we find them enlightened by a rational and ſublime ſyſtem, long after their brethren had fallen into the fouleſt corruption. As a proof of this, we need only mention *Jethro*, who is commonly ſtiled the prieſt of *Midian*, and is ſaid to have lived [z], and is by ſome thought to have preſided [a] over the *Midianites*, near the *Red-ſea*. His behaviour [b] in the camp of *Iſrael* is a ſufficient argument in favour of them; yet, though their religion was otherwiſe very pure, it is remarkable they could not bear circumciſion (C) [c]. They offered up praiſes, and thankſgivings, and ſacrifices to GOD, but their religious rites or ceremonies are not ſpoken of.

Their hiſtory.

WE know not whether they were divided as much from each other in form of government, as occupation and religion: excepting the caſe of *Jethro*, their government is repreſented rather as ariſtocratical than monarchical. Their chiefs however are ſtiled kings, and therefore we ſhall dignify them with the ſame title.

THE moſt antient record we find concerning this nation, after what has already been ſaid, is, their war with *Hadad*

[w] See before p. 85, 90. [x] See Numb. xxv. 18. JOSEPH. Antiq. lib. 4. c. vi. [y] HIERON. in Numb. Hom. xx. [z] JOSEPH. Antiq. lib. 2. c. xi. [a] Vide TREMELII Bibl Lat. Exod. iii. [b] Exod. xviii. 10——12. [c] See ibid. iv. 25, 26.

(C) This we think we have authority to ſay; but it is a controverted point. The text, to our apprehenſion, ſuggeſts at leaſt as much for it as againſt it. We ſhall briefly conſider this hereafter.

marts and ſtations, in places convenient for their trade. Theſe grew to be exceeding rich, and by exchanging their gold and jewels with their brethren for their cattle, the ſhepherds were thereby ſtored with precious ornaments [p]. Their manners muſt have been in many reſpects as different as their way of life. However, they are in general repreſented to have been very ſumptuous in their exterior. We read of their *jewels of gold, chains, bracelets, rings, ear-rings, tablets* [q], *the purple raiment of their kings, and the gold chains, or collars round the necks of their camels* [r].

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and arithmetic, and allow them a competent ſkill in geography, geometry, and aſtronomy.

Their religion.

IT is very apparent that the *Midianites* varied as much from each other in the matter of religion, as in their manner of life. At firſt they were, to be ſure, pure and right in their way; how long they perſevered in it is not ſaid. But in the days of *Moſes* they partly wallowed in all the abominations of the *Moabites* [w]; thoſe we mean who were neareſt to that idolatrous nation; nay, exceeded them in their endeavours to pervert the children of *Iſrael*, when they lay in the plains of *Moab*, and perſuaded them to bow down to *Peor* [x]; but we are indeed told, that *Peor* was worſhipped by the *Midianitiſh* women chiefly [y]. Thus ſtood religion in the north of *Midian*. Now in the ſouth we find them enlightened by a rational and ſublime ſyſtem, long after their brethren had fallen into the fouleſt corruption. As a proof of this, we need only mention *Jethro*, who is commonly ſtiled the prieſt of *Midian*, and is ſaid to have lived [z], and is by ſome thought to have preſided [a] over the *Midianites*, near the *Red-ſea*. His behaviour [b] in the camp of *Iſrael* is a ſufficient argument in favour of them; yet, though their religion was otherwiſe very pure, it is remarkable they could not bear circumciſion (C) [c]. They offered up praiſes, and thankſgivings, and ſacrifices to GOD, but their religious rites or ceremonies are not ſpoken of.

Their hiſtory.

WE know not whether they were divided as much from each other in form of government, as occupation and religion: excepting the caſe of *Jethro*, their government is repreſented rather as ariſtocratical than monarchical. Their chiefs however are ſtiled kings, and therefore we ſhall dignify them with the ſame title.

THE moſt antient record we find concerning this nation, after what has already been ſaid, is, their war with *Hadad*

[w] See before p. 85, 90. [x] See Numb. xxv. 18. JOSEPH. Antiq. lib. 4. c. vi. [y] HIERON. in Numb. Hom. xx. [z] JOSEPH. Antiq. lib. 2. c. xi. [a] Vide TREMELII Bibl. Lat. Exod. iii. [b] Exod. xviii. 10——12. [c] See ibid. iv. 25, 26.

(C) This we think we have authority to ſay; but it is a controverted point. The text, to our apprehenſion, ſuggeſts at leaſt as much for it as againſt it. We ſhall briefly conſider this hereafter.

the *Horite*, when *Midian* (D) was ſmitten by him in the field of *Moab* [d].

The next is their purchaſing of *Joſeph* from his brethren for twenty pieces of ſilver, and carrying him away with them into *Egypt*, where they ſold him to *Potiphar*, one of *Pharaoh*'s chief officers [e].

Jethro. Many years after this there lived a prieſt, or prince, (E) of the ſouthern *Midianites*, called *Reuel*, or *Jethro* (F), or the *Kenite* the father of *Moſes* [f]. This perſon reſided in the city of *Madian* bythe *Red-ſea* [g]. It happened that his daughters, who were ſeven in number, met with ſome diſturbance one day from certain rude ſhepherds, in watering their father's flock. Juſt before this, *Moſes* had ſet himſelf down to reſt in the ſame place, being then upon his flight from *Pharaoh*; and perceiving the outrage of the ſhepherds, who drove the maidens and their cattle from the water they had been at the pains of drawing (G), he roſe up, and withſtood them, and aſſiſted the young women in compleating their work. When they went

[d] Gen. xxxvi, 35. [e] Ibid. xxxvii. 28, 36. [f] Exod. iii. 1. Judg. i. 16 [g] Joseph. ubi ſupr.

(D) Doctor *Cumberland* is inclined to think, that *Moſes* recorded this, as it was a calamity, to *Jethro* his father-in-law; and that it was *Midian* himſelf that was ſmitten, ſomewhat before he was an hundred and nine years old (4).

(E) The *Hebrew* word is כהן *chohen*, which ſignifies a prince, or a prieſt, and is promiſcuouſly rendered by both the one and the other. But let this condition of life have been great or mean, we may be excuſed for inſerting what we find concerning him and his family, inaſmuch as it is the only fragment we have left in hiſtory concerning the antient *Midianites* in the ſouth.

(F) This is by ſome held to have been the ſurname of the family (5). The *ſeventy* call him Ραγουηλ, *Raguel*, and ſo does the *vulgate*, and even our own verſion in another place: however, this name is by ſome thought to have been the name of *Jethro*'s father (6). but with what foundation may be curſorily conſidered hereafter.

(G) This inſult has given birth to a ſuſpicion, that their father was ſo far from being chief, either as prince, or prieſt, that he was only an inferior in the ſacred order, and then no wonder they were abuſed, ſays our commentator. Indeed, if we do not ſuppoſe

(4) *Origin. Gent. Antiquiſſ. p.* 14, 136. (5) *Vide Cleric. in Exod. ii.* (6) *Vide eund. ibid.*

theſe

went home to their father, he wondered to ſee them come back ſooner than uſual; and enquiring into the cauſe of their diſpatch, they gave him an account of the inſult they had received at the well; and how an *Egyptian* (ſo they called *Moſes*) had protected and aſſiſted them. The good man enquired where this worthy ſtranger was, and reproved his daughters for being ſo unkind as not to bring him home with them; and ſtraitway ſent them to invite their friend and protector to refreſh himſelf. They obeyed, and brought *Moſes* to their father *Jethro*; who, taking a fancy to the man, retained him in his family, committed the care of his flocks to him, and in proceſs of time gave him his daughter *Zipporah* to wife; and *Jethro* had *Moſes* with him forty years. At length, underſtanding that his ſon-in-law was commiſſioned by GOD to lead out the children of *Iſrael* from bondage, he conſented to part with him, and his daughter, and his grandchildren, who ſet out for *Egypt:* but a diſpute ariſing between *Moſes* and his wife about circumciſing a child upon the road [h], ſhe came, or was ſent back again (H) by her huſband, and he went on without her [i].

WHEN *Jethro* heard of the mighty things which the LORD had done through *Moſes*, and how he had delivered his people, and brought them out of *Egypt*, he took his daugh-

[h] Exod. ii, iii, iv. [i] Ibid. xviii. 2.

theſe ſhepherds to have been ſtrangers in this part, it muſt be acknowledged, that it does not look as if *Jethro* was a man in any great repute or authority.

(H) In caſes of doubt like this, we can only take what ſeems to us the moſt rational ſide of the queſtion. Divines have explained this matter many ways (7), and ſome ſeem unwilling to allow there was any jar between *Moſes* and his wife, apprehending perhaps, that it cannot ſuit with the dignity of that lawgiver's character. But for our parts we do not perceive how it can reflect any diſhonour upon him, eſpecially, when the ſubject of the diſpute was ſo very important. Furthermore, if the cuſtom had been that *Jethro*'s family was circumciſed, *Zipporah* his daughter would certainly have made no words about the execution of a practice, which ſhe muſt have thought to have been eſſential. That there was ſome ſort of miſunderſtanding in this matter muſt be allowed; and therefore we have urged it as an inſtance to prove, that theſe *Midianites* did not uſe circumciſion; and have alſo made it the cauſe of *Zipporah*'s returning back to her father.

(7) *Vide Lightfoot, ubi ſupr.* § 8, 9. *Cleric. in Exod. iv.*

ter *Zipporah*, and her two ſons, and his own ſon *Hobab*, and ſet out with them towards his ſon-in-law *Moſes*, to congratulate him, and reconcile him with his daughter *Zipporah*. They were all received very affectionately by *Moſes*, and *Jethro* hearing from him the wondrous works which had been done for *Iſrael*, he bleſſed God for the ſame, acknowledged him to be far ſuperior to all other gods, and took a burnt-offering and ſacrifices for God: and *Aaron* and all the elders of *Iſrael* came to aſſiſt at the ſolemnity, and to pay him the reſpect due to ſo venerable a perſon.

The next day *Jethro* had an opportunity of diſplaying his great wiſdom and ſkill, in the due regulation of government. He obſerved, that the people crouded about *Moſes* all day long; and aſking him the meaning of it, *Moſes* anſwered him that he had been ſitting in judgment. Upon this *Jethro* told him, he was quite wrong to charge himſelf with ſo grievous a burden, too much for any one man to bear; that it would be enough for him to attend upon the ſublimer concerns only, to conſult with God, to declare his holy laws and ordinances, to inſtruct the people in the right way, and the like; and commit the judging and well-ordering of the people to a ſelect number of the moſt righteous men among the multitude, who ſhould, according to their abilities, be appointed over thouſands, and over hundreds, and over fifties, and over tens; abſtaining from every buſineſs himſelf that was not of the higheſt moment. *Jethro* gave not this counſel in vain, and thereby adminiſtred great eaſe to his ſon-in-law *Moſes* [k] (I).

[k] Ibid. ver. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, & ſeq.

(I) A very eminent divine contends, that this whole ſtory is miſplaced, and ought to ſtand between the tenth and eleventh verſes of the tenth chapter of *Numbers* (8): *Firſt*, becauſe *Jethro* is ſaid to have *taken burnt-offerings and ſacrifices for God*. *Secondly*, becauſe *Moſes* is ſaid to have ſitten *to judge the people*, and to have *made known to them the ſtatutes of God and his laws*. As this ſtory now ſtands, it refers to a time when as yet the tabernacle was not erected, nor any altar built; *Moſes* had not yet received any laws from God; nor had they reached mount *Sinai*, ſays our author. But it is nevertheleſs poſſible, that *Jethro* might have offered a ſacrifice in his way, particularly as he was a prieſt; nor is it unlikely that *Moſes* acted as judge and arbitrator, before he received any particular ſyſtem of laws from God. But *Thirdly*, becauſe *Moſes* puts off the inſtitution of the judges and elders over the people, which he was adviſed to by *Jethro*, till after they moved from

(8) *Lightfoot ubi ſupr.* § *xxiii.*

Any

ANY thing farther concerning *Jethro* we know not, except that *Moſes* diſmiſſed him; that he ſeems to have left his ſon *Hobab* (K) behind him, with a friendly intent, that he ſhould ſerve as a guide through the wilderneſs; but it was with reluctance he went through with them; nor was he prevailed

mount *Sinai*. This third proof ſeems to be more valid than the two former, but yet, not quite ſo plain and deciſive as might be wiſhed. The putting of *Jethro*'s advice in execution effectually and orderly, muſt have been certainly the work of time. But were we to enlarge upon theſe obſcurities ſo far as we might, there would be no end to our work.

(K) It is very ſtrange, that thoſe who know not how to think that *Raguel* and *Jethro* were both names belonging to one man, will yet have it that *Hobab* and *Jethro* mean one and the ſame perſon. And, contrary to the apparent reaſon of things, that it was *Jethro* himſelf under the name of *Hobab*, who is here intreated to ſerve as a guide to the *Iſraelites* (9). *Joſephus* frequently calls him by the name of *Raguel* and ſays he was *Moſes*'s father; ſo ſays the ſcripture, under the name of *Raguel*, in the place where *Hobab* is mentioned. In ſcripture he is conſtantly called *Reuel* or *Jethro*, till he departed from the camp. Shall we ſuppoſe that he came back again, and was from thenceforward called *Hobab*? That *Jethro*, returned to his own country, is expreſly ſaid (10). That *Hobab* did ſerve the *Iſraelites* as a guide, is plainly enough inſinuated (11). What ſettlement could *Jethro* want? how, as father of a family, could he deſert them? how, as he was a prieſt or a magiſtrate, could he be abſent from his charge? On the other ſide, how can it be ſuppoſed, that a man who expreſſed ſo much good-will towards the children of *Iſrael*, who was ſo thankful to God for their deliverance, who owned his conviction that they were under the protection and care of the Lord God; how can it be ſuppoſed, that ſuch a perſon would have made the leaſt ſcruple of doing any thing that could have been requeſted by *Moſes*, whom he looked on as the immediate miniſter of the Almighty? It is more rational to ſuppoſe, that it was a ſon of his called *Hobab*, who is here ſpoken of, who was left behind by his father, as one well acquainted with the deſert, and ſo might be of good uſe to *Moſes*; but who, not having the ſame faith and aſſurance in GOD which his father had, ſaw no great proſpect of good things to come, and therefore wanted to return home again; but that he was tempted to ſtay, and go through with them, is clearly enough ſaid. If *Moſes*'s father-in-law is afterwards called *Hobab*, as he is (12), that is not the only little diſſonance of the hiſtorical kind we find in ſcripture.

(9) *Vide Cleric. in Exod. xi. & Numb. x.* (10) *Exod. xviii.* *Judg. i.* 16. (11) *Joſeph. Antiq. lib v. c.* 2. (12) *Judg. iv.* 11.

on to do it without very large promiſes [l]. We read farther concerning the deſcendants of *Jethro*, that they were called *Kenites*, and that they joined the children of *Judah*, and marched with them from the city of *palm trees* [*Jericho*] [m] into the wilderneſs of *Judah* [n]. That upon the taking of *Hebron* they were rewarded with a large portion of ground, in conſideration of their having forſaken their native place, and ſuffered with the *Iſraelites* all the toils of their wars, and all the diſtreſſes in the wilderneſs [o]. That *Heber* the huſband of *Jael*, who killed *Siſera*, was particularly of this family [p]. That on the aforeſaid conſideration alſo, the *Kenites* were many years afterwards warned by *Saul* to move off from the *Amalekites*, when he had it in charge to extirpate that nation, that they might be no way prejudiced thereby. Thus were they preſerved, and fixing their ſeat upon a rock, and there poſſeſſing a ſtrong hold, they grew wanton and preſumptuous, and were carried away into captivity by the *Aſſyrians*, together with the ten tribes of *Iſrael*, as *Balaam* had propheſied long before: *And he* [Balaam] *looked on the* Kenites . . . *and ſaid, ſtrong is thy dwelling-place, and thou putteſt thy neſt on a rock. Nevertheleſs the* Kenite *ſhall be waſted, until* Aſhur *ſhall carry thee away captive* [q]. And thus have we traced down the poſterity of *Jethro* to their exit.

The Kenites.

THE *Midianites* we ſhall have now occaſion to mention as at enmity with *Iſrael*, we apprehend to have been chiefly thoſe who bordered upon, or lived, as it were, in common with, the *Moabites*. EVI, REKEM, (L) HUR, ZUR, and REBAH, were all five of them kings, or dukes of *Midian* (M), when *Moſes* overcame *Sihon* the *Amorite*, and greatly fearing for themſelves, they entered into counſels with *Balak* king of *Moab*, to conſider upon what methods they could take

Evi, Rekem, Hur, Zur, and *Rebah.*

[l] Numb x. 29—32. [m] See before in the Notes p. 91. [n] Judg. i. 16 [o] JOSEPH. Antiq. lib. 5. c. 2. [p] Judg. iv. 11. [q] Numb. xxiv. 21, 22.

(L) *Joſephus* calls theſe five kings *Oeus, Sures, Robeas, Ures,* and *Recem*, and ſays, that this laſt built, and gave name to the city of *Rekem* the capital of *Arabia*, by the *Greeks* called *Petra* (13).

(M) They are alſo ſtiled princes of *Midian*, and dukes under *Sihon* king of the *Amorites* (14). Perhaps they might have paid ſome homage or tribute to *Sihon*, or ſome other way might have been deemed as feudatory under him.

(13) *Joſeph. Antiq. lib.* 4. *c.* 7. (14) *Joſh. xiii.* 21

to

to avoid the dangers which they thought threatened them. We ſhall not repeat here what we have already ſaid concerning this abſurd and iniquitous matter in the hiſtory of *Moab*[r]. Only it will be neceſſary for us to remark here once more, that the *Midianites* ſeem to have ſignalized themſelves in a moſt extraordinary manner in their endeavours to turn the children of *Iſrael* from GOD. For it muſt be remembered, that *Balaam* had ſent them word either upon, or after, his return home, that it was in vain they hoped to hurt the darlings of heaven, by any other means than enticing them to ſin, the ſole means whereby GOD could be brought to forſake them: that upon this occaſion it would be proper for them to take the moſt beautiful of their young women, and deck them out in the moſt gorgeous manner, and ſend them to the *Iſraelites*, with ſuch inſtructions for their behaviour, as that, after having enſnared their hearts, might beſt corrupt their minds alſo[s]. This counſel they ſwallowed down very greedily, and were ſo ſanguine upon the matter, that we find *Zur*, one of their kings, made no ſcruple to ſend his daughter *Cozbi* among the reſt; but it was a tragical buſineſs for her; ſhe was killed by a wound in the belly, given with the ſame weapon, and with the ſame ſtroke, as made an end of her huſband or friend *Zimri*. For the reſt, theſe fair idolatreſſes played their part ſo well as to captivate many of the *Iſraelites*, and ſo abſolutely to prevail over them, as to bring them to bow down before *Baal-peor*, from whence great trouble and deſtruction came upon the whole body of them (N)[t].

THE *Midianites* herein enjoyed but a ſhort-lived ſatisfaction; their forwardneſs upon this occaſion, and ſubdolous practices, kindled the wrath of GOD againſt them, and *Moſes* had poſitive orders to ſmite them particularly. When they heard that the divine command was on the point of being executed upon them by twelve thouſand of the *Iſraelites*, under the conduct of *Phinehas*, they made the beſt preparations they could to withſtand the invaſion, by arming their caſtles, and muſtering their ſtrength. But their caſtles availed them but little, nor the ſtrength they muſtered. They were defeated, and every man of them put to the ſword, and among the

[r] See before, p. 90, 91, & *ſeq.* [s] p. 90. [t] Numb. xxv. 15——18. JOSEPH. Antiq lib. 4. c. 6. See before, p. 90.

(N) *Joſephus* ſpeaks of a plague upon this occaſion which carried off fourteen thouſand ſouls (15).

(15) *Joſeph. ubi ſupra.*

reſt *Balaam* [u] (O), and all their cities and goodly caſtles were laid in aſhes. Not one male of any age or degree was ſpared, they were all put to the ſword, as were all the females likewiſe that were not pure virgins. The country was laid waſte, and all the cattle driven off before the conqueror, to the number of ſix hundred ſeventy five thouſand ſheep, ſeventy two thouſand beeves, and ſixty one thouſand aſſes. The virgins which were carried away captive were thirty two thouſand in number; and there is mention made of great riches in gold and ſilver, and iron, and other metals, which were carried off in this general devaſtation [w]. Thus were they puniſhed for their folly and wickedneſs, and their country made quite deſolate.

Thus was a branch of the *Midianites* utterly cut off; but in proceſs of time this loſs was ſupplied, and it pleaſed God, for the puniſhment of *Iſrael*, that they roſe up in war againſt that ſinful nation, and in their turn were very near deſtroying the whole generation of them by fire, and ſword, and famine, for ſeven ſucceſſive years. For, about one hundred and fifty years after this ſlaughter of the *Midianites*, there appeared two kings at the head of them, and the *Amalekites*, and *Arabians*.

Zebah and Zalmunna.

These two kings are called Zebah and Zalmunna, and waged ſo cruel a war againſt the *Iſraelites*, that, not daring to ſtay in the low country, they betook them to the mountains, and there, where nature had been defective, they made themſelves caves and fortreſſes to ſhelter them. The *Midianites* having therefore no enemy that withſtood them, they waſted the fruits of the earth, and drove off all the cattle. This deſtruction they continued for ſeven years together, marching every ſummer ſeaſon in vaſt multitudes, with numberleſs camels, and herds of cattle, about the time the fruits were far advanced, all which they reaped for themſelves; ſo that between them, and their infinite flocks, there was ſcarce any ſuſtenance left for the *Iſraelites*, who continually fled up to the mountains upon their approach [x].

[u] Numb. xxxi 1——8. Joseph. ubi ſup. c. 7.

[w] Ibid. ver. 9, 10, 11, & ſeq.

[x] Judg. vi. 1---6. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 5. c. 7.

(O) *Balaam* is poſitively ſaid to have gone to his place (16), to have returned home; but whether he came back again in compliance with a ſecond meſſage, or whether of his own accord, to ſee the iſſue of his wicked counſel, or to forward it, is not ſaid.

(16) *Numb. xxiv.* 25.

But

BUT GOD at length put a ſtop to theſe mercileſs incurſions of *Zebah* and *Zalmunna*, who meant nothing leſs than to ſtarve the inhabitants, and poſſeſs themſelves of the land [y]. *Gideon* was choſen by heaven for the delivery of his country upon this calamitous occaſion, and he did it ſo effectually, that the *Midianites* never dared afterwards to contend with *Iſrael*, as will immediately be ſeen. *Zebah* and *Zalmunna* and their confederates marching into the country, according to their annual cuſtom, pitched their tents in the valley of *Jezreel*, on this ſide *Jordan*. Here, as they lay covering a vaſt tract of ground, their camp was explored by *Gideon* one night, who overhearing one of the camp telling his dream to another, who interpreted it in favour of *Gideon*, he was more than ever encouraged to put in agitation a ſtratagem which had been formed for their deſtruction, with only three hundred men, armed with no other weapons than a rams horn in one hand, and a light concealed in a pitcher in the other. Accordingly about midnight the *Midianites* were alarmed in three ſeveral quarters of their camp, by the ſound of one hundred horns or trumpets in each; and ſtarting from their ſleep, perceived alſo as many lights breaking in upon them on three ſeveral ſides. The ſound of the horns, the glare of the lights, the gloom of the night, and the loud ſhouts they heard, ſtruck them with horror and amazement, and having no time to recover from their firſt conſternation, they fell into unſpeakable confuſion; and, being of different languages, ſtruck at one another, not knowing friend from foe; ſo that a dreadful ſlaughter enſued, which was chiefly owing to their own weapons. The kings *Zebah* and *Zalmunna*, however, found means to extricate themſelves, and fled off with a body of about fifteen thouſand men: *Oreb* and *Zeeb*, two princes of *Midian* (P), alſo found means to eſcape for the preſent; but they immediately fell into the hands of the *Ephraimites*, who put them to death; and by the ſlaughter which happened upon this occaſion, and what before happened in the camp, there fell one hundred and twenty thouſand men. The kings *Zebah* and *Zalmunna* (Q), with their party, got over the river, and held

[y] Pſalm. lxxxiii. 11, 12.

(P) According to *Joſephus*, *Oreb* and *Zeb* were kings of *Midian* (17).

(Q) *Joſephus* ſays, they were brethren, and calls them *Zebin* and *Hezarben* (18). He ſays alſo, that theſe fifteen thouſand men

(17) *Joſeph. Antiq. lib.* 5. *c.* 8. (18) *Idem ubi ſupra.*

were

held on their flight to *Karkor*, and there thought themſelves ſafe; but being hotly purſued by *Gideon*, they were unexpectedly ſurprized, and put to farther flight, and being overtaken again, their fifteen thouſand men were beaten and diſperſed [z], and they themſelves taken priſoners, and carried back again by *Gideon* [a]. When he had brought *Zebah* and *Zalmunna* home with him, he aſked them what kind of men they were whom they had formerly ſlain at *Tabor*; they anſwered they were juſt ſuch as himſelf, of majeſtic deportment; to this he replied, they were his own brethren, and therefore he could not ſpare their lives: wherefore he ordered his ſon to ſtand up and kill them; but they perceiving the youth to be but weak and fearful, requeſted of *Gideon*, as a favour, that he would diſpatch them himſelf, and he did ſo, and they were no ſooner diſpatched than the ornaments were taken from the necks of their camels. Thus were the *Midianites* ſlaughtered a ſecond time, and plundered of immenſe wealth in cattle, gold, jewels, rich attire, and the like. The very ear-rings only, taken from them, weighed 1700 ſhekels [b]. This downfal is, by the prophet, termed, *the day of* Midian [c], *and the ſlaughter of* Midian *at the rock of Oreb* [d]. From henceforward they gave over the trade of war [e].

They were, however, a famous nation many ages afterward, and are mentioned for their induſtry, and riches [f], and the magnificence of their tents [g]: but in the firſt century their name was diſuſed, being by that time ſwallowed up by the more famous of *Arabia*. Between three and four hundred years ago, there was a ruined city which bore the antient name (R); in the neighbourhood of which they pretend to

[z] Judges ubi ſupra. 10. 12, 13. & ſeq. vii. viii. 1—18. [a] Vide Joseph. ubi ſupra. c. viii. [b] Judg. viii. 18, 26. [c] Iſa. ix. 4. [d] Iſa. x. 26. [e] Judg. ubi ſupr. ver. 28. [f] Iſa. lx. 6. [g] Habak. iii. 7.

were all ſlain (19) to a man; the ſcripture only ſays they were diſcomfitted or terrified, which is by much the more likely to have happened.

(R) *Abulfeda*, from whom we have authority to ſay this, calls it مدين *Madyan*, and *Moſes*'s father-in-law, شعيب *Shoaib* (20); and the place is ſtill one of the ſtations in the pilgrimage from *Egypt* to *Mecca*, under the name of *Shoaib*'s *Cave*. (21).

(19) *Idem ubi ſupra.* (20) *Deſcrip. Arab. p.* 42. *inter Geo. Vet. Script. Grec. Min.* (21) *See Ray's Collect. of curious Travels and voyages, Tome* 2. *p.* 158.

ſhew

ſhew the place where *Moſes* watered his father-in-law's cattle.

SECT. IV.

The Hiſtory of Edom.

ESAU, called alſo *Edom*, was the progenitor of this people. He was the ſon of *Iſaac*, the ſon of *Abraham*, by *Rebekah*, and born at a birth with *Jacob*, being his twin-brother, and the elder of the two (A). Theſe twins contended while yet in their mother's womb; an early preſage of the ſtrife which was to take birth between them, and revive between their deſcendants, as GOD himſelf explained it to their mother. *Eſau* was born with red hair all over him (B); and as he grew up he proved to be a very ſtrong and active perſon, and delighting in the chaſe, became a *man of the field*; by which means providing plentifully and deliciouſly for his father's table, he won his particular affection. On the other hand, being of a very maſculine turn of mind, and much abſent from home, he retained not the kind inclinations of his mother *Rebekah*, who prided herſelf wholly in *Jacob*, who was a gentle-ſpirited man, and more frequently in her eye. On a day it happened, that *Eſau* came home

(A) It is remarkable, that as he came into the world his brother *Jacob* had him faſt hold by the heel, as if he would ſupplant him, as he afterwards did, ſays a learned commentator (1).

(B) Much is ſaid concerning this extraordinary hairyneſs of the new-born *Eſau*: but not to enter into the little uncertain niceties of a ſubject of this kind, it is in general thought, that he had not only hair on his head but all over his body; and that this hair was as ſtrong as briſtles; in ſhort, that he was as rough and ſhaggy as a Satyr (2): and this indeed ſeems to be the meaning of the text, which ſays, he was *red all over, like an hairy garment*. This expreſſion has given birth to a conjecture, that the hair-garments they wore in thoſe days, were of a reddiſh colour, like the hair of *Eſau* (3). Inſtead of *garment* the LXX render it δορὰ δασύς a briſtly, ſhaggy ſkin, and the Vulgate has the ſame interpretation. It is thought, that each interpretation has an eye to the faſhion among the *Arabs* of wearing ſkins (4), as ſome of them do at this day, but they are ſheep ſkins, warm and ſoft, ſown together, the wool being worn innermoſt (5).

(1) *Patrick's Comment. upon Gen. xxv.* 26. (2) *Idem. ubi ſupr. ver.* 25. (3) *Cleric. in Gen. Loc. ſupra cit.* (4) *Idem ibid.* (5) *Thevenot. Part.* 1. *lib.* 2. *chap.* 32.

quite

quite ſpent with faſting and exerciſe, and perceiving that his brother *Jacob* had cooked ſome pottage, begged he might have ſome of it, being quite empty and ready to die. *Jacob* taking advantage of his brother's diſtreſs, tells him, if he would make over his birth-right to him, he ſhould have ſome: whereupon *Eſau*, thinking himſelf at the point of death, and that his birth-right was of no value to himſelf, conſented to *Jacob*'s ungenerous motion, and ſware away his birth-right to him, and accepted of a meſs of pottage in conſideration thereof; and thus is he ſaid to have *deſpiſed his birth-right*. Upon this occaſion he was called *Edom*, which ſignifies red, the colour of the pottage which *Jacob* ſo dearly ſold him (C).

[a] At

(C) We are well apprized of all that has been ſaid by commentators and others upon this great tranſaction between theſe brethren; but it will hardly be expected we ſhould run the ſame lengths they have, nor enter into their infinite repreſentations of this matter; and therefore we ſhall briefly touch upon ſome general points only. The *pottage* it ſeems was red, or yellowiſh, and made of lentils (6) from *Egypt* (7); of which there were two ſorts, one darker than the other (8), and both highly prized by the antients, both of the eaſt and weſt. *Pliny* relates from others, that equanimity is the uſual effect of feeding upon lentils: and another writer ſays, they inſpire with joy (9). It is unlucky they ſhould have kindled ſuch a ſtrife between *Eſau* and *Jacob*. To this ſome anſwer, that *Eſau* had never ſeen any afore (10); and this is pretended from *Eſau*'s ſaying only, *give me ſome of that red, red*, as it is in the original: but this is at firſt ſight very unlikely to be true; for doubtleſs theſe lentils muſt have been a food he and the reſt of the family were well acquainted with; ſo that what the antients held concerning the harmonious effects lentils have upon the mind, muſt fall to the ground. But to leave this ſubject, let us take a view of the birth-right which was exchanged for theſe lentils. The chief privilege of the *Birth-right*, ſay ſome, was the inheriting a double portion of the father's eſtate (11): others annex the prieſthood thereto, and ſuppoſe, that *Eſau*'s cloaths, with which *Rebekah* clad *Jacob*, were his ſacerdotal veſtments (12); but this notion is ſtrongly repugned by what ſtands on record concerning *Cain* and *Abel* (13). Thirdly, a ſuperiority over the reſt of the children is thought to have been the principal prerogative of the *Birth-right*. Again, the chief privilege of the *Birth-right* might have been to challenge the particular bleſſing of the dying parent.

(6) *Gen.* xxv. *ver* 30, 34. (7) *St. Auguſt, in Pſal. xlvi.* (8) *Plin. Hiſtor. Nat. l.* 18. *c.* 31. (9) *Auctor Geopon. lib.* 2. *c.* 35. *p.* 71. (10) *See Patrick's Comment. ubi ſupr. ver.* 30. (11) *ver.* 31. (12) *Lightfoot Obſervationes in Geneſin. c. xxvii.* (13) *Gen.* iv.

To

[a] At the age of forty years, he gave great trouble and ſorrow to his parents by marrying among the daughters of *Heth*; he took two of them, *Judith* the daughter of *Beeri*, and *Baſhemath* the daughter of *Elon*[b]; but this wore off in time, and he was received into favour with his father again. *Iſaac* now grown old and very dim-ſighted called *Eſau* to him, and told him, that he knew not how few the remainder of his days were to be, and therefore ſhould be glad if he would take his weapons, his quiver and his bow, and go out and get him veniſon, and dreſs it for him in a ſavoury manner, as he knew how, that *his ſoul might bleſs him before he died* (D). *Eſau*

[a] Gen. xxv. 24—34 [b] xxvi. 34, 35.

To conclude upon this head, the prerogatives of the primogeniture were not confined to the perſon of the ſon, on whom the bleſſing was conferred, ſo as to die with him, but deſcended to his poſterity. So the promiſes made to *Jacob* in his bleſſing were not fulfilled in him, but in his children after him. Such was the *Pottage*, and ſuch the *Birth-right*, which were ſet in oppoſition to each other. The *Hebrew* word חלעיטני *halbiteni*, which *Eſau* uſes in addreſſing *Jacob*, occurs no where but in this place, and therefore there is ſome doubt about the true interpretation of it. The LXX render it γευσόν με *fac me guſtare*, which is not thought earneſt enough for a hungry man. Some, *feed me with it*, as if he was ſo thoroughly tired that he could not lift his own hand to his head. Others, *give me a good deal of it*, which a very hungry man might ſay very naturally; and this is defended by the *Samaritan* reading, and from the affinity of an *Arabic* word, which has ſome relation to it in ſound and ſignification. From the ſame alſo it may be ſuppoſed, that he aſked for the thickeſt of the *Pottage*. Conſidering the whole tranſaction between *Jacob* and *Eſau* upon this occaſion as merely human, the former was guilty of a great breach of hoſpitality and brotherly affection at leaſt, and cannot be excuſed, as moſt, even divines, apprehend (14).

(D) It is thought that *Iſaac* only ſent out *Eſau* by way of probation; that is, to try whether he had good ſucceſs, or not, thereby to ſatisfy himſelf in a ſcruple he had whether he ſhould bleſs him or no. For as by his former ill ſucceſs he was reduced to the neceſſity of making away his birth right; ſo now, if the ſame ill luck attended him, he ſhould take it for a ſign that the bleſſing was to depart from him. And though he had pronounced the great bleſſing over *Jacob*, yet when he perceived that *Eſau* had brought home the veniſon he ſent him for, he deemed it a tacit expreſſion of the will of God, that *Eſau* ſhould have his bleſſing alſo, and he bleſſed him accordingly (15).

(14) *Vide Cleric. in Geneſ. ubi ſupr.* (15) *Vide Lightfoot Obſervat. in Geneſ. cap. xxvii.*

obeyed,

obeyed, but while he was abſent, his mother; who heard the words which paſſed between his father and him, dreſſed her ſon *Jacob* in *Eſau*'s cloaths (E), and, preparing a diſh of ſavoury meat, ſent him in with it to his father, who pronounced the irrevocable bleſſing over *Jacob*. Thus was *Iſaac* deceived, and *Eſau* ſupplanted, who coming in with his veniſon juſt after *Jacob* was gone, *Iſaac* in a great agony told him he had been circumvented by his brother, and that he neither could nor would recal the bleſſing. When *Eſau* heard this he wept bitterly, and upbraided his brother with his unnatural and ſubdolous dealing, firſt, in extorting his birth-right from him and now in robbing him of his bleſſing. However, *Eſau* did ſo far prevail with his tears, and his ſorrowful preſſing intreaties, that his father bleſſed him alſo to this effect; that *his dwelling ſhould be the fatneſs of the earth, and of the dew of heaven from above* (F); *that he ſhould live by the ſword, and ſerve his brother, but that he ſhould ſhake off the yoke at laſt.*

It

(E) Concerning theſe cloaths, it is ſaid they had been worn by *Adam* in his miniſtry, and that they retained the ineffable fragrancy of paradiſe (16). Others only ſuppoſe, that they were laid up in aromatic flowers, or other perfumes, to preſerve them from moths, and to refreſh the brain, when put on; and that it is groundleſs in the *Jews* to imagine they deſcended from *Adam* to *Noah*, and ſo downwards to *Abraham*'s family (17). Beſides, it may be aſked how it came to paſs, that *Iſaac* could part with ſo precious a relique to his ſon, during his own life-time? Perhaps this is too early to ſuppoſe there was any ſuch delicacy in apparel; but this is obviated by the near neighbourhood of *Arabia* (18). By the *ſmell of the field* ſome may underſtand a ſcent more manly than the ſteams of a perfume, eſpecially as *Eſau* was ſo great a hunter, and perpetually in the field; but that expreſſion is ſuppoſed to have a different import, and to mean, that his cloaths were exquiſitely ſcented; and this ſeems to be confirmed from the *Samaritan* reading, which after the word שדה *Shadeh* a field, has מלא full; and ſo the LXX have rendered it ὡς ὀσμὴ ἀγρῷ πλήρους and ſo the Vulgate has it, *Sicut odor agri pleni*; as the ſmell of a full field, or as it is ſupplied, *as the ſmell of a field full of ſweet herbs and flowers.*

(F) Some give this part of *Eſau*'s bleſſing a quite contrary turn, and will have it, that his lot was to be in a barren land; and that his living ſhould be by rapine and violence; and accordingly, that *Edom* was an ungrateful ſoil, not refreſhed with timely rains (19). The interpretation of the LXX, with a trifling variation of ἀπὸ,

(16) *Vide Braun. de Veſtib. Hebr. ſacerd. c.* 4. (17) *See Patrick's Comment. upon Gen. c. xxvii.* 15. (18) *Vide Cleric. in Gen. c. xxvii.* 27. (19) *Idem. ubi ſupr. ver.* 39.

It was with a heavy diſcontented mind that he heard his lot, and his reſentment wrought ſo ſtrongly upon him, that at firſt he determined to kill *Jacob* as ſoon as their father ſhould die; which coming to the knowledge of *Rebekah*, ſhe ſent *Jacob* away to *Padan-Aram*, under pretence of getting him a wife there from among her own kindred [c]. But *Eſau* cooled again, and generouſly forgot all that had paſt, and finding that *Iſaac* and *Rebekah* had a great averſion to the daughters of *Canaan*, he went over to *Iſhmael*, and took his daughter, *Mahalath* the ſiſter of *Nebaioth* (G), adding her to the wives he had already taken [d]; and removed with his family to mount *Seir*, not ſo much with a deſign to ſettle there perhaps, as to ſerve a preſent conveniency. The ſpot he occupied in this country took his name, and was called the field of *Edom* [e], and in a few years he became a very conſiderable perſon.

FOR, when news came to him hither, that his brother *Jacob* was on his return from *Padan-Aram*, he went out to meet him on the road with a train of four hundred followers,

[c] Gen. xxviii. [d] Gen. xxviii. 6—9. [e] Gen. xxxii. 3, in the Margin.

by making it either a prepoſiton or an adverb, may be taken both ways. But, on the other hand, it is obſerved, that if we follow our own tranſlation, which is directly in the ſenſe of the Vulgate, and in the ſenſe St. *Hierom* took it, there will be ſtill a wide difference between *Jacob*'s bleſſing and *Eſau*'s; that in the latter there is no mention made of corn and wine; no ſuch dominion promiſed as in *Jacob*'s; and that laſtly, whatſoever fatneſs was in the ſoil of his country, it did not laſt long (20). Nevertheleſs, *Moſes* ſeems to tell us, that the land of *Edom* was not ſo deſtitute as ſome may imagine; when he promiſes the king of *Edom*, that if he would permit the children of *Iſrael* to paſs through his country, they ſhould hurt neither the fields nor the vineyards (21): the fields may perhaps have been rather corn fields than paſture; and if this be true, the *Edomites* had their corn and wine too. As to what *Malachi* ſays of the infertility and deſolation of the kingdom of *Edom* (22), that muſt, we think, be rather attributed to the cruel effects of their unfortunate wars, than to any failure in the uſual product of the ſoil.

(G) It is obſerved from hence, that *Eſau* paid no regard to the divine revelation, or he would not have taken the deſcendant of a bond-woman [*Hagar*], who could not inherit the promiſes made to *Abraham* and *Iſaac* (23).

(20) *Patrick's Comment ubi ſupr. ver.* 39. (21) *Numb. xx.* 17—20. (22) *Malach.* i. 3. (23) *See Patrick upon Gen. xxviii.* 9.

with

with which he meant to honour and assist his brother, and not inject fear into him as he did. The interview was very tender on both sides, but especially *Esau*, unmindful of what most men would ever have retained, accosted *Jacob* with tears of joy and the most melting affection: he nobly refused the presents wherewith his brother would needlessly have bribed him to a reconciliation, and pressed him to hold on his way to mount *Seir*, that they might be neighbours and live together; and when *Jacob* artfully waved this invitation, under pretence of the tediousness of his marches for the sake of the children and cattle, and seemed to say he would follow him; *Esau* desired he would let him at least leave some of his followers behind to assist him and conduct him on his way; but this being rejected, he with reluctance left *Jacob* behind him, and took the presents away which had been utterly forced upon him by his timorous brother (H); who, instead of

(H) It appears very plain from what now passed between *Esau* and *Jacob* at this meeting, that the former was not so great a reprobate, or naturally so bad a man, as some have unreasonably represented him. We had resolved to touch upon this matter in the behalf of *Esau*; but finding it generously done to our hands by a very worthy divine, we shall content ourselves with the substance of what he says: *Esau* was a plain, generous, and honest Man; nor does he seem to have been more wicked than the other men of his age and times. His generous and good temper appears by his affectionate deportment towards his brother, and his speedy and utter oblivion of the injuries and slights he received from him: and though St. *Paul* calls him the prophane *Esau*, and says he was hated by God, it cannot thence be gathered that he was a wicked man, or that God punished him for an immoral life. 1. This sentence could not extend to his posterity, and is not said to be founded upon his actions. 2. God's hatred of *Esau*, was not a hatred which induced him to punish him with an evil; for he was as happy in the blessings of this life as *Abraham*, *Isaac*, or *Jacob*, if not more. His children became masters of the land of their possession much sooner than the *Israelites*; and God was pleased to command the *Israelites* not to disturb them in their rights. And if his earthly felicity was such why should we despair of his being a partaker of the heavenly? 3. If he was excluded from being the heir of the blessing, so was *Lot* and *Job*, and other good and virtuous men. 4. St. *Paul* means no more than to shew the *Jews*, that God had all along bestowed the favours which led to the Messiah on whom he pleased; to *Abraham* not to *Lot*; to *Jacob*, not to *Esau*; to the *Gentiles*, not to the *Jews*. 5. Though *Esau* be called βέβηλος, or prophane, he is never called ἀσεβὴς, or ἁμαρτωλὸς, wicked, or immoral. So that the only defect in his character

of following him, deceived him once more, and went another way [f]. *Eſau* remained in *Seir* till he heard that his father *Iſaac* was either dead, or upon the point to die, and went to *Mamre*, where he aſſiſted *Jacob* at the funeral of their deceaſed parent, and took poſſeſſion of his inheritance; for his birth-right was a ſpiritual prerogative, and no ways related to his father's temporal eſtate; by this addition to his former ſtore, and *Jacob* being alſo very rich, and maſter of much cattle, they perceived it would be next to impoſſible to enjoy ſuch large poſſeſſions, together in a country where they were both ſtrangers; and therefore, as *Abraham* and *Lot* had done before, they parted. *Eſau* returning to the country of *Seir*, being an hundred and twenty years old, married *Aholibamah* a daughter of the country, but originally of *Canaan* [g]; and from thenceforward took ſuch meaſures as might be moſt conducive to the good and peaceable ſettlement of his deſcendants in this country.

Their country.

Now, though *Eſau* might have no poſitive knowledge of it, yet GOD deſigned this land for an inheritance to his line [h], as he did that of *Canaan* for the line of *Jacob*: and this naturally leads us to give the beſt deſcription we can of the realm ſo ordained for them; which we ſhall here do once for all. This country was originally, ſo far as we know, inhabited by a people called *Horites*, or *Horim*, whether ſo named from one *Hor*, or *Hori* [i], which was a name amongſt them, is what we know no more, than whether mount *Hor* was ſo denominated from him, as ſome think [k]. It was called the mount or land of *Seir* from one *Seir* an *Horite*, and not from the hairyneſs of *Eſau*, who came there long after, as *Joſephus* dreamed [l]. In the *Samaritan* verſion it is called *Gablah*; by *Jonathan*'s *Targum Gobal*; and by *Joſephus Gobolitis*; which ſeveral appellations are derived from *Geboul*, ſignifying a border; for it did border upon the land of *Canaan* on the ſouth;

[f] Ibid. & xxxiii. [g] Ubi ſupr. xxxv, xxxvi. [h] Deut. ii, 5. Joſh. xxiv. 4. [i] Gen. xxxvi. 22, 30. [k] See WELLS's Hiſtoric. Geogr. of the Old Teſt. vol. 1. p. 533. [l] JOSEPH. Antiq. lib. 1. c. 20.

racter is, that he does not ſeem to have been ſo mindful of the promiſes made to his family as *Jacob* was; from whence, and from his temper, it appears, that he was not quite ſo fit to be the heir of the mercies peculiar to his family (24).

(24) *Shuckford's Connect. of the Sacr. and Profane Hiſtory of the World, vol. 2. p. 198 & ſeq.*

but the extent of the antient country of *Seir* we take not upon us to ſay; and therefore can mention no other boundary. When the children of *Edom* ſeized on this country, it grew to be univerſally known under the name of *Edom*; but we cannot gather, that they extended their limits till the time they erected their monarchy, when they built *Elath* and *Eſiongeber*, as is likely, on the eaſtern ſhore of the *Arabian* gulf; but in the days of *Moſes* no part of their dominion abutted upon that gulf [m]. When the antient kingdom of *Edom* was in its meridian, it was, as we think, bounded on the north by the land of *Canaan* and the *Salt-ſea*, or lake *Aſphaltites*, on the eaſt by *Midian*, on the ſouth by the *Arabian* gulf, or the *Red-ſea*, ſo called from the juriſdiction this people exerciſed over it, as is moſt likely (I); on the weſt it was bounded by *Amalek*.

This

[m] See Numb. xx. 17—21. Deut. ii. 1. & ſeq.

(I) The *Red-ſea*, as we commonly call it, is more properly termed the *Arabian* gulph. By the *Hebrews* it was called *Yam Suf*, the *weedy*, or *flaggy ſea*; by the *Arabians Bahr Alkolzum*, or *the ſea of* Kolzum, a ſmall town at the northermoſt end of it. But by the antient inhabitants of the adjacent countries it was called the ſea of *Edom*, becauſe it waſhed the ſouthern ſkirts of the land of *Edom*. The *Greeks*, finding that the *Phœnicians* called it *Yam Edom*, miſtook the word *Edom* to ſignify an appellative inſtead of a proper name; and therefore rendered it ἐρυθρὰ θαλάσσα, *Mare Rubrum*, and thence we have the *Erythrean*, or *Red-ſea* (25). Others (26), however, derive the name from a certain king of the eaſt, in, or towards, *Perſia*, called *Erythras*; but by the *Red ſea* they manifeſtly underſtand what we call the *Indian* ocean; and therefore we cannot think with Sir *Iſaac Newton* (27), that this ſame *Erythras* is the *Edom* or *Eſau* of ſcripture (28), and that he was actually the firſt that invented the veſſels [*rates*] in which they navigated that ſea. *Agatharcides* expatiates on this, and will have it, that the *Indian* ocean was called the *Red ſea*; not becauſe the *Arabian* gulph belonging to it had hills on the weſt of it, which when the ſun ſhone intenſely upon them, looked ſomewhat like burning coals; on the eaſt he ſays indeed there were ſome red hills, and the ſame there are at this day; but this, he ſays, was not the reaſon why the ocean was called *Red*: nor was it becauſe the ſun in thoſe parts, inſtead of darting forth bright and clear rays, ſhone

(25) *See Prideaux's Connection of the Old and New Teſt. Part* 1. *Book* 1. *p.* 10. (26) *Plin. l.* 6. *c.* 28. *Strab. lib.* 16. *p.* 766. *Pompon. Mel. lib.* 3. *cap.* 8. (27) *Chronol. of antient Kingdoms amend. p.* 211. (28) *Apud Phot. in Biblioth. p.* 1, 322.

out

THIS tract is very hilly and mountainous, and great part of it deſert. It has few or no open ſtreams, but latent ſprings of water ſufficient for the uſe of the inhabitants, who know where to find them [n]. Corn and wine, nevertheſs, it ſeems to have antiently abounded with in ſome degree [o]; ſo that *Eſau* may have enjoyed the fat of the land (K); and beſides, his poſterity, by their ſituation, were able to ſupply and enrich themſelves with the produce of ſome of the fineſt and moſt fruitful ſoils on earth, by means of their commerce with foreigners by the *Red-ſea*, in thoſe days the greateſt and moſt conſiderable trading water in the world. *Amalekitis* is by ſome reckoned to have been a part or province of *Edom* [p] (L),

[n] THEVENOT's Travels, Part 1. c. 32. SANDYS, Book 2. p. 107. [o] See Numb. ubi ſupra. [p] Vide Hiſtor. Jul. in *Edom*. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 11. c. 1.

out only with a ſanguine light, which gave a bloody hue to the ſurface of the ſea; but he will have it derived from one *Erythras*, an obſcure and fabulous prince, concerning whom he tells a very abſurd and puerile ſtory, with a very grave air. From this it appears, that the *Erythrean*, or *Red-ſea* of the antients is the *Indian* ocean of our days, and that what we call the *Red ſea* was conſidered as a branch of it.

(K) By modern travellers we are told, that this country at preſent is nothing leſs than a fertile ſpot (29). But it muſt bear a widely different face now that it is only frequented by the *Bedouins*, or wandering *Arabs*, from what it did when occupied by a ſettled nation, who doubtleſs muſt with great pains and induſtry have prepared the ſoil for propagation: but we have ſpoken of this already (30).

(L) *Joſephus* divides *Edom* into *Gobolitis* and *Amalekitis* (31); but this is a diviſion which cannot be accurately ſpoken of, while the *Edomites* and *Amalekites* were independent ſtates. The habitation of the *Edomites* is alſo frequently called *Gebalene* (32); and eſpecially by *Euſebius*, who uſes the appellations *Gibalane* and *Idumea* indifferently to denote the ſame place (33). Some later writers have torn the country aſunder by a very violent and needleſs rent, placing one *Edom* in the land of *Seir* on the other ſide of *Jordan* to the north, and leaving the other in the place where the land of *Seir* only certainly ſtood; but this is a notion very ſolidly confuted by the beſt approved of the lateſt geographers.

(29) *Sandys, Book 2. p.* 107. (30) *See before in the Notes, p.* 126, 127. (31) *Joſeph. Antiq. l.* 11. *c.* 1. (32) *Stephan. ad voces* Γάβαλα & Γεβάλα. (33) *In Onomaſt. urbium & locorum ad voces,* Γεθεά, Σηείς, Ἰάθερ.

but however it was conſidered in later days, it certainly was not ſo when the kingdom of *Amalek* flouriſhed; and therefore we ſhall treat thereof ſeparately, in the next ſection. We are poſitively told, that *Job*'s country, the land of *Uz*, lies within the limits of the antient *Edom* [q]; but ſome very noted geographers [r] are unwilling to grant it, for reaſons which are not altogether ſo valid as might be wiſhed; but they are too obſcure and uncertain to be diſcuſſed here.

Now the cities and remarkable places of *Edom* were *Teman*, which being mentioned for the wiſdom and counſel of its inhabitants [s], was, perhaps, the royal ſeat: The country around it was called *Temani*; of this part was *Eliphaz*, one of *Job*'s friends [t]. *Dedan*, a city of great dealings with *Tyre*; ſome of the commodities are mentioned, ebony, ivory, and fine clothes [u]; it ſeems to have been ſituated in an extremity of the country oppoſite to *Teman* [w]. *Bozrah* [x], *Boſor*, *Bazrah* and the like, are names of another city of *Edom*; its name implies a fortreſs, which has made ſome imagine, that it was the capital of the kingdom [y]. By the manner of the prophet's introducing it, it may be gueſſed to have been a conſiderable place in his days. *Selah* or *Petra* being words of the ſame ſignification, the one in greek, the other in hebrew, it is thought, the one is a tranſlation of the other, and that they both intend one and the ſame city [z]. If this be right, it ſtood on a level ſpot of ground, encompaſſed all round by ſteep rocks and craggy precipices, and within this incloſure were many gardens and rich ſprings; but beyond it the country was a deſert [a]. That it was thus naturally fortified, appears by ſeveral authors [b]. By one it is called the chief place of the *Nabatæans* [c], whom in another place he calls *Idumeans* [d], that is *Edomites*; and ſays that it was three or four days journey diſtant from *Jericho*. A ſecond author alſo calls it a city of the *Nabatæans* [e]. A third places it near mount *Hor* [f], and calls it the capital of *Arabia* [g]. A fourth ſeats it ten miles weſt-

[q] Auguſt. de Civit. Dei, l. 18. c. 47. See alſo Lament. iv. 21. [r] Vide Cellarii Notit. Orb. Ant. & Relandi Palæſt. Illuſtr. [s] Jerem. xlix. 7, 20. [t] Job ii. 11. [u] Jerem. ubi ſupr. ver. 8. Ezek. xxvii. 15. 20. [w] Idem xxv. 13. in the Margin. [x] Iſa. lxiii. 1. [y] See Fuller's Piſgah ſight, lib. 4. c. 2. [z] See Prideaux's Connection of the Old and New Teſt. Part 1. Book viii. p. 544. Fuller ubi ſupr. [a] Strabo, lib. 16. p. 779. [b] Joseph. Ant. lib. 14. c. 9. Diod. Sic. lib. 19. p. 722. [c] Strabo, ubi ſupr. [d] Idem ibid. p. 760. [e] Diod. Sic. ubi ſupr. [f] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 4. c. 4. [g] Lib. xiv. c. 25.

ward

ward of *Elath* [h], a ſea-port on the *Red-ſea* belonging to the *Edomites*. Moreover, this kingdom had two very eminent ſea-ports, *Elath* and *Eſiongeber*, on the ſhores of the *Arabian* gulf, or *Red-ſea* [i]. *Eſiongeber* proved an unfortunate harbour, being rocky and very difficult, deriving its name from a ridge of rocks it had, which was thought to reſemble the back-bone of a man [k], and growing at length infamous for the many wrecks which befel the ſhipping that frequented it, it was deſerted very early; and therefore its ſituation is not exactly known, any further than that it ſtood very near to *Elath*. This [meaning *Elath*] was a fairer and more commodious haven, and for a long time was a ſtation for the ſhipping, which was ſent from theſe parts into the *Indies*. It is alſo called *Eloth*, *Aela*, *Ailat*, *Elat*, *Elana*, from whence you have the *Elanitic* gulf wherein it ſtood; and by the *Arabians* *Ailah* to this day (M). Upon the decay of *Eſiongeber*, it grew into great credit and reſort, and was thought worthy

[h] EUSEB. Onomaſt. urb. & loc. ad vocem Πέτρα. [i] 1 Kings ix. 26. [k] See PRIDEAUX's Connect. of the Old and New Teſt. part 1. book 1. p. 7. and PATRICK's Comment, upon the above cited paſſage of kings.

(M) *Ailah*, or *Elath* is near the road the *Egyptian* pilgrims take, when they go to *Mecca*. In the fourteenth Century there were conſiderable remains of it ſtanding. At that time an *Egyptian* governor reſided in a tower there: there were no fields about it. There was formerly a caſtle which ſtood out in the ſea, but that is deſtroyed. Our author calls it a ſmall city, and adds, that it had belonged to thoſe *Jews* who were turned into apes and ſwine (34). *Elath* and *Eſiongeber* grew at laſt to be *ambigui juris*, according to Sir *John Marſham* (35). But not to anticipate what we may have to ſay upon this matter, let it for the preſent ſuffice that we obſerve the *Edomites* to have been ſo well able to defend the right they claimed of the empire of the *Red-ſea*, that the *Egyptians* were anti-ently unable to diſpute it with them, and were obliged to ſubmit to ſuch conditions as the *Edomites* were pleaſed to allow them, which are ſaid to have been hard enough; for they were allowed but one veſſel of burthen wherewith to ſail to the *Indies*, and not ſo much as one galley (36). *Elath* was particularly ſo conſiderable a place, as to give name to the eaſtermoſt of the gulphs which terminate the *Red-ſea*, and had the famous metropolis of *Petra*, ten miles to the weſt-ward of it (37), as is ſaid from very good authority, which has been followed by ſome geographers of firſt note.

(34) *Abulfeda in Deſcrip. Arab.* (35) *Canon. Chron. ſecul. xiv. p.* 367. (36) *See Vol. I. p.* 489. *Hiſt. de Huet, du Comm. & de la Navig. des Anc. c.* 5. (37) *Euſeb. Onom. Urbium & Locorum ad vocem* Αιλα.

of being contended for; and antiently changed its masters several times; it was wrested from the *Edomites* by *David* [l], it was afterwards forced from the house of *David* by the *Edomites* when they rebelled against *Jehoram* [m]; *Azariah* got it from them again [n]; but his grandson lost it to the king of *Syria* [o]; the *Syrians* held it a long time, and after some revolutions and changes under the *Seleucidæ* and the *Ptolemies*, it fell to the share of the *Romans*. Remarkable places in this country were farther, mount *Hor* where *Aaron* died, and the valley of *Salt*, a spot on which the *Edomites* were twice defeated with a great slaughter; and had its name, probably, from its salt springs or the salt found there [p].

Now though the name of this kingdom is frequently rendered *Idumæa*, and *Idumea*, as in our version of the bible; yet when that name occurs in the prophane and the more modern writers, it must not be understood of the antient *Edom*, which, losing its old name, was comprehended under the general appellation of *Arabia Petræa*, and the third *Palestine*. The southern part of *Canaan* came to be called *Idumæa*, and the whole nation of the *Jews Idumæans* sometimes. Whence this arose will in part be seen in the close of this section, and more amply in the history of the *Jews*.

Forms of Government.

To return to the antient *Edom*. How it was in its more early times governed is a matter of doubt, and being so, we can only embrace the most likely opinion. The *Horites* were at first ruled by patriarchs, or heads of families, and after that by kings which were elected into the regal office. This elective kingdom was some how or other interrupted and dissolved, and the antient form took place again, the governors being stiled dukes, who seem to have succeeded in right of birth. Perceiving the imperfections of this kind of administration, they coalesced under one king, thereby to be the better enabled to withstand an invasion from the *Israelites* when they came out of *Egypt*. It was governed afterwards by *Edomitish* kings quite down to the days of *David*, who subdued the kingdom; and this second monarchy seems to have been hereditary. These are the various forms of government, which seemed to have been exercised in the land of *Seir* and *Edom*, by the *Horites* and the *Edomites*, as will be seen in the course of this section.

Their character.

The character we have of the *Edomites* is, that they were a bold and daring people, fond of broils and tumults, which they as much delighted in, as others in the softening pleasures of

[l] 2 Sam. viii. 14. [m] 2 Kings viii. 20. [n] Ibid. xiv. 22. [o] Ibid. xvi. 6. [p] Vide Salmas. Exercit. Plinian. Cap. 35. p. 613, 614.

luxury

luxury [q]. But this, we muſt tell you, is peculiarly the character of the later *Edomites*, who migrated into *Judæa*; nor ſhould we have inſerted it here, but that it ſeems to be of a piece with the genius of the people, as their great anceſtor *Iſaac* foretold it. However, though courage was to be one of their characteriſtics, and, perhaps, the chief, yet we are under no neceſſity to believe it to have been of ſo brutal a ſort as *Joſephus* repreſents above: for as they were, doubtleſs, a trading nation, it is incompatible to ſuppoſe they were a neſt of robbers and incendiaries, fewer ſuch being ever found among thoſe that are addicted to commerce, and conſequently enjoy all the world can afford them, than among lazy and ſlothful nations, and ſuch as condemn induſtry out of a vain and ridiculous notion of honour. For theſe laſt are ſure to be mean, and beggarly, rude, ignorant and baſe; the former, quite the reverſe, flouriſh in plenty and eaſe, are learned, ingenious, and brave. What therefore their anceſtor foretold of them, that they ſhould live by the ſword, perhaps, imports no more, than that they ſhould maintain their rights, whether natural or uſurped, with a high hand and a jealous eye; as all thoſe who have claimed the empire of the ſea, as they did, have for ever done. Thus for want of due authority, have we attempted the character of the *Edomites*, by drawing a parallel between them and others of later, and our own times. And, abating the difference of climates which works a difference of tempers, we cannot be much out of the way in comparing them with other trading ſtates, that flouriſh within our knowledge, who are far from living upon plunder and rapine; and in this we ſhall be more confirmed, when we come to view their behaviour towards *Moſes*; when, though they refuſed him admittance into their territories, yet they were ready to traffic with him, and ſupply him with neceſſaries, as we ſhall ſee anon. The *Edomites*, whoſe character *Joſephus* draws above, were a degenerate race, quite aliens to the liberties and noble ſpirit of their forefathers, as we may not unjuſtly ſuppoſe.

THEIR arts and ſciences were doubtleſs great, conſidering the time; many, and well-perfected; and though perhaps there may be no neceſſity to ſuppoſe, as the excellent Sir *Iſaac Newton* has done, that they were the parents of thoſe amiable ſiſters; yet may we ſafely pronounce, that they were not much, if any thing at all behind hand with the moſt antient learned nations. The invention and uſe of conſtellati- *Arts and ſciences.*

[q] JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 13.

ons appear by the Book of *Job* [r], to have been known among the *Edomites*, among whom he dwelt [s], a rare inſtance of the early progreſs of aſtronomy, if we ſuppoſe *Job* to have ever exiſted, or the book it ſelf to be of ſuch antient date as many think. Writing is there mentioned [t] alſo, and ſhips [u], and many hints given ſufficient to confirm us in a belief, that the ſecrets and beauties of nature, morality, and much ſublime and truly-uſeful knowledge were cultivated among them. Nor is there wanting very ample evidence from prophane authors to make this out, as we ſhall take proper opportunities of ſhewing: and indeed it has been a common opinion of the learned, that great veneration is due to their memory on that account.

Religion. Concerning their religion we are much in the dark. They at firſt were right in their belief and practice, as they were deſcended from *Iſaac*, and uſed circumciſion; but they by degrees forgot all, erred into idolatry (for idols it ſeems they had *), and diſuſed circumciſion; but in the end coaleſced with the *Jews*, and were ever after conſidered as but one nation with them in divine matters, as will be ſeen at the decay of their ſtate.

Hiſtory. We now reſume the hiſtory of *Eſau* the father of this people. The number of his family and domeſtics when he fixed his dwelling here is uncertain, though probably very numerous. According to the hypotheſis [w], which in this very obſcure caſe we think ourſelves obliged to adopt, he ſettled here under one of the *Horite* kings; and therefore he lived in a private manner, and was never conſidered any more than as the chief of his own houſe; and thence is dignified with no particular title by *Moſes*. Concerning this matter, we cannot but think with biſhop *Cumberland*, that the *Horites* were at firſt ruled by ſeveral independent chiefs or patriarchs, till they were overpowered by *Chedorlaomer* king of *Elam*, who ſwept them before him, with the neighbouring nations. To ſecure themſelves therefore from ſo great an evil for the time to come, they united under a more ſtable and perfect kind of government, and formed themſelves into an elective kingdom, and their kings were,

Bela, the ſon of *Beor:* the name of his city was *Dinhabah*.

[r] Chap. ix. 9. [s] St. Auguſt. de civitat. Dei ubi ſupr. Lamenta. ubi ſupr. [t] See before, p. 112, (B). [u] Job. c. ix. 26. * See 2 Chron. xxv. in the Argument. [w] See Biſhop Cumberland's Origin. Gent. Antiq.

Jobab,

JOBAB, the ſon of *Zerah* of *Bozrah*. From a ſimilitude of names he has been taken for the holy and patient *Job*, whoſe hiſtory we might enlarge on, were it not too well known, or too uncertain for us to inſert here, which, for ought we are ſure of, is as proper a place as any other. But though we are well furniſhed with help towards this obſcure task, and might, to ſhew that we have read almoſt every thing neceſſary to qualify us for the undertaking, introduce a cloud of commentators and interpreters; yet we ſhall forbear, becauſe it will naturally lead us into a very dry diſcourſe, and be perhaps very diſſatisfactory to ſome, and very diſguſtful to others. Wherefore we will only ſay, that, according to ſome, *Job* was a real, according to others, an imaginary perſon. Some ſay the book was written by himſelf in *Arabic*, and tranſlated by *Moſes* into *Hebrew*; others, that *Moſes* compoſed it originally while he was in *Midian*; others again, that it was originally written by *Ezekiel:* Some hold it to be a genuine and ſincere hiſtory: others, that it is a dramatic entertainment, or a pious fable for the inſtruction of men in the great duty of reſignation to GOD. Some place his abode in, or upon the skirts of, the antient kingdom of *Edom*; others upon the banks of the *Euphrates* (N). Some reckon him among the moſt early of *Eſau*'s deſcendants, others bring him down to the days of *Joſiah*. Having thus given a tranſitory view of the great miſt which hangs over the ſtory of *Job*, we proceed.

HUSHAM of the land of *Temani*.

HADAD, the ſon of *Bedad*, he ſmote *Midian* in the field of *Moab*, and the name of his city was *Avith*.

SAMLAH of *Maſrekah*; in his reign, or in that of his ſucceſſor, came *Eſau*, as we think, into this country.

SAUL of *Rehoboth*.

BAAL-HANAN, the ſon of *Achbor*.

(N) Some have not ſcrupled to ſay, that *Job*'s diſtemper was the foul diſeaſe; for indeed he might have been ſmitten with that as well as with any other; ſo that in this caſe there is no reaſon to believe that he drew it on himſelf. He is the patron of all thoſe that labour under that filthy affliction within the pale of the *Roman* church; but ſhe revered him before the ſaid diſeaſe was known in *Europe*. As to that miſtake about the ſepulchre without the walls of *Conſtantinople*, and that other, that the *Turks* take him to have been the chief judge of *Solomon*'s court; they have been fully detected. (38).

(38) *Bayle Art. Job.*

HADAR

HADAR; the name of his city was *Pau*, and his wife's name was *Mehetabel*.

UNDER the three laſt, or four laſt of theſe kings, did *Eſau* and his family live as ſojourners in a ſtrange land, as *Abraham* and *Iſaac* their forefathers had done before them in other parts. This monarchy, which was plainly elective, came ſome how or other to be interrupted, and broken into ſeveral petty and independent principalities or dukedoms; and, ſeeing that the poſterity of *Eſau* exceed in the number of their dukes, it cannot be very incongruous to ſuppoſe, that they had the largeſt ſhare in bringing about this revolution. It is very accurately obſerved by a late and learned writer, that the firſt dukes of the *Edomites* are not ſtiled dukes of *Edom*, but dukes *in the land of Edom* [x]. From whence we gather, that the grand-children of *Eſau*, grown ſtrong and potent, could no longer brook ſubjection to a ſtrange line, and would govern themſelves; ſo that now the whole country became divided into ſeveral diſtinct juriſdictions, and under ſeveral petty princes, called dukes, both of the poſterity of *Eſau*, and of that of *Seir*, who are all collateral. The dukes in the land of *Edom* were, 1. Duke *Teman*; 2. duke *Omar*; 3. duke *Zepho*; 4. duke *Kenaz*; 5. duke *Korah*; 6. duke *Gatam*; 7. duke *Amalek*. Theſe ſeven were the ſons of *Eliphaz* the firſt-born of *Eſau*. 8. Duke *Nahath*; 9. duke *Zerah*; 10. duke *Shammah*; 11. duke *Mizzah*: theſe four were the ſons of *Reuel*, the ſecond ſon of *Eſau*; 12. Duke *Ieuſh*; 13. duke *Jaalam*; 14. duke *Korah*: theſe three were the ſons of *Eſau* himſelf, begot by him after he was an hundred and twenty years old, on *Aholibamah* his laſt wife. All theſe were the dukes in the land of *Edom*; that is, in that part poſſeſſed by the *Edomites*, and thence called after them. At the ſame time were ſeven dukes over the poſſeſſion of the deſcendants of *Seir*. 1. Duke *Lotan*; 2. duke *Shobal*; 3 duke *Zibeon*; 4. duke *Anah*; he found mules (O) in the wilderneſs, as he fed

[x] SHUCKFORD's Connect. of the ſacred and prophane Hiſt. Book 8. p. 192.

(O) Concerning this remarkable event there is ſome variety of judgment and interpretation. The *Hebrew* word is הימים *hayyemim*, which the LXX, not knowing how to render, have retained, and accordingly have ιαμειμ, and ſo have *Theodotion*, *Aquila*, and *Symmachus*. From St. *Jerom* we have ſeveral traditions of the *Jews* concerning this matter. Some thought, that by the above word

fed the asses of *Zibeon* his father; 5. duke *Dishon*; 6. duke *Ezer*; 7. duke *Dishan* *. Now seeing that the dukes of *Esau*'s line in the land of *Edom*, being more in number, may have been greater in might than those of the *Horites* in the land of *Seir*, it seems not unnatural to suppose, that these last were now expelled by the former, who seized on the land by the

* Gen. xxxvi. 20, 21.

word must be understood seas, or large waters; for the same letters are used for the word which bears that import; and will have it, that while he fed his father's asses in the wilderness, he found a collection of waters, or seas, according to the *Hebrew* idiom, an uncommon discovery in a desert, and therefore worthy of notice. Some would have it to mean *hot waters* in the *Phœnician* tongue. Some again, that he suffered wild asses to cover his tame ones, and that the swiftest breed of those creatures, called *Yamim*, sprang from thence: and most of the *Rabbins* teach, that he, first of all men, suffered asses to cover the mares in the wilderness; whence the unnatural breed of mules were shewn to the world. Now these interpretations, or suppositions, are thus combated. 1. To make the *Hebrew* word mean *seas*, it must be altered in the reading contrary to all authority and likelihood: and besides, as the *Hebrews* call great ponds or lakes, seas, it is no wonder that he found out such congregations of water; but there is nothing of that kind that can be considered in those parts, except the lake *Asphaltites*, which was made afterwards. 2. Those who render the word *hot-baths*, as the Vulgate, according to the *Phœnician* signification, seem to have read חימים *hhemim*, and to have believed, that it is synonymous with חמים *hhammim*, which signifies *hot baths*; but this is countenanced by no reading or interpretation. 3. Those who will have him to have first found out the breed of mules, are confuted by *Bochart*, with the following arguments; 1. Because mules were never called by that name; 2. Because the word מצא *matza*, which *Moses* uses, imports the finding what exists already, and not the invention of what never had been before; 3. Because they were asses which *Anah* fed, and not horses; 4. Because in scripture there is no mention made of mules to the time of *David*. In the conclusion, it is the proper name of a people, the אימים *Emim* for example; which is perfectly made out from the *Samaritan* reading; whom he found suddenly, that is, fell on them by surprize, and discomfitted them; and this is the most likely meaning of the *Hebrew* text in this place, it having the very same signification in several other places (40). However, the word is also thought to have been the name of some useful plant, or herb (41), which *Anah* first discovered.

(40) *Vide Cleric. Comm. in Gen. cap. xxxvi. ver.* 24. (41) *Vide Wagen Annot. in Tit. Talm. Sot.*

preordained

preordained diſtribution of God [y]. At the ſame time *Amalek* or his ſpurious offspring may have been driven out alſo.

Accordingly the next generation of theſe princes are ſtiled dukes of *Edom*, and had no rivals of any other family in any other part of the country, which now we ſuppoſe to have been all called *Edom*. The dukes of this ſecond race were; 1. Duke *Timnah*; 2. duke *Alvah*; 3. duke *Jetheth*; 4. duke *Aholibamah*; 5. duke *Elah*; 6. duke *Pinon*; 7. duke *Kenaz*; 8. duke *Teman*; 9. duke *Mibzar*; 10. duke *Magdiel*; 11. duke *Iram*.[z] (P). Theſe eleven were dukes of *Edom* when the children of *Iſrael* were come out into the wilderneſs; and, being diſmayed at the approach of ſo formidable a body, as yet unprovided with a ſeat, dreaded for their own country, not knowing that the *Iſraelites* were under a ſtrict injunction by no means to moleſt them. Wherefore, perceiving the imperfection and weakneſs of the regulation they were under, they united under one head or king, and prepared to maintain their ground againſt any invaſion.

To this nameleſs king, or perhaps his ſucceſſor, came meſſengers from *Moſes*, then drawing near the end of his days, to entreat a paſſage through his country for him and his peo-

[y] Deut. ii. 12. [z] Gen. ubi ſupr.

(P) In ſcripture the names of theſe kings and dukes run in a ſeemingly confuſed order; and ſome are unwilling to think that they ſucceeded in the manner we have, from biſhop *Cumberland*, placed them in (42). This difference in opinion proceeds from theſe words of the text prefixed to the liſt of the kings; *and theſe are the kings that reigned in the land of* Edom, *before there reigned any king over the land of* Iſrael (43). This is ſuppoſed to be an interpolation; and if we do not allow all the kings of the liſt to have been elder than *Moſes*, we muſt ſuppoſe the whole to be interpolated too; and accordingly, ſome take *Moſes* to have been the firſt king of *Iſrael*, and to be meant here. It cannot be proved, that any of the ſaid kings were of the line of *Eſau*: and this firſt monarchy ſet up by the *Horites* was plainly elective; whereas that monarchy erected by the children of *Eſau* was, by the very little or nothing we know of it, at leaſt ſeemingly, hereditary; for *Hadad* was a minor when *David* conquered *Edom*. But we are afraid of treſpaſſing too much on our readers patience, by running into the many particulars of this debate, and ſhall only ſay, that we have embraced that opinion, which, upon mature deliberation, ſeems to us to be the beſt founded.

(42) *See Shuckford's Connect. of the ſacr. and prof. Hiſt. Book* 7. *p.* 192, *& ſeq.* (43) *See Prideaux's Connect. of the Old and New Teſt. part* 1. *book* 5. *p.* 492, 493.

ple.

ple. And though it was remonſtrated to him, that the *Iſraelites* were his brethren; and as he could not but know, how they and their fathers had wandered from place to place, without any fixed habitation; how they had been oppreſſed in *Egypt*; how GOD had now led them out from under their bondage, and that they had reached his borders, being in, or near, the town of *Kadeſh*; it was to be hoped he would let them paſs freely through his country, in their way to the land of *Canaan*; that if he was willing to befriend them in this matter, they would keep the highway, and not offer to turn to the right or the left, to hurt the fields, or the vineyards, or drain the wells of water, until they had quite croſſed his territories. To this the jealous king of *Edom* anſwered, that he would by no means grant it, and adviſed them not to make the leaſt attempt towards it; that if they did, they might expect to be interrupted by the whole ſtrength of his kingdom. And when theſe ambaſſadors, or perhaps thoſe of a ſecond embaſſy, urged him ſtill farther upon this important buſineſs, and made a renewal of promiſes and aſſurances of the moſt peaceable behaviour, if they might have the paſſage they ſolicited, proteſting, that they would pay for every thing they might have occaſion for on the way, and that they would be as expeditious in their marches as their feet would permit; he grew downright exaſperated at their reiterated inſtances, and, fearing that the *Iſraelites* might make ſome deſperate attempt to force the paſſage he denied them, he took the field, and marched towards them, to intimidate them, and ſhew them that he was not to be prevailed on*. However, his enmity did not run to the pitch of diſtreſſing them in matters wherein he could relieve them without danger to himſelf, and, perhaps, that they might not grow deſperate, he furniſhed them with what his country afforded for their ſuſtenance or convenience, for their money [a].

AFTER this, there is ſcarce any hiſtory ſo obſcure and interrupted as this of *Edom*; and particularly, we find no words concerning them, from theſe days to thoſe of king *David*: however, we will ſupply this chaſm in part, by obſerving, that in the mean time the *Edomites* extended their dominion, and applied themſelves to trade and navigation, and ſeized on the empire of the ſea; we mean of the *Arabian* gulf at leaſt, and the trade thereof: they dealt in very rich commodities, as it ſeems; pure gold, gold of *Ophir*, the topaz of *Æthiopia*, coral, pearls, and the like [b], and became a very conſiderable kingdom, as the moſt common opinion is.

* Numb. xx. 14, 21. [a] Deut. ii. 28, 29. [b] Job. xxviii.

BUT

But in the very meridian, as we think, of their glory, they were humbled by conqueſt, and the chiefs of them driven from their homes by the cruelties of a foreign invaſion; which how they drew upon them we have ſcarce any room to gueſs (Q). But ſo it was, that they became involved in a war with king *David*, in which they were defeated in the valley of *Salt* [c], with the loſs of eighteen thouſand men; and though this battle ſeems to have decided the fate of the kingdom, yet the *Edomites* were not ſuffered to live, but were maſſacred, wherever they could be found, for ſix months together, by *Joab*, who ſlew all the males that came into his hands; ſo that happy were they who could eſcape into ſtrange countries (R). So *Edom* was awed by the conqueror's gariſons, waſted, and depopulated, while its antient inhabitants were diſperſed into ſeveral parts. *Hadad* their king, as yet a minor, and a party with him, took the way of *Midian* (S), thinking, perhaps, to croſs the *Red-ſea*, and there underſtanding, that they and their young king would be favourably received by *Pharaoh*, they carried him thither, and *Hadad* was accordingly received and ſupported by *Pharaoh* with all the dignity becoming his royal rank; and, to compleat all the favours and kindneſſes which were unſparingly heaped on him, he had the queen's [*Taphenes*'s] ſiſter given to him in marriage [d]. But at the ſame time that *Hadad* made his way towards *Egypt*, others took different routs; ſome, flying to

[c] 2 Sam. viii. 13. 1 Chron. xviii. 12. [d] 1 Kings xi. 15, 20.

(Q) Indeed there is but very little room to gueſs at what might poſitively be the cauſe of this ruin executed upon the *Edomites*; but probably, *David* treating with them for ſome of the advantages of *Elath* and *Eſiongeber*, they refuſed to hearken to him, and thereby provoked him to wreſt thoſe important places, the only marts of the very rich commodities he wanted, out of their hands.

(R) Sir *Iſaac Newton* makes this diſperſion to have been of very beneficial conſequence to the ſeveral nations they went to, ſuppoſing they carried their arts, ſciences, and induſtry with them wherever they went (44); and herein he is in part ſupported by very ample authority, as we ſhall immediately obſerve.

(S) From hence we have, after *Reland*, ſuppoſed, that *Midian* was partly bounded on the north by *Edom* (45); as if they were obliged to fly through *Midian* to go to *Egypt*: but it is more likely, that they ſtruck into *Midian*, as the ſhorteſt cut to get away from the enemy, with deſign to embark for *Egypt*, at *Madian*, or ſome other ſea-port of that country, as the ſafeſt way to go into *Egypt*.

(44) *Chron. of ant. kingd. amended, p.* 209. (45) *See before, p.* 110.

the *Philiſtines*, fortified *Azoth*, or *Azotus*, for them (T), and proved a conſiderable acceſſion of power, and of very ſingular benefit to that people (U): and others, that dealt in ſhipping, took the longeſt way they could to eſcape the rage of the conqueror, and went towards, or into, the *Perſian* gulf [d]: in a word, they were diſperſed into all parts, there being no ſafety for them in their native place.

[d] See Sir ISAAC NEWTON's Chronol. of ant. Kingd. amended, p. 104, 105.

(T) According to Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s hypotheſis, *Hadad* and his followers were the more kindly received by the king of *Egypt*, as he foreſaw the advantage they would be of to him, by bringing with them their ſkill in letters, aſtronomy, navigation, and the like, in which the *Egyptians* were till then ignorant.

(U) The aforeſaid chronologer holds, among other things, that ſome of them flying to the *Philiſtines* and the ſea-ports, improved the inhabitants there in the arts of navigation and commerce; and indeed it is more than once ſaid, that the *Phœnicians* came from the *Red-ſea*. *Herodotus* (47) tells us ſo; and *Stephanus* (48) relates, that *Azotus* was built by the fugitives which fled from the *Red-ſea*. "The *Phœnicians* therefore came from the *Red-ſea*, in the days of "*Io* and her brother *Phoroneus*, king of *Argos*; and by conſequence "at that time, when *David* conquered the *Edomites*, and made "them fly every way from the *Red-ſea*. —— And this flight gave "occaſion to the *Philiſtines* to call many places *Erythra*, in memory "of their being *Erythreans*, or *Edomites*, and of their coming from "the *Erythrean* ſea; for *Erythra* was the name of a city in *Ionia*; "of another in *Libya*; of another in *Locris*; of another in *Bœotia*; "of another in *Cyprus*; of another in *Ætolia*; of another in *Aſia*, "near *Chius*; and *Erythya Acra* was a promontory in *Libya*; and "*Erythræum* a promontory in *Crete*; and *Erythros* a place near *Ti-*"*bur*; and *Erithini* a city or country in *Paphlagonia*; and the "name *Erythea*, or *Erythræ*, was given to the iſland of *Gades*, peo-"pled by *Phœnicians*—*Edom*, *Erythra*, and *Phœnicia*, are names of "the ſame ſignification, the words denoting a red colour; which "makes it probable, that the *Erythreans* who fled from *David* ſet-"tled in great numbers in *Phœnicia*; that is, in all the ſea-coaſts "of *Syria*, from *Egypt* to *Zidon*; and by calling themſelves *Phœni-*"*cians* in the language of *Syria*, inſtead of *Erythreans*, gave the "name of *Phœnicia* to all that ſea-coaſt, and to that only" (49).

The ſame chronologer holds, that the *Oes* of *Helladius*, the *Oannes* of *Beroſus* (50), and the *Euahanes* of *Hyginus* (51), are ſeveral names given to an *Edomite* commander, who now fled to the *Perſian* gulph, and firſt introduced the uſeful arts into *Chaldæa*; but this, we apprehend, is allowing a little too much.

(47) *l.* 1. *c.* 1. *l.* 7. *c.* 89. (48) *In vocem* Ἄζωτ. (49) *See Chronol. of ant. kingd. amended, p.* 108, 109. (50) *See Vol. I. p.* 184. (51) *Fab.* 274.

HADAD

Hadad, though he lived in great eaſe and ſplendor in the *Egyptian* court, yet being conſcious of his birth, unwilling to live in dependance, thirſting after his kingdom, and bitterly remembring the ſeverity of the conqueror, meditated revenge, but more eſpecially when it was told him, that *David* and the terrible *Joab* were both dead. At length the time came, when *Solomon* wallowed in all kinds of impurity, and thinking this a proper opportunity to take his revenge, he diſcloſed his mind to his brother-in-law *Pharaoh*, entreating that he would diſmiſs him. The wiſe king of *Egypt*, perceiving the great troubles and dangers which he muſt be expoſed to in executing his deſign, would have prevailed on him to lay aſide all thoughts of ſo tumultuous an undertaking; but *Hadad*, upon urging the matter, obtained a diſmiſſion, and proved a very troubleſome enemy to *Solomon*, and ſhewed the way to others, as is thought, to be the ſame; but he did not recover his kingdom again. He had a ſon by his *Egyptian* wife, and his name was *Genubath*: he had a princely education in the palace of *Pharaoh*; but *Hadad* failing in his view upon his own kingdom, he, it is likely, eſtabliſhed himſelf in *Syria*, where we find the royal family bore the name of *Hadad*.

In the mean time the kingdom of *Edom* continued under the houſe of *David* till the days of *Jehoſhaphat*, being governed by deputies or viceroys, appointed by the kings of *Judah*. And though we have, in the hiſtory of *Moab*, made mention of a king of *Edom*, who aſſiſted *Jehoram* king of *Iſrael* and *Jehoſhaphat* king of *Judah*, in the reduction of *Meſha* king of *Moab*, we there ſpeak only in the freedom of ſcripture phraſe; for that king, as he is called, attended upon *Jehoſhaphat* as a vaſſal, and not as an auxiliary[e]. However, though the hiſtory of that war does peculiarly belong to the reigns of *Jehoſhaphat* and *Jehoram*, kings of *Iſrael* and *Judah*, who were the principals in it, yet we have here occaſion to repeat, that this chief of *Edom*'s ſon is thought to have been ſacrificed by *Meſha* the king of *Moab*, upon the walls of the city where he was blocked up, though on the other hand, it is alſo thought to have been the *Moabite*'s own ſon[f].

We have now ſeen the time wherein *Eſau* was to be a ſervant to his brother; and now we come to that wherein he was to ſhake off his yoke, and be ſubject to him no more. For, finding a fair opportunity to recover their antient liberty, the *Edomites* embraced it, and ſucceeded. They had already

[e] See 1 Kings xxii. 47. [f] See before, 94.

ſhewn

ſhewn how ill they were diſpoſed, even towards *Jehoſhaphat*, when a part of them joined the *Moabites* and *Ammonites*, in an attempt to ſurprize him, when he was unprepared for the aſſault; but fell into unaccountable confuſion, wherein the *Edomites* were all cut off by the *Ammonites* and *Moabites*, who afterwards butchered each other [g]. But in the days of *Jehoram* the ſon of *Jehoſhaphat*, the whole nation of *Edom* aroſe, and, aſſaſſinating or expelling their viceroy, made themſelves a king after their own liking; and, upon advice that *Jehoram* was coming with a formidable power to reduce them, they marched towards him, and managed ſo as to hem him all round in the night-time; but this project was diſconcerted with a great ſlaughter, and they were forced to their retrenchments. This was but an indifferent beginning; but ſo it happened, that the *Edomites* could not be annexed again to the houſe of *David* *.

THUS was the long wiſhed for revolution brought about, after one hundred and fifty years of oppreſſion; but who was their chief upon this occaſion, or what he did farther, or who ſucceeded him, we are wholly at a loſs for.

AFTER this they had no attempts made upon them by the kings of *Judah* for upwards of ſixty years; in which time they muſt have had time to recover themſelves very well, and retrieve their antient ſplendor in a great meaſure. Notwithſtanding which they ſuffered a ſignal overthrow from *Amaziah* king of *Judah* in the valley of ſalt, where ten thouſand of them fell in battle, and as many of them were alſo taken priſoners. After which their capital, *Selah*, which we have ſuppoſed to have been the famous *Petra*, was taken from them by ſtorm, and ten thouſand captives were by *Amaziah*'s order thrown down from the ragged precipices which ſtood about that city, and were torn and daſhed to pieces. *Selah* was now by the conqueror called *Joktheel* [h].

WHETHER after, or before this, we cannot diſcover, the *Edomites* had a war with their neighbours the *Moabites*, wherein, being unfortunate, their king fell into the hands of the enemy, who burnt him, whether dead or alive we cannot ſay, till his bones were reduced to aſhes (X). Thus have we

[g] See before, p. 94, & ſeq. * 2 Chron. xxi. 8. [h] 2 Kings xiv. 7.

(X) It is doubted, whether this be not the ſame war wherein *Meſha* king of *Moab* ſacrificed his own ſon, or the ſon of the king or chief of *Edom* (50). Our tranſlators of the bible take them to be one and the ſame event.

(50) *See before, p.* 94.

hitherto tacked together the incoherent parts of this hiſtory in the beſt manner we have been able. In the mean time they became ſubject to the king of *Babylon*, in completion of what the prophets had threatened them [i]. And when utter deſtruction came upon the *Jews*, and that they were carried away captive, then did their fury blaze out, ſo far as to cut off ſuch of the *Jews* as attempted to eſcape the captivity, not forgetting the ſlaughter made of their forefathers by *Joab* in the days of king *David*; but for this were they threatened, that they ſhould be repayed in kind, that, for the deſolation they had forwarded in *Judah*, their own land ſhould be deſolate when the reſt of the countries flouriſhed [k]. They were for laying *Jeruſalem* level with the ground, and accordingly, when the *Chaldees* or *Babylonians* were withdrawn, they made an end of the temple with fire [l]. Thus did they proſecute their revenge to the utmoſt, hoping, that the *Jews* were never more to be a nation, inſulting God, and ſlaughtering the few of his miſerable people, who had by his leave eſcaped the hands of the *Babylonians*.

Wherefore confuſion was brought upon them, and violent inteſtine commotions and perſecutions; inſomuch that a great part of them left their own country, and ſettled in the empty land of *Judæa*, and particularly in the ſouth-weſtern parts [m]; and it may be, that at this time they made an end of the temple of *Jeruſalem*. Thoſe of them that ſtaid behind in *Edom* joined the children of *Nabaioth*, and were called *Nabatæans* ever afterwards; ſo that the antient kingdom of *Edom* now loſt its name, which was transferred to that part of the land of *Judæa*, which the refugees had pitched in, and which had never been any part of their old kingdom, but the lot of the tribes of *Simeon* and *Judah*. And this is the *Idumæa*, and theſe the *Idumæans* mentioned by *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, *Strabo*, and other antient writers. For becauſe of their wicked dealing with their oppreſſed brethren, their kingdom was to loſe all its glory, and become a deſert; *ſtrangers from the ſouth* [n] *were to poſſeſs it*; it was never to riſe, and from thenceforward to be called *the border of wickedneſs* [p], though it pleaſed God to ſpare a remnant of this people, by permitting them to ſeize on a part of their brethren's portion; by which means they came to be united into one family with them, as they were deſcended from the loins of one man.

[i] See Iſa. xxi, xxxiv. Jerem. ix, xxv, xxvii, xlix. Lam. iv. Ezek. xxv, xxxii, xxxv, xxxvi. Joel iii. Amos i, ix. [k] See Ez. xxv, xxxv. Joel iii. Amos i. Obad. i. [l] See Pſalm cxxxvii. 1 Eſd iv. [m] Strabo, lib. 16. p. 760. [n] Obad. ubi ſupr. [p] Malach. i.

We

WE have now pointed out the exit of the antient kingdom of *Edom*, and ſhall proceed to the broken interrupted affairs of thoſe *Edomites* who ſettled in *Judæa*; concerning which we only know, that a decree was iſſued out againſt them from *Darius Hyſtaſpes*, commanding, that they ſhould deliver up all they had belonging to the *Jews* [q]; but what effect this took we cannot well ſay. That upon the decline of the *Perſian* monarchy, and after the days of *Alexander*, they were under the power of the *Seleucidæ*, when the antient averſion they had to the *Jews* being ſtirred up in them, they warred againſt them, under the conduct of *Gorgias* their governor for *Antiochus Epiphanes*: but they got nothing thereby but blows and great ruin; being conſtantly worſted by *Judas Maccabæus*, who at laſt took and ſacked their chief city *Hebron* [r]: their ſtrong holds, wherewith they awed the *Jews*, were forced by that valourous commander, who cut off twenty thouſand of them in the aſſault, but a reſidue of nine thouſand of them fled to two ſtrong towers [s], where they were well prepared to ſuſtain a ſiege; whence, by a bribe of 70,000 *Drachms*, a good part of them were ſuffered to eſcape. But when the treachery was diſcovered by the *Jewiſh* general, a ſtop was put to this outlet; theſe two ſtrong caſtles were alſo forced, and no leſs than twenty thouſand *Idumæans* again [t] put to the ſword. Thus was their zeal againſt their brethren rewarded as it deſerved, as ſhall be more exactly particularized in the *Jewiſh* hiſtory.

AFTER theſe very troubleſome times, we know not how it fared with the *Edomites* in *Idumæa*, except that they ſeem to have been continually agitated by broils and wars, till they were conquered by *John Hyrcanus*; who reduced them to the ſore neceſſity of embracing the *Jewiſh* religion, or of quitting their country. They choſe the former, and, ſubmitting to be circumciſed, became incorporated with the *Jews* [u], and, conſidering their deſcent as well as their converſion, they were upon a double account reckoned as natural *Jews*; and accordingly, in the firſt century after *Chriſt*, the name of *Idumæan* was loſt and quite diſuſed [w] (Y). And being ſo, we

[q] Eſdr ubi ſupr. ver. 50. [r] 1 Maccab. v. 65, 68. [s] ver. 4, 5. 2 Maccab. x. 18, 23. [t] Ibid. ver. 21, 23. [u] JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 13. c. 17. [w] PRIDEAUX's Connect. of the Old and New Teſt. Book 5. p. 307, 308.

(Y) The name of *Edomite* is not ſo wholly loſt, but the *Jews* make uſe of it ſtill. "The *Rabbins* ſpeak of *Edom* and *Edomites* long after "this; but thereby they do not mean *Idumæa*, or the ſons of *E-*

we here break off, referring what further relates to this people to the *Jewiſh* hiſtory. We have ſeen then, that the *Edomites*, or *Idumæans*, were partly ſwallowed up before by the *Nabatæans*, or *Arabians*, and partly now by the *Jews*.

SECT. V.

The Hiſtory of Amalek.

Their anceſtor.

AMALEK was the father of this people, and from him they were called *Amalekites*, and their country *Amalekitis*. He was the ſon of *Eſau*'s firſt-born *Eliphaz* (A), by his concubine *Timna*. Notwithſtanding the ſpurioufneſs of his birth, he is reckoned among the dukes *in* the land of *Edom* [a], which is all we know for certain concerning him.

[a] Gen. xxxvi. 12. 1 Chron. i. 36.

" *dom*, but *Rome*, and the chriſtians of the *Roman* empire. For, " fearing the diſpleaſure of the chriſtians, among whom they live, " for avoiding it whenever they ſpeak any reproachful thing of " Chriſtians, or of their religion, they uſually blend it under " feigned names: ſometimes calling us *Cuthæans*, i e. *Samaritans*; " and ſometimes *Epicureans*; and ſometimes *Edomites*; and this laſt " is the civileſt appellation they give us (51).

(A) The *Arabians* deduce his genealogy in a different manner, and make him ſome generations older than *Abraham*, as follows:

فوج	*Noah.*
خام	*Ham.*
ارم	*Aram.*
حوث	*Uz.*
عاد	*Ad.*
عملاق	*Amalek (1)*

They ſay alſo, that the *Amalekite* in antient times poſſeſſed the country about *Mecca*, whence they were expelled by the *Jorhamite* kings (2). Some hold, that *Ad* was the ſon of *Aws*, or *Uz*, the ſon of *Aram*, the ſon of *Shem*, the ſon of *Noah*. Others, that *Ad* was the ſon of *Amalek*, the ſon of *Ham* (3); but the contrary is the

(51) *Prideaux's Connect. of the Old and New Teſt. Part* 2. *Book* 5. *p.* 708. (1) *Vide Reland. Palæſt. Illuſt. c.* 14. (2) *Pocock Specim. Hiſt. Arab. p.* 173. (3) *D'Herbelot, p.* 51, 110.

received

him. How this family came to ſeparate from the others of *Eſau's* line, wants ſome light. Perhaps it were not abſurd to ſuppoſe *Amalek* or his poſterity to have been expelled by the *Edomites*, when they cleared the land of the *Horites*; and that on account of their illegitimate deſcent, as was practiſed towards *Iſhmael* in the houſe of their great anceſtor *Abraham*. Or on the other hand, *Amalek* or his deſcendants may have been ſlighted and diſtinguiſhed with contempt by the other *Edomites*; which they ſtomaching, may have joined themſelves to the *Horites*, reſolving to ſhare fortunes with them. Very unlikely it is, that this ſingle family ſhould have been able to erect itſelf into a formidable ſtate, ſo early as to have attempted the *Iſraelites* almoſt as ſoon as they had ſet foot on this ſide of the *Red-ſea*: they muſt certainly have been joined by others; and by whom ſo likely as by the remnant of the *Horites*, and by the inhabitants of the land they ſeized on, for ſome there were[a]? The *Kenites* deſcended from *Jethro*, we know, inhabited with them; but that was in after times[b]. That there was an inbred miſunderſtanding between the *Edomites* and *Amalekites*, and that they held each other in averſion, is confirmed, in that we cannot diſcover any manner of harmony between the nations, no confederacy, no correſpondence, or the leaſt token of mutual accord.

As we can but gueſs at the cauſe of this rent in the houſe of *Eſau*; ſo are we left to do little more concerning the ſpot they pitched on, or the tract wherein they afterwards erected their kingdom. Their firſt removal cannot be ſuppoſed to

[a] See Gen. xix. 6. [b] See before, p. 118.

received opinion. Some commentators on the *Koran* (4) tell us, that the old *Adites* were of prodigious ſtature, the largeſt being an hundred cubits, and the leaſt ſixty; which they pretend to prove by the authority of the *Koran* (5). In fine, it is alſo ſaid by the *Arabian* writers, that *Amalek* was the ſon of *Azd*, the ſon of *Shem* (6). *Le Clerc* (7) is willing to adopt this notion ſo far as to think, that the *Amalekites* were a great nation before the days of *Abraham* or *Lot*; becauſe he finds that *Chedorlaomer* made war on them under that name, which he ſuppoſes muſt be proleptically taken at firſt. But conſidering, that our *Amalek* was of the houſe of *Eſau*, with whom the *Iſraelites* were commanded to be at peace, he changes his mind, and imagines they had no relation to our *Amalek*, but ſprang from ſomewhere elſe.

(4) *Jalla Lo' Ddin & Zamakſhari* (5) *Kor. c.* 7. (6) *Ebn Shohnah.* (7) *In Geneſ. xiv.* 7. *& Numb xxiv* 20.

have been at any great diſtance from the land of *Edom*; and indeed, from the firſt of their expulſion or removal to their exciſion, they ſeem to have bordered upon that country: whence *Joſephus* divides the whole land of *Edom* into *Amalekitis* and *Gobolitis* [c]; but, as we have already obſerved, it is very inaccurately ſaid, if we refer to theſe early days, when it is ſo evident there was no participation of counſels between the two kings, as will appear by their different conduct towards the children of *Iſrael* [d], when in the wilderneſs. In reference to this matter, and elſewhere, does the ſcripture divide them into quite diſtinct kingdoms [d]. The ſituation of the kingdom of *Amalek* is however pretty clearly, if not ſelf-evidently, ſettled, by remarking, that it had intercourſe and commerce with *Egypt* [e] (B); that it had a way leading into the country of the *Philiſtines*, and into the land of *Canaan* (C). Whence we conclude it to have been bounded by *Canaan*

[c] Joseph. Antiq. l. 2. c. 1. [d] See 1 Chron. xviii. 11. [e] See Joseph. Antiq. l. 6. c. 8.

(B) This ſeems to be clear from *Joſephus* (8), who makes *Amalekitis* to extend between *Peluſium* and the *Red-ſea*, and from the *Arabian* hiſtorians, who make the *Amalekites* to have been even maſters of *Egypt* (9); for it were hard to ſuppoſe they have no manner of foundation for their ſtory, and that the whole is entirely falſe in all its articles. That they had communication with *Egypt*, may farther appear from the *Egyptian* they left behind them on their return from ſacking of *Ziklag*, who fell into the hands of *David* (10). Finally, it is expreſly ſaid in ſcripture, that they had *of old* inhabited *the land — even unto the land of Egypt*.

(C) This is naturally ſuppoſed by their expedition againſt *Ziklag* (11) in the country of the *Philiſtines*, which they took and burnt, and from other inſtances of the ſame kind, which we ſhall not here enumerate; but this we the rather inſiſt on; becauſe ſo miſerable and broken a people as they were at that time, cannot well be ſuppoſed to have been able to break through any other country to get at *Ziklag*: and had they not the ſituation we have given them, they muſt have croſſed ſome part or other of the kingdom of *Edom*, at that time in its meridian, which it is not likely would have been allowed them; for there ſeems to have been no manner of underſtanding between the nations, as we have elſewhere ſaid: and it is plain, that they lay to the ſouth of the *Philiſtines* by the words of *David*, who being aſked by *Achiſh* where he had been, he anſwered, that he had been *againſt the ſouth of* Judah, *and againſt the ſouth of the* Jerahmeelites, *and againſt the ſouth of the* Kenites (12);

(8) *Antiq. l.* 6. *c.* 8. (9) *See before, p.* 72, 73. (10) 1 *Sam. xxx.* (11) *Idem ibid.* (12) 1 *Sam. xxvii.* 10.

but

naan on the north; by *Egypt*, or its dependant territory, on the ſouth; by *Edom* on the eaſt; and by the deſerts towards the ſea on the weſt; or perhaps by the margin of the ſea itſelf. And this we deliver ſimply as our own opinion, wherein, however, we are not alone [f], and forbear to perplex the reader with a variety of opinions, which are not ſo happily ſupported as this. Here then, and hereabouts, was their abode, till they ceaſed to be a nation; their limits extending with their encreaſe of power, and ſhrinking in again as they dwindled away.

THE cities of this country we are wholly at a loſs for, except we follow *Joſephus*, who places the famous city of *Petra* under the juriſdiction of the *Amalekites* [g] (D).

Their cuſtoms.

THEIR religious and civil cuſtoms we know nothing of poſitively. That they originally uſed circumciſion cannot be diſputed; and, for ought we know, they may have continued the ſame practice to the end; but whether they were doomed to utter deſtruction for any crying ſins that prevailed among them, beſides the horrid outrage they committed on the diſtreſſed *Iſraelites* [h], we do not read.

Their religion.

THEIR religion was at firſt, doubtleſs, the ſame that was taught in the houſe of *Abraham*; but by what degrees they erred therefrom, and how far they went aſtray, we have no knowledge of. *Joſephus* [i] mentions their idols, but the ſcripture terms them the idols of mount *Seir* [k]; ſo that they ſeem to have more properly belonged to the *Edomites* than to the *Amalekites*.

Their arts, &c.

THEIR arts, their ſciences, and trade, we can only gueſs at from their ſituation; for it is probable they had the knowledge and commerce of thoſe times, pretty much in common with their neighbours the *Edomites* and *Egyptians*, and thoſe of the ſea-coaſts of *Judæa*. And this is the leſs diſputable, as

[f] Vide RELAND. Palæſt. illuſt. [g] Vide JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 3. c. 2. [h] Exod. xvii. [i] Antiq. l. 9. c. 10. [k] See before, p. 136.

but did not think fit to ſay, he had been againſt the *Amalekites*, who lay in the ſouth. Add to this, that the *Simeonites* lay next to them (13).

(D) We muſt here note, what *Joſephus* ſays, that thoſe who inhabited *Gobolitis* and *Petra* were called *Amalekites* (14); but ſeeing the ſame author divides the whole kingdom of *Edom* into *Gobolitis* and *Amalekitis* (15), how comes it, that they dwelt not in this laſt diviſion? it is an enigma we know not how to unriddle.

(13) *See* 1 *Chron. iv.* 42. (14) *Joſeph. Ant. l.* 3. *c.* 2. (15) *See before in the Notes, p.* 131.

their king is placed in ſo high a ſphere of majeſty, and themſelves ſtiled the firſt of the nations, as we ſhall ſee anon. Much the ſame may be ſaid of their manners, genius, and policy.

Their government. Concerning their government thus much appears, that it was monarchical; and that the firſt, or at leaſt one of the firſt, of their kings, was called *Agag* [l]; as was alſo their laſt [m]; from whence it has been imagined, that all their intermediate kings bore the ſame appellation.

Their hiſtory. The *Amalekites* ſtepped early, if not the very firſt, into the government of this country; and very remarkable it is, that they grew up to ſuch a ſudden height of power and ſplendor, that their king is ſpoken of as far above all others; for *Balaam*, foretelling the future majeſty of the *Jewiſh* ſtate, expreſſes himſelf, that their king *ſhall be higher than Agag*, and ſtiles them, *the firſt of the nations* [n] (E); which ſeems to countenance the extraordinary things the *Arabian* hiſtorians have concerning the *Amalekites*; as that they conquered *Egypt*, and poſſeſſed the throne of that kingdom for ſeveral generations [o] (F).

But

[l] Numb. xxiv. 7. [m] 1 Sam. xv. 8. [n] Numb. ubi ſupr. & ver. 20. [o] See before, p. 72, 73.

(E) It was ſudden, according to the hypotheſis we have adopted (16): for thereby the kingdom of *Amalek* is not likely to have been much, if any thing at all, older than that of *Edom*, which we have ſhewn to have commenced at the *Exodus*; and therefore, when *Balaam* expreſſed himſelf in ſo high a ſtrain concerning *Agag* and his monarchy, it could not have been of much above forty years ſtanding. The expreſſion of *Amalek*'s being *the firſt of the nations*, our verſion turns otherwiſe in the margin, *the firſt of the nations that warred againſt Iſrael*. Much the ſame turn does *Onkelos* give it; but if we compare what is ſaid of *Agag* himſelf but thirteen verſes before, we ſhall not be at any great loſs for the right, or, at leaſt, natural explication of the paſſage before us; which doubtleſs means, that they were the greateſt and moſt noble nation of that time; and this is the moſt generally approved opinion. In *le Clerc*'s verſion they are ſtiled the *firſt fruits of the nations*; by which in his commentary he underſtands them to have been the moſt antient and potent nation; and to have been before any of thoſe which proceeded from the loins of *Abraham* and *Lot*.

(F) What the *Arabic* hiſtory ſays of theſe *Amalekites*, bears an affinity with what the *Egyptian* records report of the *Phœnician* ſhepherds; for they were at length expelled by the natives (17),

(16) *See before, p.* 148 (A). (17) *Ex libro Mirat. Cainat. dicto.*

and

BUT not to deviate from the authority we muſt rely on, it appears, that this kingdom was haughty and inſolent in its very cradle; and no ſooner heard, that the *Iſraelites* had croſſed the *Red-ſea*, than they reſolved to cut them off. The ſcripture mentions none but *Amalek* [q] upon this occaſion; which, whether it is ſpoken of the king alone, or collectively of the whole nation, is not agreed. *Joſephus* relates, that they had no leſs than five kings, who laid their heads together, and joined forces to carry on this turbulent deſign [r] (G). To paſs this over, ſo it was, that the *Amalekites* fell on the rear of the *Iſraelites*, as they were on full march from *Rephidim* to mount *Horeb*. Some havock they made; but it returned ſeverely upon themſelves, as ſoon as *Joſhua* could get the fighting men into order; by whom being in their turn aſſaulted, a long and bloody battle enſued: but in the end the *Amalekites* were put to a precipitate flight, with the heavy doom on their head, that for this outrage *their* name *ſhould be put out from under heaven* [s].

IN the mean time, however, it pleaſed GOD to make uſe of them in conjunction with ſome of the *Canaanites*, as his inſtruments for the puniſhment of the diffidence and diſobedience of the *Iſraelites*, when they thought to have waſhed away their ſinful perverſeneſs by a fool-hardy attempt, in contradiction to the expreſs decree of GOD, that not one of them from twenty years and upwards ſhould have ſight of the land of *Promiſe* [t]. The ſlaughter the *Amalekites* help to make of the *Iſraelites* upon this occaſion, will be told in the hiſtory of *Canaan*.

AFTER this they ſeem to have miſſed no opportunity of vexing the choſen nation, till they were ripe for the exciſion

[q] Exod. xvii. [r] JOSEPH. Antiq. lib. 3. c. 2. [s] Exod. ubi ſupr. [t] Numb. xiv. 29, 30.

and are ſuppoſed, as is ſaid by us of the *Canaanites*, to have fled into *Afric* (18); and that the *Amalekites* were ſometimes comprehended under the general denomination of *Phœnicians*, may be obſerved hereafter.

(G) What *Joſephus* here ſays need not be ſuppoſed to imply, that the *Amalekites* were divided into many kingdoms. It is poſſible, and very probable, that ſome of the petty kings of *Canaan* joined the king of *Amalekitis* now, as he did ſome of the *Canaanites* afterwards, to prevent the *Iſraelites* from entering into their borders. This junction may have been paſſed over by *Moſes*, who thought it enough, that he mentioned the principal and ring-leader of the aſſault.

(18) *Vide Reland. Palæſt. Illuſtr. p.* 82.

denounced

denounced againſt them. They confederated with *Eglon* king of *Moab*, and the *Ammonites* [u]; and afterwards with the *Midianites* under *Zebah* and *Zalmunna*, to root out the *Iſraelites*, and poſſeſs themſelves of the land, as they had vainly projected; but what ſucceſs they had in the attempt, and how they in the end fell by their own ſwords and thoſe of their friends and allies, we have already related at large [w].

After this there is a very wide gap in the hiſtory of this people, which reaches even to the days of *Saul*. At this time their king was a very graceful perſon, and of noble preſence and addreſs, which ſtood him in good ſtead; for on account of theſe his perſonal accompliſhments, was his life ſpared (ſay they) in the general maſſacre of his ſubjects [x]. But with all this ſpecious outſide, he is upbraided as an inſolent and mercileſs tyrant. Under this prince the nation was grown ripe for the exciſion they had been threatened with about four hundred years afore. And, as a forerunner of it, the *Kenites*, their inmates, were warned to leave their country, and ſeek ſome other ſeat, for fear they ſhould be involved in the impending calamity [y]. As ſoon as the *Kenites* had obeyed the ſummons, the *Amalekites* were invaded by *Saul*, at the head of two hundred and ten thouſand men (H). And by theſe numbers, being ſorely oppreſſed, and quite diſabled from making any head, they were all cut off, except *Agag*, and ſome who were ſo happy, for the preſent, as to fly their country, or hide themſelves in ſuch retreats where they were not diſcovered: not even the mother, or the infant at her breaſt, was ſpared; and the whole country was made deſolate. *Agag* and the beſt of the cattle only were ſuffered to live. However, *Agag* did not long enjoy this favour; for it was no ſooner related to *Samuel* that he was alive, than he was ſent for by the prophet, with whom all his inſinuating addreſs, and hopes that *the bitterneſs of death was paſſed*, availed him nothing: he was hewn in pieces by *Samuel*, or at leaſt by his order, in *Gilgal*, before the lord [z].

[u] See before, p. 121. [w] See before, p. 91. [x] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 6. c. 8. [y] See before, p. 118. [z] 1 Sam. xv. Joseph. l. 6. c. 9.

(H) *Joſephus* makes this army to have conſiſted of no more than 70,000 men, and tells us, that the country was ſo poſſeſſed by them, that the *Amalekites* could hardly eſcape, if they attempted to fly any where (19); but this is ſaid at random, as we think.

(19) *Joſeph. Antiq. l.* 6. *c.* 8.

The

THE poor remnant of the *Amalekites*, who eſcaped the ſword of *Saul*, poſſeſſed themſelves of their deſolate country again, and lived, for ought we know, in peace, till ſuch time as *David* was driven to aſk protection of *Achiſh* king of the *Philiſtines*, dreading the murderous jealouſy of *Saul*, and had *Ziklag* allotted to him. At this time the *Amalekites* are mentioned as aſſociated with the *Geſhurites* and *Gezrites* (I). The *Amalekites*, thus picking up again and gathering ſtrength, were ſlaughtered once more by their new and near neighbour *David*, who thought it perhaps a duty incumbent on him to compleat the work, which *Saul* had left unfiniſhed. So once more were the *Amalekites*, man and woman, butchered and diſperſed, their country in good part ruined, and all the cattle that came in the enemy's way driven off [a].

THE *Amalekites* meditated revenge for this cruel injury, as they doubtleſs called it, and, muſtering their ſtrength, went up to *Ziklag* the abode of *David*, who happened then to be abſent with his ſmall party, ſo that the town was left defenceleſs; wherefore they eaſily made themſelves maſters of the place, and burnt it with fire; but touched not the lives of any of the inhabitants, which, conſidering what they had ſuffered ſo lately from *David*, may ſeem to have been a great piece of humanity in them; but this is not allowed them (K). Among their captives were *David*'s two wives, *Ahinoam* the *Jezreelite*, and *Abigail* who had been wife to *Nabal* the *Carmelite*; and having thus ſucceeded to their wiſh, they thought to ſecure what they had got by an expeditious return homewards, and determined not to ſtop by the way, till they ſhould reach ſuch a place, which was perhaps

[a] 1 Sam. xxvii. 9.

(I) Who theſe *Geſhurites* and *Gezrites* were is uncertain. They are taken for reliques of the *Canaanites* (20); but by the words of the text it might be imagined they were originally of this country; for *thoſe nations were of old the inhabitants of the land, as thou goeſt to* Shur, *even unto the land of* Egypt (21).

(K) It is ſaid they were a poor covetous people, who intended to ſell them for ſlaves, and make money of them (22); or wanted ſervants for their own uſe, and therefore ſhewed this mercy: but if we may be allowed a conjecture of our own, they kept their priſoners alive to ſupply the loſs of thoſe who had lately periſhed by the hand of *David*; and this does not ſeem to be a very unnatural ſuppoſition.

(20) *Vide Cleric. & Patrick, upon* 1 *Sam. xxvii.* (21) 1 *Sam. xxvii.* 8. (22) *See Patrick on* 1 *Sam. xxx.* 2. *& Cleric.*

a pleaſant

a pleaſant ſpot, affording water and a refreſhing ſhade, and pretty well out of the reach of the enemy. Hurrying on with this precipitation, they left behind them one of their number, an *Egyptian* by birth, who, by ſome means or other, was ſo weak that he could not keep pace with them. *David* in the mean time had notice of the revenge the *Amalekites* had taken on him, and purſued them very eagerly, and in his way took this *Egyptian*, who informed him of the place where they intended to halt, to rejoice and reſt themſelves. The *Amalekites* arrived at the appointed place, and gave a looſe to their triumph, with great mirth and jollity; and it ſeems they recreated themſelves ſeveral days together. As they were in this careleſs poſture they were deſcried by *David*, from the neighbouring hills towards the cloſe of day; and after they had ſpent the whole night in debauchery, and were repaired to reſt, which was towards the break of day, they were ſet upon by *David* and his men, and a ſlaughter was begun among them, which continued till the ſetting ſun; ſo that not a ſoul of them eſcaped the edge of the ſword, except four hundred young men, who rode upon dromedaries, and who, leaving all their companions and booty behind them, were burthened with nothing but the doleful news of ſo woeful a miſchance, after ſuch uncommon ſucceſs in their attempt upon *Ziklag* [b].

Thus by degrees were the *Amalekites* reduced; and at laſt the fatal blow was given to them, in the days of *Hezekiah*, by the *Simeonites* *, who utterly deſtroyed and diſperſed them, and kept their country in poſſeſſion: and this is the imperfect account we have of the exit of the *Amalekites*, as *Balaam* had propheſied long before, *Amalek was the firſt of the nations; but his latter end* ſhall be, *that he periſh for ever* [c].

But it happened afterwards, that a man of *Amalekitiſh* blood had taken ample revenge on the *Jews*, had not God interpoſed, as it were, by a miracle; for *Haman* is called an *Agagite*, or *Amalekite*; and it is well known, how near he was to the fruition of his bloody will againſt the *Jews*; but this fact, being tranſacted in another country and period, muſt be related elſewhere. That, however, may be called the laſt act of the *Amalekites*; and here therefore this ſection concludes.

[b] Sam. xxx. 17. * See 1 Chron iv. 40—43. [c] Numb. xxiv. 20.

SECT.

SECT. VI.

The Hiſtory of Canaan.

WE have already [a] given the hiſtory of the anceſtors of this nation, and of their origin, and therefore ſhall not repeat it here.

CANAAN the ſon of *Ham*, the ſon of *Noah*, had eleven ſons, *Sidon* or *Zidon*, *Heth*, *Jebuſi*, *Emori* or *Amori*, *Gergaſi* or *Gergaſhi*, *Hivi* or *Hevi*, *Archi* or *Arki*, *Sini*, *Arvadi*, *Zemari*, and *Hamathi*. Theſe were the fathers of the following tribes or nations; the *Sidonians* or *Zidonians*, the *Hettites* or *Hittites*, the *Jebuſites*, the *Emorites* or *Amorites*, the *Gergaſites* or *Gergaſhites*, the *Hivites* or *Hevites*, the *Arkites*, or *Archites*, the *Sinites*, the *Arvadites*, the *Zemarites*, and the *Hamathites* [b]. Five of theſe are known to have dwelt in the land of *Canaan*, the *Hettites* or *Hittites*, the *Jebuſites*, the *Emorites* or *Amorites*, the *Gergaſites* or *Gergaſhites*, and the *Hivites* or *Hevites*. To theſe are added two others, the *Perizzites* and *Canaanites*; and theſe make up the ſeven primary nations of the *Canaanites*: but how the *Perizzites* came to be a diſtinct body; or whence the *Canaanites* are peculiarly ſo called, is a difficulty, can, at beſt, be only gueſſed at. Theſe ſeven nations laboured in particular under the evil influences of the curſe denounced by *Noah* againſt their ungodly anceſtor *Ham*, being doomed in the end to expulſion, and exciſion, and ſubjection. Whether the ſix other nations we have mentioned are to be reckoned among the inhabitants of the land of *Canaan*, by us commonly ſo called, is ſeemingly affirmed by ſome, and denied by others, who think they were exempt from the ruin which was to light on the other ſeven; being countenanced by the ſilence which may be obſerved concerning them in the wars, the other *Canaanites* had with *Joſhua* and his ſucceſſors. For therein is no mention made of the *Sidonians*, the *Arkites*, the *Sinites*, the *Arvadites*, the *Zemarites*, or the *Hamathites*; which is much, ſeeing they were primary nations or families. We therefore are of opinion, that they were not included, elſe ſo many petty ſtates or kingdoms could never have been particularized, and theſe paſſed over. Being thus, we muſt ſeek for theſe ſix original tribes elſewhere. It cannot well be otherwiſe, than that the ſeven nations, as they are called, were ſubdivided into many little kingdoms; for little, very

[a] See Vol. I. p. 267. [b] Gen. x. 15.

little,

little, they muſt have been, ſince we muſt look for them all within the ſcanty limits conquered by *Joſhua*. Within that ſmall compaſs we have no fewer than the following number of *Canaaniti∫h* kings, ſaid to be ſubdued by him; the king of *Jericho*, the king of *Ai*, the king of *Jeru∫alem*, the king of *Hebron*, the king of *Jarmuth*, the king of *Lachi∫h*, the king of *Eglon*, the king of *Gezer*, the king of *Debir*, the king of *Geder*, the king of *Hormah*, the king of *Arad*, the king of *Libnah*, the king of *Adullam*, the king of *Makkedah*, the king of *Beth-el*, the king of *Tappuah*, the king of *Hepher*, the king of *Aphek*, the king of *La∫haron*, or *Sharon*, the king of *Madon*, the king of *Hazor*, the king of *Shimron-meron*, the king of *Achſhaph*, the king of *Taanach*, the king of *Megiddo*, the king of *Kede∫h*, the king of *Jokneam* of *Carmel*, the king of *Dor*, the king of the nations of *Gilgal*, and the king of *Tirzah*, thirty one in all[c] (A); who were either all, or moſt of them, comprehended under the primary denominations of the ſeven nations, the *Hittites*, the *Jebu∫ites*, the *Amorites*, the *Gerga∫ites*, *Hivites*, *Perizzites*, or *Canaanites* (B), properly or peculiarly ſo called. Nor were theſe all the branches of the *Canaanites*, who were poſſeſſed of the *land of promiſe*. But how to aſſign a place to each particular we know not; wherefore we ſhall only divide the country in general between the ſeven tribes or nations, as well as we can, which is all the geography we ſhall give of this country here.

Their country

The limits of the country of theſe *Canaanites* in general, as ſeems, are thus marked out by *Moſes*[a], from *Sidon* to *Gaza*, from thence over to *Sodom*, and thence to *La∫ha*, thereby, as is thought[b], ſtretching out the four lines which comprehended the whole country. Whether all the deſcendants

[c] Joſhua xii. 9. 24. [a] Gen. x. 19. [b] See Wells's Geog. of the Old. Teſt. Vol. I. chap. 7.

(A) But we muſt not for this ſuppoſe there were no more than thirty one in the whole country that bore the royal title. Theſe are only all that were conquered by *Joſhua*. The ſcripture hiſtory acknowledges, that the *Canaanites* were never wholly ſubdued by him; and we may infer, that many had the title of king, who never had much hurt from *Joſhua*.

(B) Theſe ſeven are a contraction, we muſt ſuppoſe, of the ten nations that were promiſed to *Abraham*, the *Kenites*, the *Kenizzites*, the *Kadmonites*, the *Hittites*, the *Perizzites*, the *Rephaim*, the *Amorites*, the *Canaanites*, the *Gergaſhites*, and the *Jebuſites* (1). We may touch on this matter anon.

(1) *Geneſ. xv.* 19, 21.

of *Canaan* were included within this compaſs, is not poſitively known, but it is likely to have been the original ſeat of them all; but whether thoſe we muſt hereafter look for in *Syria*, and elſewhere, were terrified thither by the ſucceſſes of *Joſhua*, or whether growing too numerous for ſo ſmall a territory, they naturally tranſplanted themſelves into other parts, may be diſputed by ſome; though we embrace the latter opinion, being therein, in ſome meaſure, countenanced by *Moſes*, who tells us, that *the families of the* Canaanites were *ſpread abroad*[c], juſt before he gives us their firſt extent. Thus much we will add on this head. It is clearly evident from ſcripture and the *Jewiſh* writers, that no part of the country on the other ſide *Jordan*, not even that inhabited by the tribes of *Reuben*, and *Gad*, and the half tribe of *Manaſſeh*, was reckoned into the land of *Canaan*[d]: But to it may be annexed what once made the moſt beautiful part of this land, though ſince a deteſtable lake; we mean the vale of *Siddim*, ſince called *Pentapolis* from its five cities, *Sodom*, *Gomorrah*, *Admah*, *Zeboim*, and *Bela*. The ſoil of this vale was much of the ſame nature with that about the city of *Babylon*, being productive of *Bitumen*, and ſuch combuſtible ſubſtances. *It was well watered every where before the Lord deſtroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, even as the garden of the Lord, like the land of Egypt, as thou comeſt unto Zoar*[e] Such was this vale, which needs no further deſcription to give us a due and perfect idea of it.

Now the ſeven nations above-mentioned, the *Hittites*, the *Jebuſites*, the *Amorites*, the *Gergaſites*, the *Hivites*, the *Perizzites*, and *Canaanites*[f], divided their country among them after this manner: The *Hittites* dwelt about *Hebron*; for of the children of *Heth Abraham* bought the cave of *Machpelah*[g]. The *Gergaſites* had the *Jebuſites* and *Canaanites* for their neighbours[h], as is thought[i]; but it does not plainly appear. The *Amorites* were antiently in the neighbourhood of *Hazezon-tamar*[k], and in the valley of *Eſhcol*[l]. The *Amorites* were alſo on the other ſide of *Jordan* and the *Dead-ſea*, by the conqueſt they made of the *Moabites* and *Ammonites*[m]; but that conqueſt, as we have already obſerved, was no part of *Canaan*. The *Canaanites*, peculiarly ſo called, were divided into two diſtinct bodies, and inhabited two diſ- *divided.*

[c] Gen. x. 18. [d] Vide RELAND. Palæſt. Illuſtr. Tom. 1. c. 1.
[e] Gen. xiii. 10. [f] Deut. vii. 1. Joſh. iii. 10. Acts xiii. 19.
[g] Gen. xxiii. [h] Joſh. xxiv. 11. [i] Vide RELAND. Palæſt. Illuſtr. lib. 1. c. 27. [k] Gen. xiv. 7. [l] Ver. 13. Num. xiii. 23. [m] See before, p. 85, 102.

tinct

tinct diviſions, the ſea ſide to the weſt, and the river ſide to the eaſt [n]. The *Perizzites* ſeem to have been near *Beth-el*; for *Abraham* pitched his tent in the beginning, between *Beth-el* and *Ai*, and the *Canaanites* and *Perizzites* are ſaid to have been then in the land [o]: moreover, we find, that they dwelt in the mountains, together with the *Hittite* and the *Jebuſite* [p]; though they are elſewhere forgot when theſe are mentioned [q]. It appears alſo, that the *Perizzites* were not far from *Shechem*, they being mentioned, together with the *Canaanites*, to have been near that city [r]. They ſeem alſo to have extended beyond the portion of *Ephraim*, and the half tribe of *Manaſſeh* as far as *Beth-ſhean* and the valley of *Jezreel*, and to the ſouthward, where they ſeem to have been with the *Rephaim* [ſ], into the tribe of *Judah* [t] (C). The *Hivites* are ſaid to have dwelt under *Hermon* [u], and in *Gibeon* [w], and in mount *Lebanon* [x]. The *Jebuſites* inhabited the mountains, and held the city of *Jebus*, afterwards *Jeruſalem* (D).

The cities of this country, beſides thoſe of the *Pentapolis* when it flouriſhed, that can be fixed with any tolerable degree of certainty, were *Hebron*, *Jebus*, *Jericho*, *Bethel*-

[n] See Numb. xiii. 29. & Joſh. xi. 3. [o] Gen. xiii. 3, 7. [p] Joſh. xi. 3. [q] See Numb. xiii. 29. [r] Gen. xxxiv. 30. [ſ] Joſh. xvii. 15, 16. [t] Judg. i. 4, 5. [u] Joſh xi. 3. [w] Ver. 19. [x] Compare Joſh. ix. 7. with Judg. iii. 3. See alſo 2 Sam. xxiv. 7.

(C) The *Perizzite* appears to have been a wanderer; whence poſſibly *Joſephus* divides the land of *Canaan* into no more than ſix provinces (2).

(D) Some (3) divide them into but two ſorts by the lump, the *Canaanites* and *Perizzites*, merchants and ſhepherds, as the two words nearly import; for *Perizzite* originally ſignifies a villager. The ſame are unwilling to ſuppoſe that thoſe appellations belong to any two particular tribes; or that either of them deſcended from any ſingle ſon of *Canaan*; but that they were mixed multitudes: but as they are conſtantly named as diſtinct tribes, and in order with the reſt, we know not how to decide upon this matter. The names indeed of theſe tribes and of this people in general are a little vague and uncertain: ſo the whole body of the ſeven nations is ſuppoſed to be ſignified ſometimes by the *Amorites*, juſt as all the people of the ſeven united provinces are now properly called *Hollanders*, who are more potent than any of the reſt (4).

(2) *Antiq. l.* 5 *c.* 1. (3) *Cumberland's Origin. Gent. Antiq. p.* 132. *See alſo Bedford's Script. Chronol p.* 202. (4) *See Patrick upon Gen. xlviii.* 22.

Shechem,

Shechem, and *Beth-ſhean*, concerning which, as they ſtood under the *Canaanites*, we have nothing particular to add.

Now to ſpeak of the cuſtoms, manners, arts, ſciences, and language of theſe ſeveral nations, we may ſuppoſe, that in ſome points they differed widely from each other, according as their ſituation led them into different courſes of life (E). *Their cuſtoms, &c.*

We

(E) It is hard to ſay any thing particular of the *Kenites*, the *Kenizzites*, the *Kadmonites*, and the *Rephaim*, or to point at the exact places where they dwelt. The *Kenites* we have largely inſiſted on already; but however, though the name be the ſame, we know not how to think theſe the ſame people. Theſe are mentioned as a tribe of the *Canaanites*, who were to be delivered up to the executive juſtice of the *Iſraelites*; whereas thoſe we formerly touched on are repreſented as a people who lived in a great degree of friendſhip with them. The *Chaldee* interpreter calls them *Schalmites*; whereby they are underſtood to have been pacific, and at no enmity with *Iſrael*. This indeed ſounds them the ſame with the *Kenites* of *Jethro*'s family. Whether or no the appellation of *Kenite* may have belonged to two diſtinct families we know not, but it appears pretty plain by ſcripture, that there was a difference in their manner of life: for on the one hand we are told, that it was unlawful for them to drink wine, to plant, to ſow, or to dwell in houſes, and that they conformed to this injunction, and led their life accordingly (5). Where we find this we underſtand alſo, that for their obedience to their laws they were to eſcape the hand of *Nebuchadnezzar*: whereas the *Kenites* of *Jethro*'s line and kindred are ſaid to have pitched *their neſt upon a rock*, which ſeems to imply, that they built them a city for a ſafe habitation; and what is more, they were carried off with the ten tribes of *Iſrael* by the *Aſſyrian* (6); but we have dwelt ſufficiently on theſe. The *Kenizzites* there is little or nothing ſaid of, nor do we know where they dwelt. The *Kadmonites*, from the import of their name, are allowed to have dwelt in the eaſt, and the *Jeruſalem Targum* (7) expreſly calls them, the *children of the eaſt*. The *Rephaim* are moſtly placed in *Baſhan*, where *Og* the laſt of their race reigned (8). They were, as their name declares, men of a gigantic ſtature. A writer (9) of great learning and repute has a remarkable thought concerning the *Rephaim*; he fancies, they were the *Gephyræi* who followed *Cadmus* into *Greece*. He obſerves, that in the *Chaldee* they are called גבראי *Gebari*, or *ſtout men*; and hence he has room for his conjecture. The race of the *Rephaim* indeed was quite extinguiſhed upon the death of *Og*; but the name may have been aſſumed by others. From the little here collected, we may obſerve, why theſe four are omitted in ſpeaking of the land of *Canaan* in

(5) *Jerem. xxxv.* (6) *See before, p.* 118. (7) *Gen. xv.* 19.
(8) *Deut. iii.* 11. (9) *Reland Palæſt. Illuſtr. p.* 141.

We need not ſay, that the *Canaanites* on the ſea-ſide were merchants, in which capacity we ſhall conſider them at large, when we come to ſpeak of them as *Phœnicians*; for by that name, it is commonly agreed, they were afterwards known to the *Greeks*: accordingly the *Seventy*, inſtead of *the kings of the* Canaanites, *which were by the ſea*, have rendered it, *the kings of the Phœnicians, on the ſea-coaſt*. And by the ſame, the whole *land of Canaan* is called the *country of the Phœnicians*[y], though thoſe only were properly ſo called who inhabited the ſea-coaſt: and theſe we ſhall dwell upon more particularly under the head of *antient Phœnicians*. The other *Canaanites*, who had an inland ſituation, were employed in paſturage partly, and partly in tillage, and in the exerciſe of arms, in which they will be ſeen to have been well verſed. Thoſe of them who dwelt in the walled cities and fixed abodes cultivated the land, as we may ſuppoſe; and thoſe who wandered about, as particularly the *Perizzites* ſeem to have done, by what we have juſt before ſaid of them, grazed cattle. So that it is eaſy to diſcern among them the ſeveral diſtinct claſſes of merchants, and conſequently ſeamen, and artificers, ſoldiers, ſhepherds, and huſbandmen, if not ſtudents. As much as they were divided in intereſt and ways of life, we ſhall perceive by their hiſtory, that they were ready to join in the common cauſe; that they were very well appointed for war, whether offenſive or defenſive; that their towns were well fortified, and themſelves well furniſhed with weapons to battle it in the field; that they particularly had warlike chariots, ſo dreadful among the antients, and which they are thought to have borrowed from the *Egyptians* (F); that they were daring, and obſtinate, and almoſt invincible;

[y] Jos. cap. 5. com. 1. 12.

the days of *Moſes*, though they ſeem all to have poſſeſſed the region deſigned for *Abraham* and his ſeed. The *Rephaim*, we ſee, were in *Baſhan*, which, as we have obſerved, was no part of the land of *Canaan*; the *Kadmonites* alſo were on the eaſt of *Jordan*; the *Kenites* were, as ſeems upon the whole, a tribe of the *Midianites*, and therefore theſe three could not be reckoned among the tribes of *Canaan*, they being foreigners to that country; though it happened, that they alſo did, in part, fall to the *Iſraelites*, as was promiſed. To conclude it is not plain, that any of theſe four nations were of the ſons of *Canaan*.

(F) This is *Cumberland*'s thought, who ſuppoſes a part of them to have abode two hundred years in *Egypt*; and that the *Canaanites* and *Perizzites*, when named together, muſt be underſtood of thoſe mingled

vincible; and, in the example of the *Gibeonites* beneath, we ſhall ſee they wanted not craft and policy. The language they ſpoke was well underſtood by *Abraham*, as ſhould ſeem; for by what appears, he converſed very readily with them, upon all occaſions; but for their manner of writing, whether they had any originally of their own, which conſidering all things cannot well be doubted, or whether they had it in common with the other nations then ſubſiſting in that part of the world, who all ſpoke the ſame tongue, or very nearly the ſame, or whether they borrowed it at firſt from the *Iſraelites*, may be conſidered, when we come to ſpeak further of the *Hebrew* language [z].

Their Religion.

THEY retained the pure religion quite down to the days of *Abraham*, who acknowledged *Melchiſedec* to be prieſt of the moſt high GOD; and *Melchiſedec* was indiſputably a *Canaanite*, or, at leaſt, dwelt there at that time, in high eſteem and veneration (G). They never offered to moleſt *Abraham*; on the contrary, they were ready to oblige him in every thing, a noble example of which we have in the behaviour and good intentions of *Ephron* towards him, in the affair of the cave of *Machpelah*. To ſay no more upon this ſubject, we muſt hence allow, that there was not a general corruption of religion among the *Canaanites* at this day, but it muſt be granted, that the very *Hittites*, ſo ſeemingly commendable in the days of *Abraham*, degenerated apace, ſince they were become the averſion of *Iſaac* and *Rebekah*, who could not endure the thoughts of their ſon *Jacob*'s marrying among the daughters of *Heth*, as their ſon *Eſau* had done, to their great grief [a]. So that about this time we muſt date the riſe

[z] See SHUCKFORD's Connect. of the ſacr. and proph. Hiſt. Vol. I. Book 2. p. 110. See Vol. I. p. 337. [a] See before, p. 125.

mingled tribes of all the *Canaanites*, who had been engaged in fierce wars with the *Egyptians*; and further, that theſe two bodies are particularly marked down for deſtruction, as they were the moſt warlike and ſkilful in martial affairs, training up their children to the ſame diſcipline, and the moſt likely to give the *Iſraelites* trouble (10).

(G) Sir *Iſaac Newton* (11) concludes, that they perſevered in the true religion till the death of *Melchiſedec*; but that afterwards they fell away therefrom, and began to embrace idolatry, now ſpreading, as he thinks, from *Chaldæa*. They are ſaid to have been given to the ſuperſtition of the antient *Perſians* (12).

(10) *See Cumberland Origin. Gent. Antiqu. p.* 132, 133. (11) *Chronol. of ant. Kingdoms amended, p.* 188. (12) *See Shuckford's Connect. of ſacr. and proph. Hiſt. Vol. I. Book* 5. *p.* 335.

of (H) thoſe abominations, which ſubjected them to the fierce wrath of God, and made them unworthy of the land of their poſſeſſion. In the days of *Moſes* they were become incorrigible idolaters, for he commands the *Iſraelites* to *deſtroy their altars*, and *break down their images*, ſtatues or pillars, *and cut down their groves* (I), *and burn their graven images with fire*. And leſt they ſhould pervert the *Iſraelites*, it was as ſtrictly enjoined them not to intermarry with them; but *to ſmite them, and utterly deſtroy them, nor ſhew mercy unto them* [b]. By this we may form an idea of their fearful errors. They are accuſed of the cruel cuſtom of ſacrificing men, and are ſaid to have paſſed their ſeed through fire to *Molech* [c]. The cuſtom of ſacrificing men they are charged with, as they were the anceſtors of the *Phœnicians*, and therefore we ſhall not repeat what we have already [d] ſaid on that ſubject, nor anticipate what we may have to add in our *Phœnician* ſection. Their morals were as corrupt as their doctrine; adultery, beſtiality of all ſorts, prophanation, inceſt, and all manner of uncleanneſs, are the ſins laid to their charge, and which brought on the calamities they were doomed to [e]: and this may ſerve as a ſupplement to the character of this people, after their fall from the right way.

Their government. Concerning their government thus much may be ſaid, That they were comprehended under a great number of ſtates,

[b] Deut. vii. 1---5. [c] Levit. xviii. 21. See before, p. 99.
[d] See Vol. I. p. 305. [e] Levit. xviii.

(H) It is the opinion, however, of biſhop *Cumberland* (13) that the *Canaanites* were idolaters before the congreſs of *Melchiſedec* and *Abraham*, which we know not how to allow.

(I) The original word is *Aſharim*, which we render *groves*; but it is interpreted to mean wooden images of *Aſtarte*. One of the reaſons given to corroborate this opinion is, that *Gideon* is ſaid to have thrown down the altar of *Baal*, and to have cut down the grove that was by it; whereas by the *Hebrew* text, it was upon it, as it is alſo by the *Greek* of the LXX: wherefore, ſay they, the *Aſherah* upon the altar could not have been a grove, but muſt have been an image, and none more likely than that of *Aſtarte* (14). Sir *Iſaac Newton* remarks upon the whole paſſage, that the *Canaanites* had no temples. *Moſes commanded Iſrael to deſtroy the altars, images, high-places, and groves of the Canaanites, but made no mention of their temples, as he would have done, had there been any in thoſe days* (15).

(13) *Origin. Gent. Antiquiſſ. p.* 427. (14) *Selden de Diis Syris, Syntagm.* 2. (15) *Chronol. of ant. Kingd. amended, p.* 221.

and

and under ſubjection to limited chiefs, or kings as they are called; and tranſacted all their buſineſs in popular aſſemblies: ſo *Abraham* bowed not down to the king of the children of *Heth*, but to themſelves; ſo *Ephron* ſeems to have acted with *Abraham* with the participation of his whole tribe: ſo *Hamor* king of *Shechem* would not conclude upon what anſwer he ſhould make to what the ſons of *Jacob* propoſed to him, till he had conſulted his citizens upon what he ſhould, or ſhould not do, in the caſe; and throughout all their tranſactions the ſame tenor of conduct in their princes will be obſerved by every attentive reader: nor is it likely, that ſo many petty kingdoms ſhould have been ſtanding when *Joſhua* invaded them, had exorbitant ambition and luſt of rule been known among them; but as nature, perhaps, taught them, That every man as an individual, and every ſtate as a collective body, is free and independent, ſo they may thereby have been reſtrained from invading each other's rights, or elſe one or a few muſt have ſwallowed up the many; and though this opinion may be combated by the ambitious cruelty of *Adonizebek*, that one example will have no other effect upon this argument, than a ſingle exception has to a general rule; that the main body of them thought and acted upon different principles appears pretty plain. This is as much as we need, or can well ſay concerning their government, laws, and policy.

Their hiſtory.

We now come to their hiſtory, the beginnings of which are too dark and unſettled for us to dwell on them, and too heavily laden with the hypotheſes of the great men, who have turned their thoughts towards their antiquities. Wherefore, taking ſcripture and the natural lights reflected therefrom for our principal guides, we ſhall touch as lightly as may be upon what the learned have advanced, as it were, from their own ſtock. When we conſider the ſituation and diſtance of this country, we cannot but think it was at firſt peopled by *Canaan* and his deſcendants upon the firſt diſperſion after the flood (K). What concerns they originally had with *Egypt*, are rather gueſſed at, than confirmed to us, in

(K) There is an old tradition which ſays otherwiſe; for it tells us, that this country did originally belong to the children of *Shem*, by virtue of a diviſion made among the ſons of *Noah*; but that the children of *Canaan* diſpoſſeſſed them (16): whence it is argued, that God did but ſtrict juſtice in reſtoring the line of *Shem* to their rightful poſſeſſion.

(16) *Epiph. Hæreſ.* 46. *n.* 84.

reſpect of the time when they were tranſacted; but, finding that there was a ſettled averſion among the *Egyptians* in the days of *Jacob* againſt ſuch as fed cattle, it is thought, the *Phœnician* ſhepherds or *Canaanites* may have warred upon, and oppreſſed the *Egyptians* before *Abraham* removed into *Canaan*; though this is liable to ſome objections (L): Therefore we muſt here acknowledge, as we did formerly, our great ignorance in this matter, and diſſatisfaction with what the learned have advanced upon it. All therefore we can pretend to in this matter is, to mark out, as we go along, the times, in which the learned have been induced to fix what *Manetho* tells us of the *Phœnician* ſtrangers in *Egypt*. In conformity to this, it is pretended[f], that ſome of them, upon the increaſe of their families, being ſtraitened for want of room, moved ſouthwards, as *Moſes* intimates, as others did northwards, ſuch as the *Hamathite* and *Arvadite*; and that the former penetrated far into *Egypt*, or at leaſt poſſeſſed themſelves of the *Arabian* ſide of that country, which they will have to have been *Goſhen*. Here, ſay they, did they ſettle even under *Mizraïm* himſelf, erected a ſeparate kingdom, and differing from the pure *Egyptians* in religious matters, and in way of life, fierce contentions aroſe between them, which ended in a total expulſion of them, in the manner we formerly related in the hiſtory of *Egypt*; and this, ſay they, was effected in the days of *Abraham*.

We have reckoned the vale of *Siddim*, where *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* ſtood, into the antient country of *Canaan*; and it happens to be the ſcene of the firſt action we find, for certain, of this people. The inhabitants of this vale were invaded by *Chedorlaomer*, king of *Elam*, and reduced to a tribute (M), which

[f] See Cumberland on Sanchoniatho, p. 351, 352, ſeq. & Bedford's Scripture Chronol. p. 201, 202, 250, 251, 252, 253, 337.

(L) For we think it is pretty obvious, that the *Egyptians* muſt have looked on *Abraham* as a *Phœnician* or *Canaanitiſh* paſtor, when he was among them; but we do not perceive, that they had him any how in averſion, quite the contrary is certain (17).

(M) By an old tradition we have already mentioned, this war upon the inhabitants of the vale of *Siddim* was a very juſt one; for if it be true, that the land of *Canaan*, of which this was undoubtedly a part, originally belonged to the children of *Shem*, from whom it

(17) *See Gen. xii.*

was

which they paid for twelve years ſucceſſively; but in the thirteenth they rebelled, which drew on them a ſecond war, which we ſhall come to anon.

IN the mean time the other parts of the country received *Abraham* with great hoſpitality and veneration, two or three years after this invaſion; but ſoon after his arrival, the whole land was oppreſſed by famine, and the *Canaanite* is now expreſly ſaid to have been in the land (N). The dearth drove *Abraham* into *Egypt*: whence we learn, that the whole country at this time was in great want[h]. The famine was of no long continuance, and *Abraham* returned into this country again, and found that the *Perizzite* was alſo in the land; whence, it is thought, they are ſpoken of as new comers, and that they had lately been expelled from *Egypt*, or dreading an expulſion, had voluntarily forſaken that kingdom; and the rather, becauſe *Abraham* and *Lot* ſeem now to have been ſtraitened for want of room, which cauſed their ſeparation, as if the country was now become more populous than they at firſt found it (O). And now was the whole land promiſed to *Abraham*[i].

THE five kings of the vale of *Siddim*, BERA king of *Sodom*, BIRSHA king of *Gomorrah*, SHINAB king of *Admah*, SHEMEBER king of *Zeboim*; and the king of *Bela*, or *Zoar*, rebelled in the thirteenth year after they had been ſubdued by *Chedorlaomer*, and made tributary to him, as we have already obſerved. Wherefore *Chedorlaomer* with his allies marched

[h] Gen. xii. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 1. c. 9. [i] Gen. xiii.

was forcibly taken by the children of *Ham* (18), no wonder, that the kings of the eaſt, who were of that deſcent, laid claim to this country in general, and to this moſt lovely ſpot in particular; for *Elam* deſcended from *Shem* (19).

(N) According to what you read in the preceding note, this means no more than that the *Canaanites* had invaded the country before *Abraham* came thither. But we muſt remember, that this is building a ſuperſtructure upon a very weak foundation, a tradition: much the ſame may be ſaid upon the paſſage afterwards, that the *Perizzites* were alſo in the land.

(O) But upon this we may ſtart one queſtion, which in this caſe cannot be readily anſwered; How came ſuch a weak prince as *Hamor* king of *Shechem* to have ſo much ground to ſpare, as he afterwards talks of, when he hoped to make an union with *Jacob* (20)?

(18) *See before in the Notes, p.* 165. (19) *Gen. x.* 22.
20) *See Gen. xxxiv.* 21.

hither again in the fourteenth year, taking ſeveral other nations or tribes in his way; or rather he fetched a circuit to come at them, reducing, among others, the *Horites*, the *Amalekites*, and the *Amorites* of *Hazezon-tamar*. At laſt he fell on the five kings of *Siddim*, who were reſolved to diſpute their rights with him; but they fell under the preſſure of the enemy once more; and all the inhabitants were either ſlain in battle, or carried a way captive, or obliged to fly to the mountains and their cities. *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, and the reſt were pillaged with the utmoſt rigour and ſcrutiny. Amongſt the priſoners was *Lot*, which rouſed up *Abraham* to undertake his reſcue; which he did moſt effectually [k].

At this time *Melchiſedec* (P) was king of *Salem*, and prieſt

[k] Gen. xiv.

(P) The *Jews* will have him to have been *Shem*, out of a vain reluctance, that their father ſhould have had any ſuperior among the *Canaanites*; and they are not without their advocates for this opinion among the Chriſtian writers, and ſome of them very eminent: we will give the words of a very learned prelate of our own church upon this point..... "I am glad, that I can cite *Grotius* "to abet my opinion [That *Melchiſedec* was the *Shem* of *Moſes*, and "the juſt judge of *Philo Byblius*] thus far, that he ſaith in his notes "on *Hebr.* vii. 1. *Melchiſedec* is the man meant by *Sydyc* in *Philo* "*Byblius*. And that *Shem* had this title of *Melchiſedec*, or *the juſt* "*king*, as *Pompey* was ordinarily called *Magnus*, and *Octavius* called "*Auguſtus*, is the judgment of the eldeſt and learnedeſt *Jews*, "and of many modern men learned in *Jewiſh* antiquity; to "whoſe judgment herein I ſubſcribe with great ſatisfaction. And "whereas others think him ſome ſmall king of *Canaan*, I concur "thus far with them, that I believe he neither had, nor ſought "any large dominions for himſelf (21).... This then is a favourite opinion we ſee, and no doubt the great man, whoſe words theſe are, had perfectly ſatisfied himſelf, that the thing muſt have been ſo. But as eminent a prelate (22) of our own differs ſo far from the former, whoſe words we have given above, that he wonders how any Chriſtian can entertain ſuch a notion, ſo evidently deſtroyed by the apoſtle to the *Hebrews* (23), where it is expreſly ſaid, that *Melchiſedec* was not γενεαλογέμενος ἐξ αὐτῶν, *his deſcent* or *pedigree was not counted from them* [the *Jews*] which is not true of *Shem*. "Nor could *Shem* be ſaid to be *without father or mother*, whoſe "genealogy is evident from *Adam*. Nor was *Shem*'s prieſthood, "if he had any, of a different order from *Levi*'s, who was in his "loins, as well as in the loins of *Abraham*. And therefore it can-

(21) *Cumberland on Sanchoniatho, p.* 174. (22) *See Patrick upon Gen. xiv.* 18. (23) *vii.* 6.

"not

prieſt alſo of the moſt high GOD (Q): and as *Abraham* was returning from the war, he preſented him with bread and wine (R); that is, gave him an entertainment of meats and drinks

" not be ſaid, that *Levi* paid him tithes in the loins of *Abraham*; " but it would be as true, that he received tithes in the loins of " *Shem*. For, according to this interpretation, he was in the loins " both of him that received tithes, and of him that paid them; " and ſo the whole argumentation of the apoſtle falls to the ground. " But ſetting aſide theſe, and other Chriſtian reaſons, there is no " cauſe that we can diſcern, why *Moſes* ſhould call *Shem* (whom " he ſo often mentions) by any other name than his own: nor is " it likely, that *Shem* reigned in the land of *Canaan*, which now " was in the poſſeſſion of his brother's ſon. Nor could *Abraham* " be ſaid to *ſojourn there as in a ſtrange country*, if his noble anceſtor " *Shem* had been king there (24)." Theſe arguments muſt be allowed to be very ſtrong, and it is pretty clear, that the notion which obtains among the *Jewiſh* writers is of no very antient date. *Joſephus* expreſly calls *Melchiſedec* a *Potentate of the Canaanites* (25). The *Arabians* deduce him from *Peleg* (26). To paſs over ſome notions of the church, and of ſome heretics, concerning him, which are pretty wide from our preſent purpoſe; he was both a king and a prieſt; which offices were antiently joined in one perſon, of which ſeveral inſtances are obſerved in antients writers, both *Greek* and *Roman*.

(Q) *Salem* is by *Joſephus* (27) called *Solyma*; who alſo ſays, that *Melchiſedec* was the firſt founder of it; that he erected a temple in it, and officiated as a prieſt, calling it *Jeruſalem*; whereas its former name was *Solyma*. But what he ſays in this caſe has no weight with the moſt accurate and learned of the Chriſtian writers, who, for the moſt part, have a different notion. There is a *Salem* mentioned in the New Teſtament (28); which is ſuppoſed to have been the ſame where *Melchiſedec* reigned (29). The *Arabians* will have it, that *Jeruſalem* was built by twelve neighbouring kings, who, touched with a deep veneration for *Melchiſedec*, built it in honour of him, or for his convenience; which when they had done, he called it *Jeruſalem* (30).

(R) As he is generally acknowledged to have been a type of Chriſt, ſo ſome have diſcovered in this bread and wine a near relation to the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper: but this is a pious miſtake; the words of *Moſes* mean what *Joſephus* (31) explains; it was no more than a refreſhment of meats and drinks, which he offered to *Abraham*, according to the hoſpitality of thoſe times; *eating of bread*, in the ſcripture phraſe, is feaſting.

(24) *Idem. ibid.* (25) *De Bell. Judaic. l.* 7. *c.* 18. (26) *Hotting. Smeg. Orient. p.* 256, 260, 306. (27) *Idem ubi ſupr.* (28) *John iii.* 23. (29) *See Patrick ubi ſupr.* (30) *Eutych. Annal. p.* 67. (31) *Antiq. l.* 1. *c.* 10.

to

to refresh him, and received from him tythes of all (S); having blessed him in the name of the most high God, possessor, or creator, of heaven and earth. The king of *Sodom* was at this remarkable interview, and seems to have acted a very generous and modest part, claiming nothing of all that *Abraham* had re-taken from the enemy, except the persons of his subjects, leaving the rest to his disposal and discretion: but he met with as generous a return from *Abraham*, who, so far as in him lay, made him ample restitution of all that belonged to him, whether persons or goods; but *Aner*, *Eshcol*, and *Mamre*, his *Canaanitish* confederates, who were all three *Amorites*, were to do as they pleased; and how far they followed *Abraham*'s example, is not said [l].

Now for fifteen years there is a dead silence as to the affairs of this people; but about this time a severe judgment was executed on the inhabitants of the vale of *Siddim*. Living in great ease and affluence, they were grown to such a height of impiety, that there was no room for mercy on them; which if it could have been obtained, by the interceffion of *Abraham*, they had been spared from the wrath of God now, as, by his arms before, they were snatched out of the hands of their enemies. The sin they suffered for was bestiality [m], which, from the chief city of that vale, *Sodom*, has since born the name of Sodomy. The particulars of this catastrophe we have already given [n] in speaking of *Lot*; and shall now only say, that the four cities of this fertile and pleasant spot, *Sodom*, *Gomorrah*, *Admah*, and *Zeboim*, were destroyed by a rain of brimstone and fire, or thunder and lightning, from the Lord out of heaven, and the whole vale was consumed [o]; and thenceforward became the *dead* or *salt-sea*, or lake *Asphaltites* (T). Thus perished a branch of the *Canaanites* with their whole

[l] Gen. xiv. [m] Gen. xix. p. 76. [n] See. before p. 76. [o] Gen. ubi sup. Deut. xxix. 23.

(S) It is remarked (32), that the words of the text itself are so ambiguous, that there would have been no knowing whether it was *Abraham* that gave, or *Melchisedec*, had not the apostle (33) explained it: whence *Eupolemus* thought *Melchisedec* had bestowed gifts upon *Abraham* Of what kind the tithes were that *Melchisedec* received from *Abraham*, is not known; but we may enlarge on this in the life of *Abraham*.

(T) How this terrible subversion was effected, is thus accounted for. The vale being full of slime-pits (34), or places whence *Naph-*

(32) *See Patrick ubi supr. ver.* 19. (33) *Hebrews ubi supr. ver.* 2. (34) *Gen. xiv.* 10.

tha

whole territory; all ſaving the city of *Bela*, henceforward called *Zoar* [p].

THE *Hittites* after this treated with *Abraham*, who deſired to purchaſe the cave of *Machpelah* for a burial-place; and their behaviour towards that incomparable patriarch deſerves well a place here. In a public aſſembly they offered him the choiceſt of the ſepulchres to depoſite his dead in, and that in the moſt reſpectful terms. But, when he ſignified his deſire to have a ſeparate place for his family, and had caſt his eye upon the cave of *Machpelah*, belonging to one of their tribe, called *Ephron* the ſon of *Zohar*, with whom he deſired them to intercede in his behalf: *Ephron* himſelf, who is ſuppoſed to have preſided in this aſſembly, generouſly offered to make him a preſent not only of the cave he wanted to purchaſe, but of the ground or field alſo where it ſtood, and preſſed him much to accept of it; but by the noble ſpirit of *Abraham* he was diſappointed ſo far as to be obliged to ſell the field and the cave to him for four hundred ſhekels, which he looked upon as a trifle between *Abraham* and him; ſo great was his deſire of retaining the favour and friendſhip of *Abraham* [q].

NOTHING occurs after this, that we can take notice of here, for the ſpace of about one hundred and twenty eight years. At this time reigned *Hamor* in *Shechem*, a poor kingdom and weak; though *Hamor* himſelf ſeems to have been worthy of a better dominion, and a better chance than befel him. He ſold a piece of ground to *Jacob* *. At *Shechem* it happened, that *Dinah* the daughter of *Jacob* coming to ſee, and converſe with the daughters of the land, ſhe was obſerved by *Shechem* the ſon of *Hamor*, who was violently ſmitten with a liking to her, and forced, and deflowered her; but having a real paſſion for her, and being ſenſibly affected with the wrong he had done her, he would have pacified, and perſuaded her to conſent to marry him. And ſpeaking alſo to his father *Hamor*, he entreated him to uſe his en-

[p] See before, p. 78. [q] Gen. xxiii. * Gen. xxxiii.

tha and *Bitumen* were extracted, is ſuppoſed to have been univerſally impregnated with igneous matter, and the lightning darting upon it, or flaſhing along the ſurface of it, kindled the combuſtible parts (35), which had the fearful effect of turning this once inchanting paradiſe into a loathſome lake. But we ſhall ſpeak of this lake hereafter in the geography of this country, as it was under the *Jews*.

(35) *Vide Cleric Diſſertat. de Sodomæ Subverſione*, §. 4.

deavours,

deavours, that he might have *Dinah* for his wife. Accordingly *Hamor* went to *Jacob*, to communicate the ardent inclinations his ſon had for *Dinah*, and to aſk his conſent. But the injury and affront were ſtifly inſiſted on by *Jacob*'s ſons, who were preſent, as was alſo *Shechem* himſelf. This laſt finding, that the others were highly exaſperated at the violence he had committed on their ſiſter, profered all the ſatisfaction their hearts could wiſh, if they would but forgive him, and let him have her. *Shechem* thought he had gained his point upon the anſwer he received from them; which was, That if he, and all of his tribe or city, would conſent to be circumciſed, he ſhould have his will. *Shechem* willingly ſubmitted to this painful propoſal, and ſo did his father *Hamor* for his ſake; for he had an eſpecial love for him above all his other children. Wherefore returning to the city, they aſſembled the people in the gate, and beſpoke them to this effect; That ſeeing that *Jacob* and his family dwelt with them in great harmony, and that there was full room enough for them all, it would be very prudent to unite with them by reciprocal marriages; that indeed there was a pretty hard condition inſiſted on, which was, that they ſhould all be circumciſed; but that the pain thereof would be amply compenſated by ſuch an acceſſion of wealth, as muſt flow in upon them by being one people with *Jacob*. The men of the city, partly out of affection to *Hamor* and *Shechem* we may ſuppoſe, and partly upon the laſt conſideration, declared they were ready to be circumciſed, and circumciſed they were; but while they laboured under the ſores and inconveniencies of this compliance (U), upon the third day they were all ſuddenly cut off, by two of *Jacob*'s ſons at the head of their ſervants; every one of them periſhed by the edge of the ſword, and their wives, and children and cattle, and houſhold-goods, and all belonging to them fell a prey to the ſons of *Jacob*, *Simeon* and *Levi*, who had perpetrated ſo horrid a violence upon a parcel of helpleſs, and, to all appearance, innocent people †.

† Gen. xxxiv.

(U) (36) "And began to be a little feveriſh: For the greateſt "pain and anguiſh the *Jews* obſerved was upon the third day after "circumciſion, which very much indiſpoſed them (37). And "indeed *Hippocrates* ſays the ſame of all wounds and ulcers, that "they are then moſt inflamed by a conflux of ſharp humours to "them."

(36) *Patrick upon Gen. xxxiv.* 25. & *Vorſti. Annota. p.* 95.

(37) *Elicz. Pirke, c.* 29.

Hitherto

HITHERTO we have been obliged to give the hiſtory of this people by incoherent pieces, and ſo we muſt continue to do: there is no connection, no ſucceſſive train of events to be expected here. When *Moſes* drew towards the ſkirts of the promiſed land, for the firſt time, the *Canaanites* in the ſouth-eaſtern parts of the country were joined by the *Amalekites* [r], who we may ſuppoſe, were eager to take their revenge upon the *Iſraelites* [s]. Theſe, underſtanding that ſpies had been in the land from *Moſes*, drew towards the frontiers; and the *Iſraelites* attempting to enter their territory againſt the expreſs decree of GOD, were by them repulſed with a great ſlaughter quite to *Hormah* [t].

WHETHER before or after this, is not preciſely known, *Sihon* king of the *Amorites* invaded the children of *Moab* and *Ammon*, and diſpoſſeſſed them of their country on the other ſide *Jordan* and the *Dead ſea* [u]: this conqueſt is celebrated by the moſt antient poem [w] that is extant among prophane writers.

ARAD (W) was a king in the ſouth-eaſt of *Canaan*, when *Moſes* had a ſecond time reached the ſkirts of the promiſed land; and being informed of their coming by the *Way of ſpies* (X), he went out and attacked them, and took ſeveral of them priſoners; but fortune changed countenance on him, and he was vanquiſhed by them, and his country doomed to utter deſtruction [x]. Arad.

SIHON the *Amorite* ſoon after this, reſiding in the antient country of the *Moabites* and *Ammonites*, was entreated by meſſengers from *Moſes* for a free paſſage through his country, Sihon.

[r] Numb. xiv, 43. [s] See before, p. 153. [t] Numb. ubi ſupr.
[u] See before p. 101. [w] Numb. xxi. 27. [x] Ibid. ver, 1, 2, 3.

(W) It is doubted, whether this be the name of the king himſelf or of his city. There was a city of this name, and one of *Canaan's* ſons was ſo called, according to the LXX and the *Vulgar*, who ſo tranſlate the *Hebrew* of *Arvad*; who therefore may have given his name to this country, and the city may have been called after him (38).

(X) This is ſuppoſed to be a road or a way, ſo called from the ſpies who entered the country formerly eight and thirty years before. Some underſtand it, that the king heard ſpies were coming into his country. The *Hebrew* word here rendered ſpies הָאֲתָרִים *haatharim*; which the LXX have retained as the name of the place, and called it Αθαριμ.

(38) *Vide Patrick & Cleric. in Num. xxi.* 1.

ith

in his way to *Canaan:* but this requeſt he arrogantly rejected; and, inſtead of complying, marched out againſt him; but it was a very unfortunate expedition. He was defeated at *Jaazar* with a total overthrow, which was enſued by the entire loſs of all he had, to *Moſes* and his people.

Og. Og king of *Baſhan* is reckoned a king of the *Amorites* [y], and was of the race of the giants, or *Rephaim*, and the very laſt of them. His iron bed-ſtead of nine cubits in length we have already mentioned [z]. He was a dreadful enemy [a]. His whole kingdom took its name from the hill of *Baſhan*, which is compared to God's hill [b], and has ſince been called *Batanæa*. In it were no leſs than ſixty walled towns, beſides villages [c]. This country afforded an excellent breed of cattle [d] and ſtately oaks [e]. In ſhort, it was a plentiful and populous territory. *Og*'s reſidence was at *Aſhtaroth* [f] (Y) and at *Edrei*, at, or near, which place he was vanquiſhed, as he was eſpouſing the cauſe of *Sihon*, and attempting to ſtop the progreſs of *Moſes* and his people. He fell in battle, he, and all that belonged to him; and his whole kingdom, and all therein was transferred to the *Iſraelites* under *Moſes* [g].

The news of what *Moſes* had done on the other ſide *Jordan*, to *Sihon* and *Og* kings of the *Amorites*, was matter of aſtoniſhment we may ſuppoſe to the *Canaanites* of every denomination; but when they alſo heard, how the waters of the river had been divided to give the *Iſraelites* a paſſage over to them, their hearts melted, and their ſpirits failed them. *Jericho* was the firſt place that felt the fury of the approaching exciſion, being diſmantled by the ſhouts of the *Iſraelites*, the ſound of the ſeven rams-horns, and the circumvection of the ark of the covenant; and in it no ſoul was ſpared but the harlot *Rahab* and her family, who had been inſtrumental in ſaving the ſpies that had been ſent by *Joſhua* into this city, which was now turned to a heap of aſhes and rubbiſh,

[y] Deut. iii. 8, 11. [z] See before p. 93. [a] Vide Joseph. Antiq. l. 4. c. 5. [b] Pſal. lxviii. 15. [c] Deut. iii. 4, 5. Joſh. xiii. 30. Joseph. Antiq. ubi ſupr. [d] Deut. xxxii. 14. Pſal. xxii. 12. [e] Zech. xi. 2. Iſa. ii. 13. [f] Joſh. xii. 4. [g] Numb. xxi. 33, 35.

(Y) This city being elſewhere called *Aſhtaroth-Karnaim* (39), or the *two-horned*, has given room to ſuppoſe it derived its name from the goddeſs *Aſtarte*. But, as is obſerved, it might as well be ſuppoſed, that the city was in the ſhape of a half-moon (40).

(39) *Gen. xiv.* 5. (40) *See Patrick on the above paſſages of Geneſis.*

being

being burnt with fire; and the man curſed that ſhould ever attempt to rebuild it [h].

THE men of the city of *Ai* and their king then rouſed up, and were permitted by GOD to repulſe a body of three thouſand of the *Iſraelites*, killing thirty odd of their number, by way of puniſhment on the whole congregation, for the iniquitious practices of one perſon at the ſacking of *Jericho*. The king of *Ai* very rightly apprehended the war was not decided by ſo ſlight a favour of fortune on his ſide; and therefore ſent to the men of *Beth-el*, who were his ſubjects, and owed him homage, to repair to him, that they might ſtrengthen his arms againſt the enemy. It was not long ere he had advice, that *Joſhua* was moving towards him. In general, he apprehended *Joſhua*'s intent was to beſiege him; but he knew nothing of a ſtratagem that was formed, and of ambuſcades that were laid to ruin him, and deſtroy his city. He ſaw *Joſhua* appear before his walls with no very formidable force, and at once reſolved to fight him: which he no ſooner offered to do, than the *Iſraelites* faced about and fled; which when he ſaw, he ordered every body to come out of the city, and help to purſue the enemy, that feigned only to run from him. By this means his city was left deſtitute of all defence, every body being at the heels of the *Iſraelites*; which, when it was known to a party, who lay in ambuſh, they roſe up, ſeized upon the city, and ſet the out-ſkirts of it on fire. The king of *Ai* turning his head backwards, ſaw the ſmoke of his city aſcending up to heaven; and in the midſt of his conſternation he ſaw alſo the enemy ſtop ſhort, ſhout, and face about upon him. His return to the city was intercepted by thoſe who had ſet it on fire, and were now advancing to aſſiſt in cutting him off. The men of *Ai* perceiving therefore that their city muſt periſh without reſource, and that they were to he attacked as it were on all ſides, their hearts ſunk within them, and they all fell by the edge of the ſword, except their king, who was taken alive, and led to *Joſhua*. And after this ſlaughter of their army, their city was viſited by the *Iſraelites*, and there the ſcene of blood was acted over again upon the women, and thoſe who were found in and about it; ſo that in all, there fell this day 12,000 ſouls, who were all that belonged to this deſtined place, which was now turned into a deſolate heap, as it ever afterwards continued. The captive king was hung upon a tree till even-tide, when his body was taken down, toſſed into what had been the gate-way of the city, where he had

The king of Ai.

[h] Joſh. vi. 26.

uſed

used to sit in judgment perhaps, and buried under an heap of stones, which were thrown on him: so ended the kingdom of *Ai* [i].

Upon this the whole country was rising up in arms to fight *Joshua*; but *Gibeon*, a city of the *Hivites* [k], far stronger and more considerable than *Ai*, and renowned for the courage of its citizens [l], heard what had been done to the kingdoms of *Jericho* and *Ai*, and trembled; and the inhabitants despairing to be able to withstand the torrent, which was now broke into their country, by strength, they resolved to try what art could do. And consulting what could be done in so dangerous a conjuncture, they came to the resolution of sending to *Joshua* some ambassadors, who should be dressed in old tattered garments, with clouted shoes, with dry mouldy bread, and wine-skins, or bottles old, and rent, and bound up: and all this they contrived, that their ambassadors might seem to come from some very far country. With this sordid equipage did they set out for *Joshua*'s camp in *Gilgal*; where being arrived, they told him, they were come from afar off to seek his friendship; and being questioned as to their sincerity, they answered equivocally, and being still farther pressed upon the point, they replied with great submission, That they were actually of a very far distant country; and that the fame of the Lord God, and what he had done for *Israel* in *Egypt*; and since then, by the destruction of *Sihon* and *Og*, those mighty kings, had been the inducements which had brought them so far from home, being sent by the unanimous vote of all their countrymen, that they might make their homage, and desire to be accepted into a league with *Israel*; and as a proof that in all they had said they had confined themselves to strict truth, they produced their dry and mouldy bread, which they averred they had taken hot out of their houses the day they set out: our bottles of wine, said they, were new, and see how they are rent; our garments and shoes were the same, but they are worn out by reason of our very long journey. In all this they acted their parts with the utmost cunning and prevarication, and being too easily believed, gained their point, by persuading *Joshua* and the *Israelites* to make a league with them. Thus did they over-reach their enemies, and thereby save their lives. At the end of three days their whole artifice was discovered; but then they valued it not, having brought the *Israelites* under a solemn engagement to protect them as

[i] Josh. vii, viii. [k] Josh. ix. compare ver. 3. with ver. 7. [l] Josh. x. 2.

friends:

friends: but in the concluſion they fared not ſo well as they, perhaps expected, being condemned to be hewers of wood and drawers of water; that is, to be ſlaves, or very little better [m].

WHEN *Adonizedek* king of *Jeruſalem* heard, how *Jericho* and *Ai* had been utterly deſtroyed, and, what was worſe to the common cauſe, that the *Gibeonites* had ſubmitted to *Joſhua*, he was divided between diſdain and fear. But reſolving to make an example of the *Gibeonites*, thereby to deter others from following ſo pernicious and ſo inglorious an example, he called in *Horam* king of *Hebron*, *Piram* king of *Jarmuth*, *Japhia* king of *Lachiſh*, and *Debir* king of *Eglon*, to join him to fight againſt *Gibeon*; and accordingly they all went againſt it, and beſieged it. The inhabitants in this diſtreſs diſpatched notice to *Joſhua* of what was befallen them, and begged his ſpeedy ſuccour to reſcue them from their enraged countrymen. The effect of this was, that the five kings, as they were beſieging the city, were furiouſly aſſaulted by *Joſhua*; ſo that they were obliged to riſe from before it, and make off in great confuſion. As they were flying away, and had almoſt reached *Beth-horon*, there came down a dreadful tempeſt of hail-ſtones, of ſuch enormous ſize that they knocked them on the head, and did more execution among them than the ſword of *Joſhua*. Thus perſecuted by the heavens above, and preſſed by the *Iſraelites* in the rear, they fled as chance directed them, not knowing whether they were going. By ſo general a diſperſion it is poſſible that many of them might have come off with life, had not the ſun, at the command of *Joſhua*, ſtopped his career, that the *Iſraelites* might ſee to overtake, and deſtroy the ſcattered multitude. And now the five kings, ſeeing nothing but deſtruction and deſolation before their eyes, made the beſt of their way to a cave near the city of *Makkedah*, the only glimpſe of hope they had left. Happily, as they thought, they reached this aſylum, but were ſome how or other diſcovered to be there; and information thereof being carried to *Joſhua*, they ſoon ſaw the mouth of their cave ſtopped up with great ſtones: and under this diſmal confinement did they remain, till the action of this miraculous day was concluded; when, being viſited and dragged out, they were thrown before the congregation of *Iſrael*, the chiefs of whom trod on their necks: which done, they were all five put to death, and their dead bodies were hung, each on a tree; and there they hung till the ſetting ſun, when they were taken down and toſſed into the Adonizedek.

[m] Joſh. ix.

mouth of the cave, which was again filled up with great ſtones, as a monument of their fall and unhappy end. This was the fate of the five confederate kings, while ſome of their ſubjects were ſo fortunate as to get into certain fenced cities, and ſo eſcape for the preſent *.

Jabin. Jabin king of *Hazor*, when he heard this, and that moreover *Makkedah*, *Libnah*, *Lachiſh*, *Eglon*, *Hebron*, and *Debir* had been ſubverted, and all their inhabitants put to the ſword, and that not a ſoul had been left alive in one of them: and again, that *Horam*, king of *Gezer*, and his whole force, had periſhed in attempting to relieve *Lachiſh*: Such a crowd of calamities together made him reſolve to raiſe all the tribes of the *Canaanites*, to withſtand the deſtruction, which ſo imminently threatened them all. He ſent therefore to *Jobab* king of *Madon*, to the king of *Shimron*, to the king of *Achſhaph*, to the kings on the north of the mountains, to thoſe in the plains ſouth of *Cinneroth*, and in the valley, and on the borders of *Dor* on the weſt, and to the *Canaanites*, peculiarly ſo called, on the eaſt and weſt, and to the *Amorite*, and the *Hittite*, and the *Perizzite*, and the *Jebuſite* in the mountains, and to the *Hivite* under *Hermon*, in the land of *Mizpeh*. Theſe all confederated together againſt *Iſrael*; they were as the ſand on the ſea-ſhore for multitude, and were very ſtrong in horſe and chariots, a dreadful enemy for *Joſhua* and his people to deal with, who were utterly unprovided of both. Being thus united, they encamped near the waters of *Merom*, ſince called the lake *Samachonitis*. Here, as they lay conſulting together, they were aſſaulted by ſurprize, driven out of their camp, and broken into as many diſtinct bodies, perhaps, as they were tribes, each tending homewards. But the main body of them ſeem to have fled with their faces towards the great *Zidon*, weſtward, and *Mizrephoth-maim*; while another multitude ſcoured towards the valley of *Mizpeh* eaſtwards. But they were every where ſo furiouſly and effectually purſued, that moſt of them fell by the way. *Jabin* himſelf had the luck to eſcape for the preſent, but he periſhed with his city ſoon afterwards; for *Hazor* was ſoon after taken, her inhabitants all cut off, there was not one of them left, and herſelf burnt with fire. This city was reckoned as the chief of all the cities belonging to the kings of this confederacy, and therefore was treated with the greater rigour; but the reſt of the cities of theſe princes, which alſo fell into the hands of *Joſhua*, were ſuffered to

* Joſh. x.

ſtand

ſtand, though none of the inhabitants were ſpared in any of them [n].

No loſſes, though ever ſo grievous, could for a conſiderable while break the ſpirits of the *Canaanites*; they ſtood their ground, and roſe up ſo thick and ſo faſt one after another, that they kept *Joſhua* employed ſix years [o]: And in the end great numbers are ſuppoſed to have left their country, and, travelling towards *Afric*, to have ſettled themſelves there at laſt, erecting a monument in memory of the calamities which had driven them from their native place, and inveighing againſt *Joſhua* by a very injurious appellation, as will be obſerved hereafter in the hiſtory of that continent. In their way thither they are ſuppoſed to have ſeized on the lower *Egypt*, where they erected a monarchy, which ſubſiſted under ſeveral of their own kings; but being at laſt overpowered, were forced, ſome of them, farther weſtward into *Afric*: and thus are they made out to have been the *Phœnician* paſtors, who lorded it ſo long, and ſo rigorouſly over *Egypt* [p].

AFTER the *Canaanites* had been ſucceſſively defeated, and at length diſperſed, and reduced, the *Anakims* [q] (Z), who alſo inhabited ſome of the mountains of the land, a fierce and barbarous race, and of an origin diſtinct from the *Canaanites*, as is thought, were invaded and cut off; and thus was the whole country, as it were, poſſeſſed by the *Iſraelites*.

BUT ſtill the *Canaanites* of ſeveral denominations were ſtrong and potent, and held no mean ſhare of the country; and, for nineteen or twenty years, the remainder of *Joſhua*'s days, they were very little moleſted; being ſuffered to breath, while the important buſineſs of dividing their country by the conqueror could be regulated and adjuſted.

[n] Joſh. xi. [o] USSER. Annal. [p] See before in the Notes, p. 247. [q] Joſh. ubi ſupr.

(Z) Theſe are held to have been what we call giants, and are derived from one *Arba*, who ſeized on the city of *Hebron*, from whom it was called *Kirjath-Arba*, the city of *Arba*. From *Arba* deſcended *Anak* (41), who, it ſeems had three ſons, whom we ſhall mention hereafter. From *Anak* the *Anakims* derive their name; but whether they were a numerous family, or really more bulky than their neighbours, is far from being aſcertained: their name has various derivations aſſigned it, which are many, and doubtful, and unſatisfactory; nor can we hope for any certainty in matters ſo antient, and at the ſame time ſo imperfectly touched on as this family is in ſcripture.

(41) *Joſh. xiv.* 15. *xv.* 13, 14.

This diviſion being marked out, the *Canaanites* were on all ſides invaded again by the tribes of *Iſrael*, who wanted each to drive them out of their reſpective lots. The *Canaanites* and *Perizzites* in *Bezek* were accordingly invaded by the tribes of *Simeon* and *Judah*, and there fell of them ten thouſand men. Being thus routed in the field, they retreated to the city of *Bezek*, where *Adonibezek*, the king of that place as his name imports, reſided. This king is infamous, with all men, for his ſingular cruelty and inſolence; for, by his own confeſſion, having taken ſeventy kings captive, he cut off the thumbs and great toes of each, and made them expect their meat under his table, like ſo many dogs. The city itſelf was now aſſaulted and carried; and all thoſe within the walls were put to the ſword, which may be called the ſecond ſlaughter of this diſpute. *Adonibezek* himſelf was in the city at this time, though he, it ſeems, eſcaped: but he was overtaken in his flight, and his thumbs and great toes were cut off; a juſt requital, as he himſelf acknowledged, for his former cruelty; but his life was undeſervedly ſpared, he being carried alive to *Jeruſalem*, where he died; for that city had been taken and burnt before; but whether by *Joſhua* formerly, or the tribe of *Judah* now [r], is not very clear (A).

Immediately after this the *Canaanites* were invaded in ſeveral other parts, and particularly in *Hebron* and *Debir* two,

[r] Judg. i. 3—8.

(A) *Jeruſalem* is mentioned as taken by *Joſhua*; but, as may be obſerved, the *Canaanites* laid hands again on ſeveral places which *Joſhua* had torn from them; and the ſame may have happened at *Jeruſalem*: for though it is by moſt commentators imagined, that the *Iſraelites* held the town, and the *Jebuſites* the fortreſs of *Zion* ever afterwards; *Joſephus* 42) plainly enough tells us, they had both the fort and the city when *David* gave them their fatal blow; and, conſidering the temper and inſolence of the *Jebuſites*, it is not likely, that, while they poſſeſſed the citadel, they would ſuffer the *Iſraelites* to live quietly in the town. Upon the whole, though the place may have been reduced by *Joſhua*, and re-poſſeſſed by the *Jebuſites* again, and reduced a ſecond time by the tribe of *Judah* now, yet it is likely, there were always diſputes between the *Jebuſites*, and the *Iſraelites*, and that theſe were driven out by thoſe a ſecond time; and that in the days of *David*, the *Jebuſites* had both the city and fortreſs in their own hands, as *Joſephus* aſſures us above. *Joſephus* (43) ſeems to be right here, when he tells us the tribe of *Judah* did now attack *Jeruſalem*, but did not ſucceed in their attempt.

(42) *Joſeph. l.* 6. *c.* 7. (43) *Antiq. l.* 5. *c.* 2.

cities

cities which had formerly been deſtroyed by *Joſhua*, but were now in the hands of the *Canaanites* again, an inſtance among many others of the ſame kind, of the reſolution of this people, and their reluctance to quit their poſſeſſions. And in general the *Canaanites* in the high lands or mountains were reduced; but thoſe in the low country were able to keep their ground, becauſe they had chariots of iron. *Hebron* was by this war put into the hands of *Caleb*, who thence expelled the three ſons of *Anak* [f] (B).

THE *Jebuſites* were alſo aſſaulted by the *Benjamites*, but they could not be diſlodged. Thoſe about *Beth-el* had the houſe of *Joſeph* to deal with, and fell by fraud, their city being betrayed by one of the inhabitants, unwarily ſeized on by the hands of the enemy. But thoſe of *Beth-ſhean*, *Taanach*, *Dor*, *Ibleam*, and *Megiddo*, made head againſt the attempts of the children of *Manaſſeh*, and preſerved their ſeveral juriſdictions entire. The *Canaanites* alſo that dwelt in *Gezer* could not be expelled by the *Ephraimites*; and thoſe of *Kitron* and *Nahalol* ſtood their ground againſt the poſterity of *Zebulun*, though they ſubmitted to a tribute. The inhabitants of *Accho*, *Zidon*, *Ahlab*, *Achzib*, *Helbah*, *Aphik*, and *Rehob*, inſtead of being driven out by the tribe of *Aſher*, ſeem to have impoſed what conditions they thought proper on them, and barely to have ſuffered them to hold any part of their lot. Thoſe who held *Beth-ſhemeſh* and *Beth-anath* were an over match for *Naphtali*; but in the end they were made tributa-

[f] ver. 9—20.

(B) The names of theſe ſons of *Anak* are *Ahiman*, *Sheſhai*, and *Talmai* (44); concerning whom we ſhall only remark what *Bochart* has fancied, as to the import of their names. To begin with their father *Anak*, his name he makes to ſquare with the *latin* name *Torquatus*; the eldeſt, or firſt of the brother's name *Ahiman* or *who is my brother*; that is, *who is my equal*. By the name of *Sheſhai* the ſecond, he ſuppoſes him to have been ſix cubits high, as *Goliath* is ſaid to have been. *Talmai*, the name of the third, he derives from *Talam* a *Furrow* * ; as if he ſeemed in length equal to the furrow of a field. This is an ingenious thought, ſome may ſay, and ſome may think it a little preſumptuous. *Joſephus* (45), as his cuſtom is too frequently, gives us a fearful account of theſe inhabitants of *Hebron*, "Among the ſlain, ſays he, were found ſome gigantic "forms, who not only exceeded the ordinary ſize of men, but diſ-"fered alſo from them in aſpect and voice..... Some of their bones "are expoſed as a prodigy to this day.

(44) *Numb. xiii.* 22. * *Canaan lib.* 1. *c.* 1. (45) *Ubi ſupr.*

ries. The *Amorites* preſſed hard upon the children of *Dan*, and confined them to their mountains, denying them all the benefits of the low country; nor would they ſuffer them to have the mountains to themſelves neither; but would keep mount *Heres* in *Aijalon* and in *Shaalbim* in their own hands: but though they dealt thus with the *Danites*, according to their own pleaſure, they were reduced at laſt to a tribute by the joint forces of the houſe of *Joſeph* and of *Dan*, and their coaſt or border aſcertained, *from the going up to Akrabbim from the rock, and upwards* [t] (C).

Thus upon the diviſion of their country, and the attempts made by the ſeveral tribes to drive them out, the whole land was in a ferment of war, which ended with no great ſucceſs on either ſide; and the adverſe parties ſeem to have been pretty equally matched. So that although it is certain that multitudes of this people were ſlain in the wars of *Joſhua*, and that, as is very rationally ſuppoſed, many of them fled the land in queſt of more ſure and quiet abodes twenty years before; yet ſuch was their number remaining, or valour, or ſuperior skill in war, that, after all their calamities, take them which way you will, they ſeem to have been but little inferior to the *Iſraelites*. Nor after this do we miſs one tribe of them, except the *Gergaſites* (D).

The *Canaanites*, the *Sidonians*, and the *Hivites* of mount *Lebanon*, from *Baal-hermon* to *Hamath*, were left to prove

[t] ver. 21—36.

(C) For want of knowing the exact ſituation of the places here mentioned, we are at a loſs to underſtand, whether the *Amorites* were left maſters of a ſmall, or a large territory. Obſcurities of the ſame kind there are many; but our reader, we hope, will upon this occaſion, and all of a like nature, paſt or to come, excuſe our want of preſumption; or that we do not pretend to ſhew him the exact ſituations of places, which from the beſt light we have, can hardly be gueſſed at, and muſt for ever, it is likely, remain a diſpute among ſuch as have time to waſte, and little elſe to do, or think of.

(D) We are poſitively told, they fled into *Afric* (46), where they fixed their ſeat; whence their being omitted is very rationally accounted for; and though it were difficult to think, that none belonging to the other tribes accompanied them, or trod afterwards in their foot-ſteps; yet may we hence conclude, that the *Gergaſites* were the chief of the fugitives from this country, which we ſhall reſume when we come to *Afric*.

(46) *Gemar. Hieroſolymit. ad tit. Shebitih, c ap.* 6.

Iſrael,

Iſrael, to exerciſe them with temptation to idolatry and ſin (E), and the more immediately devoted nations, the *Canaanites*, *Hittites*, *Amorites*, *Perizzites*, *Hivites*, and *Jebuſites*, dwelt, as it were in common, with the children of *Iſrael* in their promiſed land. Being thus blended together, they in time wrought ſo upon the unſtable minds of the *Iſraelites*, as to perſuade them to intermarry with them, and ſerve their gods [u], thereby captivating their minds, as they afterwards did their bodies.

FOR in a very few years, nine or ten, or thereabout, *Jabin*, whom we may reckon the ſecond of the name, ſeeing he reſided at the very ſame place with the former, was permitted by GOD to deal with the *Iſraelites*, as the inſtrument of his wrath. This prince, it is likely, rebuilt *Hazor* (F), which had been deſtroyed with ſuch rigour by *Joſhua*, reeſtabliſhed the royal ſeat there, was maſter of nine hundred chariots *Jabin* II.

[u] Judg. ii. 21—23, iii. 1—7.

(E) Here we ſee a remarkable diſtinction made between the *Canaanites* of *Joſhua*'s conqueſt, and thoſe who were not ſo; as if theſe, who were only their borderers, were more proper, or more likely, to tempt the *Iſraelites*, than thoſe who were actually inmates with them. Whence, whether we are to conclude, that the idolatry of the former was more enchanting than that of the latter, or their luxury more enticing; or whether at all there was any real difference between them, we leave the reader to fancy. Both religious and political reaſons have been aſſigned for this mercy towards the *Canaanites*; of the former is, That the *Iſraelites* might not grow ſluggiſh for want of ſome to waken and ſtir up their courage, and to keep up martial diſcipline among them, and that they might always be in a more immediate ſtate of dependance on God, or look conſtantly up to him for ſuccour (47). Of the latter, That no part of the country, which was too extenſive to be thoroughly inhabited by the *Iſraelites*, might lie deſolate, ſo as to be left for a harbour to wild beaſts, who might by their encreaſe prove a more dreadful and pernicious enemy than the *Canaanites* (48).

(F) We think with thoſe who ſuppoſe this *Jabin* to have deſcended from the other, who fell by the hands of *Joſhua*; and that he now ſeized on the ſpot where *Hazor* formerly ſtood, and rebuilt that city; which, ſeeing he was ſo powerful a prince, is no unlikely matter, though ſome make a ſcruple of it. Whether *Jabin* was an appellation common to all the kings of *Hazor*, we have not to ſay from poſitive authority, though it ſeems to have been a common cuſtom in theſe parts for kings to ſucceed each other under the

(47) *See Patrick upon Judg. iii. 2.* (48) *See Exod. xxiii. 29. and Deut. vi. 22.*

chariots of iron (G), which, and the reſt of his hoſt, were under the command of *Siſera*, who dwelt in *Haroſheth of the Gentiles* (H). *Jabin* therefore reduced the *Iſraelites* to a ſtate of ſlavery, and mightily did he oppreſs them for twenty years. But whether he held them in general under ſubjection, or the northern tribes only, is a matter of uncertainty. But whether his dominion over them was total or partial, it expired at the end of twenty years, as we have ſaid. News was brought to *Siſera*, that the *Iſraelites* had been ſtirred up to rebellion, and that they were actually in arms, conſulting together, how they might ſhake off his maſter's yoke. Whereupon he prepared the nine hundred chariots of iron, and iſſued a proclamation, requiring the men of war to aſ-

ſame appellation, as *Pharaoh* in *Egypt*, *Agag* in *Amalekitis*, &c. He is in the text called king of *Canaan*; which, whether it refers to the *Canaanites*, peculiarly ſo called, or to the whole body of the *Canaanites* in general, we take not on us to ſay.

(G The number of theſe chariots, which are all along taken for the ſcythed ſort, is much wondered at by the learned. Whether he had ſuch a multitude of them before he warred upon *Iſrael*; or whether, by reducing them, he at once enlarged his empire, and augmented his forces, is not ſaid; though it is probable he had not ſo many before. But what ſhall we ſay to *Joſephus*, who acquaints us, That *Jabin* did actually reſide at *Azor* [*Hazor*] ſituate near the lake *Samachonitis*, and that he had an army of 300,000 foot, 10,000 horſe, and 3000 chariots (49). If *Bochart* wonders, as he does, at the 900 chariots the ſcripture gives him, obſerving, that *Mithridates* had but 100 in his army, and *Darius* but 200 (50); what muſt he have thought of *Joſephus*'s 3000? Indeed, not only in the number of the chariots, but in that alſo of the horſe and foot, he is too large to be eaſily credited; nor perhaps is it always ſafe to lend an attentive ear to that hiſtorian. And it is to be noted, that notwithſtanding he on this ſide ſo vaſtly exceeds what the ſcripture ſeems to intend, he agrees therewith in the number of the *Iſraelites*, who roſe up to recover their rights, reckoning them at only 10,000 (51). What authority he had for this very extraordinary exceſs in the numbers of the *Canaanites* againſt the *Iſraelites*, we know not: but his view may have been to do honour in this example, as in others, to his countrymen and forefathers, with the *Romans*, who gloried chiefly in their military exploits, and in what their fathers had done before them that way.

(H) If *Hazor* was not rebuilt, then *Haroſheth of the Gentiles* bids fair to have been the royal ſeat. It is called *of the Gentiles*, as is ſuppoſed, from a confluence of all ſorts, who came now to put themſelves under the protection of *Jabin*'s growing empire.

(49) *Antiq. lib.* 5. *cap.* 6. (50) *Hierozoic. Part* 1. *lib.* 2. *c.* 9. (51) *Joſephus ubi ſupr.*

ſemble

ſemble together, to march out againſt the *Iſraelites*, who were but ten thouſand ſtrong, with *Deborah* and *Barak* at their head. They came to a battle, and *Siſera* was beaten, and irretrievably routed, and a general ſlaughter was made of his army, quite to the gates of *Haroſheth of the Gentiles*: and being himſelf in great danger of the purſuers, he quitted his chariot, and truſted to his feet (I), directing his ſteps to the tent of *Heber* the *Kenite*, who was at amity with *Jabin*. He found *Jael*, *Heber*'s wife, in the tent door, who, perceiving the hurry and diſorder he was in, entreated him to ſtep in, and fear nothing; which he did, and ſhe covered him with a rug, or ſome ſuch thing, ſo as not to be ſeen, or to prevent his taking any harm, while he repoſed himſelf after the fatigue of the battle and flight. He had not lain long ere he complained of being very thirſty, and begged a draught of water; inſtead whereof his kind hoſteſs preſented him with a bowl of new milk, of which when he had drank his fill, ſhe covered him up again. Then he called out, and bad her, if any one came to enquire if ſhe had any man within, to anſwer no, and to ſtand at the tent door for that purpoſe. Now, being greatly fatigued, he fell into a deep ſleep, and *Jael*, taking one of the tent nails and a hammer, trod ſoftly up to him, and drove the nail into his temples, and ſo killed him. By this time *Barak* had reached the tent in queſt of *Siſera*; and *Jael* with a triumphant air went out to him, and invited him to the ſight of the man he ſought, whom he here ſaw dead, with the nail ſmitten into his temples. So fell *Siſera*; and thus was *Jabin*'s glory eclipſed, and his domini-

(I) The particulars of the battle are not recorded in the ſacred text; but thence it very plainly appears, that there was ſomething miraculous and extraordinary in this defeat of *Jabin*'s hoſt, thunders, lightnings, and frightful ſounds rumbling in their ears, ſo that the heavens had the principal ſhare in this overthrow. And *Joſephus*, that we may not wonder at the ruin of ſo mighty a power by ſo contemptible a handful of the *Iſraelites*, tells us very circumſtantially, That the armies were no ſooner engaged, than there aroſe a furious wind, which drove ſuch a tempeſt of hail and rain into the faces of the *Canaanites*, as ſtifled and blinded them, and benumbed their fingers to that degree that they were in all reſpects diſabled from action; ſo that they were eaſily broken and diſperſed, and trampled to death by the horſe, and torn to pieces by their own chariots, which, together with the execution made on them by the *Iſraelites*, quite diſſipated this mighty multitude, and reduced them to nothing (52).

(52) *Joſephus ubi ſupra.*

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ons forced from him by the children of *Iſrael*, by whom he was perſecuted to deſtruction [w] (K).

Now what the *Canaanites* did, or what was done againſt them, after this, for a long ſeries of years, we cannot ſay. Thus much appears, They had been able to maintain their ground in ſeveral parts, and particularly in *Jeruſalem*, till the time that *David* was king of *Iſrael*. When the *Jebuſites*, who held that city, or at leaſt the fortreſs of *Zion*, ſaw *David* actually advanced up to them to beſiege them, they poſted their lame and their blind (L) to defend them, ſaying they were

[w] Judg. iv.

(K) *Joſephus* gives us the particulars of his downfal. *Jabin* met *Barak* as he was in full march againſt *Hazor*, and was encountered by him and ſlain; and *Hazor*, the ſeat of his empire, was laid level with the ground: and thus fell the empire of the *Jabins* in *Hazor* a ſecond time (53), according to this hiſtorian.

(L) Who, or what, theſe lame and blind were, is made a doubt; it is diſputed, whether we muſt with *Joſephus* (54) underſtand them to have been perſons actually labouring under the infirmities of lameneſs and blindneſs, or whether ſomething elſe is here to be underſtood, as others think. *Bochart* (55) deems this ſo plain a caſe, that he wonders how ſome great men had puzzled their brains with finding out a ſolution of it; and holds it paſt diſpute, that this was a flouriſh of thraſoniſm in the *Jebuſites*, who planted their lame and their blind, that is, their moſt infirm and unfit people, to defend them: while our own Dr. *Gregory* (56), who has a whole diſſertation about it, underſtands them to have been the gods of this people, who, as the pſalmiſt expreſſes it, *had eyes, and ſaw not, and feet, and walked not* (57) and this opinion is ſupported by theſe very plauſible arguments; 1. How could *David* diſtinguiſh the halt, or the lame, or the blind from able men, when poſted upon lofty walls, ſince thoſe infirmities are not diſcernable but near at hand? 2. How can it be ſuppoſed there was ſuch a number of theſe unfortunate perſons in ſo ſmall a city as might ſerve ſuch a purpoſe? 3. And why ſhould *David* ſay, as he does, that *his ſoul hated them*; when it would have been but natural in him to have commiſerated their unhappy condition? From theſe arguments it is concluded, that it was not the lame and the blind of the city, whom the *Jebuſites* relied on, but their idols, which in the *Pſalms* are deſcribed in the ſarcaſtical words we have inſerted above, and which they planted upon their walls, by their power or influence to keep off the enemy; which they hoped would have been ſo efficacious a means of preſerving them, that they truſted *David* would be unable to

(53) *Idem ibid.* (54) *Ibid. lib.* 7. *c.* 2. (55) *Phaleg. l.* 4. *c.* 36. (56) *In Patrick's commentary upon this paſſage.* (57) *Pſalm cxv.*

prevail

were enough to keep off ſo mean an invader, relying wholly on the ſtrength of their walls and ſituation. But they were diſappointed, being carried by ſtorm (M). But the circumſtances of this event, and how it fared with the gariſon and inhabitants, are not told *.

THIS was doubtleſs a very ſevere blow upon the *Canaanites* in general, and muſt have perplexed them much: and they muſt again have been deeply humbled when they were invaded in *Gezer* by *Pharaoh*; upon what provocation given by them, or whether any, is utterly unknown (N); and their city burnt, and themſelves put to the ſword. This city was

* 2 Sam. v. 6—9.

prevail againſt their ſuper natural operations. And here a parallel caſe is drawn in reference to the *Palladium*, the city of *Troy* being ſuppoſed to be impregnable while that remained with them: and ſome ſuch, or the ſame, notion may have obtained among the *Jebuſites* now, touching their god or gods (58). To this we ſhall add one chimerical notion of a *Jewiſh* rabbi upon this event. He pretends, that when *Abraham* bought the cave of *Mach-pelah* of the children of *Heth*, he formally covenanted with them, that when his poſterity ſhould come to be poſſeſſors of the land (which they had a foreſight of) they ſhould not touch the city of *Jebus*; and that now they engraved this covenant his forefather *Abraham* had made with them upon their walls, pretending, that *David* could not attempt them, but by the breach of the covenant his forefather *Abraham* had made with them (59).

(M) We have already obſerved, that according to *Joſephus* (60), the *Jebuſites* were in poſſeſſion both of the city of *Jeruſalem* and the fortreſs of *Zion*; to which he adds, that the lower town was eaſily carried by an aſſault, with *David* at the head of it; but that the caſtle or fortreſs held out, till *Joab* ſucceeded in the important ſervice of aſſaulting that.

(N) A late commentator is of opinion, that *Pharaoh* attacked the *Canaanites* at this place, out of complaiſance to *Solomon*, who had married his daughter; for, apprehending the *Jews* to be very little acquainted with the arts of conducting a ſiege, he ſuppoſes they were not able to maſter this city of *Gezer* (61), which, how it came to be ſo much ſtronger than *Jeruſalem*, and the fortreſs of *Zion*, and many other places by them ſubdued, we cannot ſay. This *Pharaoh* is by a learned chronologer, who takes this to have been the firſt expedition the *Egyptians* made out of their own country, called *Rameſſes Miamûn* (62).

(58) *Vide Cleric. in* 2 *Sam. v.* 6. (59) *Eliezer Pirke, cap.* 36. (60) *Ubi ſupra.* (61) *Vide Cleric. in* 1 *Reg. ix.* 16. (62) *Marſh. Can. Chron. ad Sæc.* 13, 14.

afterwards

afterwards rebuilt or repaired by *Solomon*, he receiving it in right of his wife, *Pharaoh*'s daughter [y].

Thus oppreſſed by the *Iſraelites* on the one hand, and by the mighty power of *Egypt* on the other; and the glory of *Solomon* ariſing towards its meridian, the remnant of the *Amorites*, *Hittites*, *Perizzites*, *Hivites*, and *Jebuſites* were reduced to the grievous ſtate of bondage and ſlavery; whence it is gathered, that they were now brought to ſo low an ebb as to be unable to anſwer the demands of a tribute; wherefore being admitted into a covenant, as is very rationally ſuppoſed, with king *Solomon*, he would not cut them off, but employed them in the heavy labour of carrying on his vaſt and ſumptuous works. And this ſervility was entailed on their poſterity [z]; for, although it is apparently certain, that they upon their firſt reduction became proſelytes to the *Jewiſh* religion, yet it is thought, they were diſtinguiſhed from the *Jews*; and reckoned of a more ignoble blood, and as born to drudgery. This is ſuppoſed to have been their fate, and thus are they thought to have been blended with the *Jews*; though it is far from being poſitively known (O). And now it remains only for us to obſerve, That among the tribes of the *Canaanites*, enumerated above to have been laden with the yoke of *Solomon*, the *Canaanites*, peculiarly ſo called as we have hitherto ſpoken, are omitted: theſe therefore, we may conclude, bore none of the burthen, but remained whole and independent in their poſſeſſions on the ſea-coaſt, and ſprung afterwards to a great height of fame; continually improving themſelves in navigation, commerce, and the uſeful arts; and becoming comprehended under the famous appellation of *Phœnicians*.

SECT.

[y] 1 Kings ix. 46. [z] See ver. 20, 21. See alſo Ezra ii. 55, 58. and Nehem. xi. 3.

(O) We will give you the moſt obvious texts of ſcripture which relate to this matter; it is firſt ſaid, *And all the people* that were *left of the Amorites, Hittites, Perizzites, Hivites*, and *Jebuſites which* were *not of the children of Iſrael, their children that were left after them in the land, whom the children of Iſrael alſo were not able utterly to deſtroy, upon thoſe did Solomon levy a tribute of bond-ſervice unto this day* (63). And at the return from captivity, there is mention made of the *children of Solomon's ſervants. . . . . And the Nethinims and the children of Solomon's ſervants were three hundred and ninety two* (64): And elſewhere are the *Nethinims and the children of Solomon's*

(63) 1 *Kings ix.* 20, 21. (64) *Ezr. ii.* 55, 58.

ſervants

SECT. VII.

The History of the Philistines.

WE have already observed, that this people descended from the *Casluhim* partly, and partly from the *Caphtorim* [a], both from the loins of *Mizraïm*, the son of *Ham*, the son of *Noah*. This is their origin; whence it appears, that *Egypt* was their first Seat: nor have we ought to add concerning the origin of this people, except we acquaint you more particularly, than we have already [b], with the improbable notions, as we think them, of some of the learned concerning the *Casluhim* and *Caphtorim* (A). But *Their Origine.*

[a] See Vol. I. p. 366, 367. [b] See Vol. I. ubi supr.

servants mentioned together (65); and in these last texts our translators refer us back to the first, as if they were the children of the *Canaanites* on whom *Solomon* imposed a tribute of bond-service. But there is a difficulty to account for the smallness of the number, so that commentators are willing to deduce these mentioned upon the return from *Babylon*, from some other origin. Perhaps we shall find some traces of them in *Josephus*, who, with some variation from scripture, having acquainted us, That *Solomon* reduced a stubborn remnant of the *Canaanites*, inhabiting between mount *Libanus* and *Hamath*, made them his tributaries, they paying their tribute in servile works and labour; to which purpose they were to furnish *Solomon* with a certain number of slaves agreed on, who were to till the ground, and go through other sorts of drudgery; and over these, says he, were six hundred officers appointed to set them their tasks, and keep them to their work (66). Afterwards enumerating those who returned from *Babylon*, he reckons up six hundred and fifty, who passed for *Israelites*, but could not make out their extraction: others of uncertain genealogy there were five hundred twenty five; and of servants that attended upon the whole multitude, seven thousand three hundred thirty seven (67). These three numbers, making eight thousand five hundred and twelve, may, it is likely, have been *Canaanites*; but still the number is too small, except we suppose, that the far greatest part of the better sort were blended with the *Jews* so intricately, that there was no distinguishing between the pretensions of each, and moreover, that multitudes of them remained behind in the place of their captivity.

(A) As that the *Casluhim* were the antient *Colchi* described by *Herodotus*, and the *Caphtorim*, the *Cappadocians* in *Asia minor*, which though we have rejected already (68), we may have occasion to resume hereafter.

(65) *Nehem. xi.* 3. (66) *Joseph. Antiq. lib.* 8. *c.* 2. (67) *Idem ibid. lib.* 11. *c.* 4. (68) *See Vol. I. p.* 366.

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we have, as much as poſſible, forborn to perplex our reader with what can afford no ſolid fruit, and only feed us with the ſlender fare of little better than groundleſs gueſſes, advanced with a preſumption, which we admire how it ſhould have poſſeſſed the minds of men, otherwiſe modeſt and ſcrupulous enough. Therefore we ſhall ſay no more of the *Caſluhim* and *Caphtorim*, whence the *Philiſtines* derive their origin, than that they certainly were of *Egypt*, as we have ſaid; and that conſequently the *Philiſtines* came from that country. From *Egypt* they migrated into, and ſeized upon, the land, which was afterwards called by their name; concerning which we ſhall ſay no more here than is barely neceſſary.

Their Country. The land or country of the *Philiſtines*, known to the antient *Greeks* and *Romans* under the name of *Palæſtine*, grew in time to ſuch a height of note as to communicate its name to the whole region, of which it was only a part; ſo that all the *land of Promiſe* became comprehended under this name, which is moſt commonly uſed, even in our days, in the ſame extent, it having prevailed always among the Chriſtians of the *Greek* and *Roman* churches, from whom we have received it. This celebrated name is very apparently derived from *Philiſtine*, which the *Greeks* altered into *Palæſtine*, though ſome pretend to derive it from the *Greek* it ſelf (B), but therein they are certainly miſtaken. Diſmiſſing this obſcurity, we ſhall proceed to mark out the boundaries of this country; which, from what we have ſaid above, may be aptly ſtiled the proper *Palæſtine*. It was a ſlip of land ſtretching along the ſea-ſide; bounded on the eaſt, by the tribes of *Judah* and *Simeon*; on the ſouth by *Amalekitis*, and partly, but very little perhaps, by *Edom*; on the weſt by the *Mediterranean*, or *Midland-ſea*; and towards the north it interfered with the tribe of *Dan*. It was a country much longer than broad, but neither way conſiderable for its dimenſions, being ſcarce forty *Engliſh* miles in length; but what it wanted in extent it made up in fertility of ſoil. Towards the ſea it is a plain country, but three or four miles up it begins to ſwell into hills and mountains; whence it is moſt beautifully diverſified with hill and dale, mountain and valley, productive of the moſt luxuriant gifts of nature, and rich in proſpects, which way ſoever the eye be turned. Rivers in this country there are none to ſpeak of; but that defect is ſupplied by exuberant ſprings, and brooks,

(B) Deriving it from *Peluſium*, the famous *Egyptian* city of that name; from whence this people are ſuppoſed to have come; which name they deduce from a *Greek* word ſignifying *dirt*: but of this more hereafter.

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and rills, down the ſides of mountains. The temper of the climate, nature of the ſeaſons, and natural hiſtory of this delicious ſpot we dwell not on here, referring our reader to the geography of the *land of Promiſe*, of which it was a part, and a very noble one.

BUT we cannot ſo paſs over the cities of this country, which we will here enumerate and deſcribe as well as we can, beginning from the ſouthermoſt. *Gaza*, the moſt renowned of them all, ſtood upon the ſkirts of the deſert which led to *Egypt*, and was built within two or three miles of the ſea, as from the moſt authentic accounts is gathered. What it was in its firſt days cannot be known; but in time it became conſiderable for ſtrength, beauty, and extent. In the *Hebrew* it is called *Azza*, and *Aza* was it called by the *Syrians* [c]; which has been altered into *Gaza*, which, ſay they, ſignifies a treaſury in the antient *Perſian*; and this name it had becauſe *Cambyſes* in his war with *Egypt* made uſe of it as a magizine [d]. But this is rejected as a mere notion: nor indeed is it a concluſion, ſuppoſing it to be true, that *Cambyſes* did make ſuch a uſe of this city, nothing, as we have ſaid, being to be poſitively determined from a ſimilitude of names and appellatives in different languages.

IN later times it was alſo called *Ione*, and *Minoa* [e]; and the ſea which waſhed along the ſhore from *Gaza* to *Egypt* was called, ſay they, the *Ionian* ſea, *Gaza* being called after *Io* [f]. This city is placed at one of the four corners of the *land of Promiſe* by *Moſes* [g], and was in the lot of the tribe of *Judah*, according to the diviſion *Joſhua* made of the whole land [h]. But though it was attempted, and carried, yet the *Philiſtines* poſſeſſed it again, and kept it [i]. Whether or not it had originally the ſame ſituation which it appears now to have had, cannot be known; but it is probable, that it from the beginning ſtood upon, or near, the ſame ſpot. It ſtood upon an eminence about three miles from the ſea, as we have ſaid, and was of very difficult acceſs for the depth of the ſands which ſurrounded it [k]. But by another author we underſtand it to have been ſcarce a mile diſtant from the ſhore [l], a difference we ſhall not take on us to reconcile. If a well-eſteemed traveller of our own nation be not miſtaken in the place, it is now upon a hill, ſurrounded by delicious vales, and

[c] STEPHAN. ad vocem Γάζα. [d] POMPON. Mel. lib. 1. c. 11. [e] STEPHAN. ubi ſupr. [f] Idem ad vocem Ιονιον. [g] See before, p. 158. [h] Joſh. xv. 47. [i] Judg. i. 18. iii. 3. [k] ARRIAN. l. 2. p. 150. [l] STRABO. l. 16. p. 759.

thoſe

those again enclosed with a chain of hills [m]; but he mentions not a word of deep sands about it, which if so difficult, as is said above, he could not have passed over. But though he differs from the antient historian [n], who gives us the situation of this city in respect of the soil about it; yet he seems to agree with the geographer [o] from whom we have its last mentioned distance from the sea, computing it at seven furlongs, which fall short of a mile [p]: but his expression on this point is obscure, and we cannot build on it. For the more convenient communication with the sea, it had a sea-port, *Majuma* [q], a place of no great account, as seems, till *Constantine* took notice of it, and called it *Constantia*, in honour of his son *Constantius*. The antient name of this sea-port is not ascertained; but *Julian*, out of hatred to the memory of *Constantine*, altered its name *Constantia* into the *Port of Gaza*, or *the maritime part* of the said city [r]: and from hence we find, perhaps, *Gaza* in the plural number, *Gazæ*. *Majuma* is also called the *maritime Gaza*. There is no sign that it ever was a commodious place for the entertainment of shipping; but a shift was made with it, where no place more convenient was to be had; and doubtless the shipping which belonged to, or frequented it, were of a nature proper for so indifferent a station; though perhaps, on the other hand, the port may have been altered from what it was by the incroachment of the sea, but we read nothing of this; parallel cases, indeed, happen almost every day. *Anthedon* seems also to have been another sea-port belonging to *Gaza*, situate to the southward of *Majuma*; but of what antiquity, or how far, or whether at all, it depended on *Gaza*, cannot be said: it was not quite three miles distant from it. We shall have occasion to mention it as a place of some note hereafter. We will not particularize the history of *Gaza*, and shall only say, that it several times groaned under the miseries of war; that it was sometimes in a flourishing state, with mighty walls and costly edifices (C); sometimes in a low

[m] Sandys Trav. Book 3. p. 149. [n] Arrian. ubi supr. [o] Strabo ubi supr. [p] Sandys ubi supr. [q] Sozomen Histor. l. 5. c. 3. Marc Diac. in vit. S. Porphyr. c. 8. [r] Sozomen ubi supr. Marc. Diac. ubi supr. [s] Hieron. in Dan. xi.

(C) It is now a miserable place; "Yet there are some reliques "left, and some impressions that testify a better condition. For "divers simple roofs are supported with goodly pillars of *Parian* "marble,

low depreſſed condition. After ſeveral viciſſitudes it lay neglected ſo far, that in the New Teſtament it is called a deſert [t]; ſuch a deſert as it is now we may ſuppoſe, weak in inhabitants, and defenceleſs [u]; for ſo fertile a ſpot can never be called by that miſerable appellation [w], according to the common acceptation of the word with us. In this city they chiefly worſhipped a deity called *Marnas* [x]. Its name is remembred with *Tyre* and *Sidon* [y], when its ſiſter cities are either forgot, or omitted, as not worthy of a place among the conſiderable places of this ſea coaſt.

THE ſecond place we ſhall give to *Aſcalon*, *Aſkelon*, *Aſhkelon*, or *Aſkalon*, a great and noble ſea-port of this country, by antient accounts ſixteen, by modern, twelve miles to the north of *Gaza*; and known to us ſtill under the ſame name it bears in ſcripture, and in the writings of the antient *Greeks* and *Romans*, by whom it was had in a religious veneration. Nor do we find any conſiderable variation from this name, except that the *Greeks* ſometimes lengthened it into *Aſcalonion*. This city, as well as *Gaza*, is reckoned into the lot or tribe of *Judah*, and was taken by them, but not held. The ſituations of *Gaza* and this city cannot be diſputed, ſince they may be ſaid to ſtand at this day, and have been often viſited; therefore we ſhall multiply no words upon ſo needleſs a diſpute. By *Joſephus* [z] we underſtand this city to have ſtood upon a ſpacious plain, and, in his days, extremely well fortified. Though we have placed this city on the brink of the ſea, and made it a ſea-port of itſelf, yet there is a *Ma-*

[t] Acts viii. 26. [u] See SANDYS ubi ſupr. [w] Vide eund. & ANTON. GALL. apud RELAND. Palæſt. Illuſt. p. 788. [x] STEPHAN. ubi ſupr. HIERON. Epiſt. 11. ad LÆT. [y] LUCAN lib. 3. [z] De Bell. Judaic. l. 3. c. 1.

" marble, ſome plain, ſome curiouſly carved. A number broken " in pieces do ſerve for threſholds, jambs of doors, and ſides of " windows, almoſt unto every beggarly cottage. On the north- " eaſt corner, and ſummit of the hill, are the ruins of huge " arches ſunk low in the earth, and other foundations of a ſtately " building. From whence the laſt *Sanziak* conveyed marble pillars " of an incredible bigneſs, enforced to ſaw them aſunder ere they " could be removed; which he employed in adorning a certain " moſque below in the valley." The *Jews* are ſilly enough to think this the building *Samſon* pulled down upon the *Philiſtines* (2), We muſt note by the by, that our traveller ſeems to confound *Majuma* and *Gaza* with each other.

(2) *Sandy's Travels, l. 3. p. 149. 4. Ed.*

juma [a] given to this, as well as to *Gaza*, which, whence it was neceſſary, cannot be preciſely ſaid; it may, perhaps, have been a diſtinct part of the city next to the ſea-ſide; or, perhaps, *Aſcalon* was not quite ſo cloſe thereto, but it might require the convenience of a more immediate port-town to intervene; or the harbour of *Aſcalon* may have been rendered unfit for the reception of ſhipping, as we have before obſerved in the ſpeaking of *Gaza*, whence a neceſſity aroſe of ſeeking ſome other place near, and of erecting a town there. But, to have done with theſe conjectures, let us proceed to things we are more ſure of. *Aſcalon* was famous among the antients on many accounts. It was the birth-place of *Semiramis* the *Aſſyrian* empreſs, which puts us in mind of the lake that is ſaid to have ſtood near this city, wherein the goddeſs *Derceto*, her mother, plunging herſelf for ſhame of her raſh amour, was transformed into a fiſh [b]. This city is noted for the place which originally produced the kind of *Onion*, called the *ſhalot* [c], which is ſuppoſed thence to have borrowed its name (D). It is famed alſo for its wines [d], and very remarkable for its great flights of pigeons [e], which, whence they encreaſed to ſuch extraordinary numbers, will be told hereafter: nor muſt we forget the cypreſſes [f], which were here admired, or the extraordinary wells attributed to *Abraham* and *Iſaac* [g]. The changes this city underwent will be ſhewn in the courſe of this work. It is now dwindled to almoſt nothing.

We now ſtrike up into the country to *Aſhdod*, or *Azotus*, which lay about twelve miles north-eaſterly of *Aſcalon*. This was a city of extraordinary fame among the antients. It had an inland ſituation, and is ſaid to have been built by one who fled from the *Red-ſea*, who called it after his wife, whoſe name was *Aza* or *Capra* [h]. But this ſeems at leaſt, to be a miſtake; we hear of none that fled from the *Red-ſea* but the *Edomites*; and that they, under ſome chief, may have re-

[a] Joan. Hierosoly. In Act. Concil. Conſtantinop. Tom. V. [b] Diodor. Sic l. 1. par. 1. p. 65. [c] Stephan. ad vocem Ἀσκάλων. [d] Alex. Trall. l. 8. c. 3. & Albert. Aques Hiſtor. Hieroſ. l. 9. c. 15 and 51. [e] Philo. apud Euseb. de Præpar. Evang. l. 8. [f] Dioscorid. de re Med. l. 1. c. 124. Plin. lib. 12. [g] Origen. cont. Celſ. l. 3. Euseb. ad vocem φρέαρ. [h] Stephan. ad vocem Ἄζωτος.

(D) This ſeems at firſt ſight to be a very oblique derivation; but the *Latin* of this plant is *Aſcalonia*, whence the *French* have their *Echalote*, which we have curtailed into *Shalot*.

paired

paired and fortified this place is probable enough; but that they impoſed this name [*Azotus*] on it, we cannot allow, it being very evidently a corruption of the *Hebrew* name *Aſhdod*, which was in uſe long before the *Edomites* were driven out of their country. But to continue what we find concerning this city, it ſtood in a champain country, which produced great plenty of corn [i]. It held out againſt the longeſt ſiege recorded in hiſtory, if it be true, that *Pſammitichus* laboured twenty nine years in the reduction of it. Here ſtood the temple of *Dagon*, and here was he peculiarly worſhipped.

ALMOST eaſt from hence lay the city of *Gath*, of principal fame, as being the royal ſeat in the middle times of this people; but it dwindled away very early, ſo that we have few or no materials towards a deſcription of it. It is famed for the remnant of the giants, or *Anakims*, who there fixed their abode.

NEARLY north-weſt of this city, about nine miles diſtant, was *Ekron*, corruptedly *Accaron*, concerning which we can only ſay, that it was the northermoſt of the five cities; that it was conſequently a frontier town; that the famous idol *Baal-zebub* was there worſhipped; that it faded away to a great degree of obſcurity, and that, although the name, and even conſiderable veſtiges of what it had once been, ſubſiſted for many ages, it happens, that no mention is made of it in prophane authors.

THESE were by way of eminence called the five cities of the *Philiſtines*, and the whole country was ſometimes from them called *Pentapolis*; and here their five lords reſided. Other cities they had, as *Gerar*, venerable as it was the antient ſeat of their firſt kings; but its exact ſituation being by no means determined, we for that reaſon paſs it over with the bare mention of its name, and for the ſame reaſon we ſhall be quite ſilent as to what concerns their other places of leſs note.

THEIR moſt antient form of government was adminiſtred by kings, who were all honoured with the appellation of *Abimelech*; ſuch were the kings of this peoople, father and ſon, who had to do with *Abraham* and *Iſaac*: but as we have obſerved concerning the *Canaanites*, and as will be plainly ſeen in the following hiſtory, theſe firſt kings were under great limitations. The ſceptre departed from this race very ſoon; for, in the days of *Moſes*, their monarchy was revolved into an ariſtocracy of five lords, who ſeem to have been in *Their government, cuſtoms, &c.*

[i] JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 12.

part independent of each other, though they were alſo apparently obliged to act in concert for the common cauſe. After this they had a king over them, which, how they ſubmitted to, or whether it was their choice or not, we cannot ſay. This ſecond race of kings are called, ſo far as we know, by the appellation of *Achiſh*, though they were alſo called *Abimelech*. Three of theſe we think we have ſome account of, but their power ſeems to have been circumſcribed within very narrow bounds; they were ſubject to the control of their imperious nobles, and particularly of the lords, the five we think, who ſeem to have ſubſiſted under theſe kings; ſo that theſe princes, it is likely, were ſet up, to act merely as umpires, and to appear at the head of affairs, cyphers of ſtate, without any extent of power. This kind of mixed government can be to none ſo aptly applied as to that of *Poland* in our days. We find little or no mention of this ſecond race of kings. They held their reſidence at *Gath*, during their beſt times, from whence the royal ſeat was removed to *Aſcalon*, and from thence to *Gaza*. In a word, we may ſay, that the *Philiſtines* had very violent notions of liberty. They did not circumciſe, and, in their earlieſt times, at leaſt, held adultery in the greateſt abomination.

Their character, language, arts, and inventions, &c.

After what we have ſaid we need not remark, that they were a very warlike people; but to it we muſt add, that they were ingenious and induſtrious. Their character muſt be conſidered at different times; for we may ſay, they were not always the ſame people. In the days of *Abraham* and *Iſaac* they were, moſt aſſuredly, a righteous and hoſpitable nation; and ſo in great meaſure they may have been, under all their firſt race of kings: upon whoſe decay, a revolution in government, religion, and morals, may have enſued, all together. From henceforward they became like other idolatrous nations, the ſame enormities crept in, and prevailed among them. They are conſtantly mentioned in ſcripture as ſtrangers, and though poſſeſſed of a moſt valuable part of the *Land of Promiſe*, yet God would never ſuffer them to be driven out, they being *Egyptians* by deſcent, and not original natives, whoſe land only was promiſed to *Abraham* and his ſeed. Their arrogance and ambition were great, and their inveterate enmity (E) againſt the *Iſraelites* was ſuch, that one would

(E) And from a paſſage in *Chronicles* (3) it is gueſſed to have been of very antient date; where it is ſaid, that the *men of Gath*

(3) 1. vii. 21.

the

would be almoſt tempted to think, they were created on purpoſe to be a thorn in the ſide of that choſen people; for though the hand of GOD was ſelf-evidently againſt them ſeveral times, and particularly when they detained the ark, yet they hardened their hearts, and cloſed their eyes againſt conviction, flattering themſelves, that they might one day compaſs their ends againſt the *Iſraelites*. They ſeem to have entertained a very fond veneration for their deities, in which they perſiſted, though they, with their own eyes, ſaw the ſhame and ignominy which befel them, when in the preſence of the captive ark; and were even ſtupid enough to imagine notwithſtanding, that their gods might prevail againſt him, who had ſo greatly ſhamed them. They were much addicted to trade, which they, conſidering their ſituation, may have exerciſed from the beginning; but by the acceſſion of the fugitive *Edomites* in *David*'s time [k], they roſe to ſo great a reputation as merchants, that the *Greeks*, it ſeems, reckoned them the moſt conſiderable people that way, and from them called all the country bordering on them *Palæſtine* [l]. Their language was not ſo different from that ſpoken by the *Hebrews*, as to cauſe any apparent difficulty for them to converſe together, as will be perceived by their intercourſe with *Abraham* and *Iſaac*; ſo that in all this region the ſeveral nations ſpoke one and the ſame tongue, perhaps indeed with ſome variation of dialect. They had doubtleſs the arts and ſciences in common with their moſt learned and ingenious contempo-

[k] See before, p. 143, 144.

[l] See CUMBELAND Origin. Gent. Antiquiſſ. p. 37.

ſlew the children of Ephraim, who would have taken their cattle from them. This incident is no where elſe to be found, and there are various thoughts concerning the ſenſe we muſt take this paſſage in. As to the time it was tranſacted, moſt allow it to have been while the children of *Iſrael* were ſojourners in *Egypt*. It plainly appears by the next verſe, that *Ephraim* himſelf was living at the time. The *Targum* ſuppoſes his children miſcomputed the time they were to ſerve in *Egypt*, and began too early an attempt upon their promiſed land. Dr. *Lightfoot* (4) makes the men of *Gath* to have been the aggreſſors, and ſuppoſes the *Ephraimites* only ſtood up to defend themſelves and cattle. But taking the words in the firſt ſenſe, which ſeems moſt obvious, they may ſerve to account for the reaſon why *Moſes* would not conduct the *Iſraelites* by the way of the *Philiſtines*. If this be the caſe, it muſt have been ſome horrid injury, or very uncommonly reſented.

(4) *Annotat. in Gen. ſub fine.*

raries; and, perhaps, ſome of them in greater perfection than any where elſe. They had giants among them, who, whether they were originally of the breed of the *Anakims*, who retired hither when they were expelled *Hebron* [m], or whether they ſprang from accidental births is not a very clear matter. We muſt not forget, that the bow and arrow is attributed to their invention (F), and that they were particularly ſkilful in the uſe of the ſame.

Their religion. THEIR religion was different at different times: under their firſt race of kings, they were of one religion with the *Hebrews*: *Abimelech*, in the ſin he had like to have committed with *Sarah* through *Abraham*'s timidity, was favoured with a divine admonition from GOD; and by his ſpeech and behaviour at that time it ſeems, as if he had been uſed to converſe with GOD. In after-times they erred into endleſs ſuperſtitions, and a very multifarious idolatry, each of the principal or five cities ſeeming to have had an idol of its own. *Marna*, *Marnas*, or *Marnaſh* [n], was worſhipped at *Gaza*, and is ſaid to have migrated into *Crete* (G), and to have be-

[m] See before, p. 179. [n] HIERONYM. in Eſai.

(F) It is ſuppoſed (5) that before they removed from *Peluſium*, where they are thought to have firſt inhabited, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter, they had occaſion to annoy the enemies, who then infeſted them, at a diſtance; whereupon the bow and arrow came into their head, wherewith they armed their ſtouteſt men, whom they called *Cherethites* (6), a name which includes this whole nation, as will be obſerved hereafter.

(G) The migration of this god may be naturally enough accounted for, if true it be that the *Philiſtines* planted the iſland of *Crete*; and it muſt be alſo, that the inhabitants there were a colony from *Gaza* in particular, the peculiar place of his worſhip. The *Philiſtines* are in ſeveral places of ſcripture (7) called *Cherethites*: particularly, they are ſo called by the *Egyptian* (8), whom *David* laid hands on, when he was in purſuit of the *Amalekites*, who had burnt *Ziklag*; whence we may infer this to have been their *Egyptian* name, or the name they were known by in *Egypt*. Where they are elſewhere called *Cherethites*, as in our verſion, the LXX write them *Cretes*, or *Cretans*; and this is the beſt part of that foundation whereon the learned have built their notion of deriving the *Cretans* from the *Philiſtines*; and from hence they proceed farther, and derive the *Curetes* alſo from them, which we may conſider hereafter.

(5) *See Bedford's Script. Chronol. p.* 245. (6) *Bochart. Can. l.* 1. *c.* 15. (7) 1 *Sam. xxx.* 14. 16. *Ezek. xxv.* 16. *Zephan. ii.* 5. (8) 1 *Sam. ubi ſup.*

come

come the *Cretan Jupiter*. *Dagon* was worſhipped at *Azotus*; he ſeems to have been the moſt grand, the moſt antient, and moſt favourite god they had: to which may be added, that he, perhaps, ſubſiſted the longeſt of any [o], that did not ſtraggle out of the country, as we are not ſure he did. To him they attributed the invention of bread-corn, or of *Agriculture*, as his name imports [p]. We cannot enter into the common notion of his being repreſented as a monſter, half man, half fiſh; or conſequently into another, almoſt as common, that he is the ſame with the *Syrian* goddeſs *Derceto*, who we are told, was repreſented under ſome ſuch mixed form. Our opinion is, that his idol was in ſhape wholly like a man; for we read of his head, and his hands, and his feet [q] (H). He ſtood in a temple at *Azotus*, and had prieſts of his own, who paid a very conſtant attendance on him, as one would think [r]. Next to *Dagon* was *Baal-zebub*, the god of *Ekron*.

[o] See 1 Macc. 10. [p] See Vol. I. in the Notes, p. 299, (H 3). [q] See FULLER's Piſgah-ſight, Book 2. c. 10, § 32. [r] See 1 Sam. v. 3, 4.

(H) That he had feet, we underſtand from a *Greek* reading of the LXX in *Fuller* (9), where mention is made of *Dagon*'s mutilation, which runs thus, ἀμφότερα τὰ ἴχνη τῶν ποδῶν αὐτῦ ἀφηρημένα. Here we are told that the ſoles of his feet were off; that is, his feet. In the edition before us, which is after the *Vatican* copy, we read τὰ ἴχνη τῶν χειρῶν, or *the ſoles of his hands*, which ſeems abſurd. We have never obſerved, that the *Greek* word Ἴχνος is put for the *palm of the hand*. And we the rather reject this reading, becauſe a very ſenſeleſs tautology follows it; for it is ſaid, that the *wriſts of his hands* were gone alſo. Whence it muſt appear that *hands*, in the firſt place, are corruptly placed for *feet*, and that *Dagon* had hands, and head, and face, and feet. Sure no one, allowing this, will give him a fiſh's tail: that would make him *Horace*'s monſter indeed. And here we cannot but note the fondneſs of the generality of the learned, rather to derive his name from דג *Dag*, a fiſh, than from דגן *Dagan*, bread-corn (10): it ſeems no difficult matter to chooſe which we are to ſtick by. From this laſt etymology it may be rationally enough ſuppoſed, that they borrowed their idolatry from *Egypt* (11); and that *Dagon* is a copy of their *Iſis*, to whom much the ſame invention is attributed. Not that they brought it away with them from *Egypt*; from thence, their hiſtory plainly aſſures us, they brought a pure ſyſtem of religion; and we do not remember, that *Moſes* mentions the *Egyptians* as idolaters once throughout all his writings.

(9) *Piſgah-ſight, Book* 2. *c.* 10. §. 32. *in the Margin.* (10) *See Vol.* I. *p.* 135. (11) *See Shuckford's Connect. of the ſacr. and proph. Hiſt. Vol. I. p.* 344.

In the text of the New Testament he is *Beelzebub*, and the *prince of Devils*. His name is rendered, *Lord of flies*; which on the one hand is held to be a mock appellation bestowed on him by the *Jews*; but on the other it is more rationally supposed, that he was so stiled by his votaries, as *Hercules Apomyos*, and others among the heathens, from driving away flies; and he, it is not unlikely, may have been the parent of the other pagan deities, who are famed for the same pretended power. This is certainly the truth of the matter; for *Ahazia* [r] in his sickness had never sent to consult him under that name, if it had carried any opprobry or reproach along with it. How, or under what form, he was represented is uncertain: Some place him on a throne, and attire him like a king; others paint him as a fly [t]: a very wide difference. To have done with this obscurity, it appears, that he became an oracle in highest repute for omniscience and veracity; that he had priests of his own; and that he in the middle times at least, was much sought after by those who were anxious about futurity, or solicitous concerning other hidden matters. *Derceto* we take certainly to have been the goddess of *Ascalon* [u]; but, as we are herein only supported by prophane authority, without the least countenance from scripture, we shall not insist on it. *Gath* is seemingly the only city of all the five unprovided with a deity; wherefore, as the scripture declares, that *Ashtaroth* [w], or *Astarte*, was worshipped by this people, we are ready to place her at *Gath*, and the rather, as this of all their cities may have had most communication with *Sidon*; but concerning her we must be silent here, seeing we shall have a more proper opportunity to touch on her hereafter. To speak in general concerning their religious rites and ceremonies, which is all we can do; it appears, as if they erected very large and spacious temples, or else very wide halls for the celebration of their solemn seasons and festivals [x], for such they surely had; that their religious offices were attended with much pomp, and a great concourse from all parts; and that they presented their gods with the chief of their spoil, and carried them about to war with them. We do not find in scripture, that they sacrificed their children, and yet the *Curetes* (I) are derived from them.

It

[r] 2 Kings i. 2. [t] Procopius Gazeus. [u] Vide Diod. Sic. l. 2. p. 65. [w] 1 Sam. xxxi. 10. [x] Judg. xvi. 27.

(I) The *Curetes* did sacrifice their children to *Saturn* (12); and from the similitude this name bears to *Cherethites* or *Philistines*, it has

(12) *Ister apud Porphyr. l.* 2. § 56.

been

IT is now time for us to think of the hiſtory of this extraordinary nation. They came directly out of *Egypt* (K); but upon *Theiy hiſtory.*

been advanced, that they are the ſame (13); but as we have no warrant for ſaying the *Philiſtines* practiſed ſo barbarous and unnatural a cuſtom, we may venture to pronounce, that they learned it not from them, but borrowed it elſewhere.

(K) This we take to have been really the caſe, and ſo do many of great authority; but there is alſo another opinion concerning this matter. For it is thought there is a great affinity in name between the *Caſluhim* and *Colchi*; whence it has been taught, that they migrated firſt into the country of *Colchis*, now *Mingrelia*; and from thence returning towards *Egypt*, in their way, ſeized on the country of the *Avims*, and there fixed their abode. *Bochart* (14) takes this to be plainly proved by what is ſaid of the agreement between the *Colchi* and the *Egyptians* in *Herodotus* and others; therein forgetting, that the *Philiſtines* did not circumciſe, which *Herodotus* aſſures us the *Colchi* did. Again, nothing can be poſitively aſſerted in this matter, by what the ſame author relates, who ſpeaks of them as dwelling in *Colchis* in his time, where they had abode ſo long that it was doubtful when they ſettled there firſt; ſo that from him there is no ſolid argument to be deduced, that the *Colchi* he ſpeaks of were the *Caſluhim* of *Moſes*. In like manner the *Caphtorim*, from whence alſo the *Philiſtines* are derived, are placed in *Cappadocia*, a country of *Aſia minor*, adjoining to the country of *Colchis*. Here, ſay they (15), we find the city called *Side*, and the country *Sidene*, mentioned by *Strabo*: and, becauſe *Side* in *Greek* and *Caphtor* in *Hebrew* ſignify a pomegranate, therefore, in all likelihood, the ſame country was by the *Hebrews* called *Caphtor*, and by the *Greeks Sidene*. But, to ſhew that nothing can be fixed from ſuch a manner of arguing, it may not be amiſs to add, that the *Caphtorim* are on the other hand ſuppoſed to have dwelt in *Afric*, on the bay of the great *Syrtis*, which is ſuppoſed to have been called כפ-תור *chaph-thor*, the *circular ſhore*, as it forms a ſemicircle; and that the pomegranate was ſo called by the *Hebrews*, becauſe it firſt came from that part of *Afric*, conſonant to what *Pliny* writes concerning the origin of that fruit (16). We have already declared our ſentiment as to the *Caſluhim* and *Caphtorim*, and muſt therefore refer the reader to the place where he may find it (17). It would be in vain for us to touch on the hiſtory of the *Philiſtines* before they removed out of *Egypt*, or from the laſt place of their abode, before they came into the land of the *Avims*; but we will, however, briefly inſert what ſome have been tempted to ſay upon that very obſcure ſubject. According to biſhop *Cumberland* (18), they

(13) *Bochart. Caſtle, &c.* (14) *Phaleg. l.* 4. *c.* 31. (15) *Bochart. ubi ſupr.* (16) *Vide Cleric. in Gen. x.* 14. (17) *See Vol I. p.* 366. (18) *on Sanchon. p.* 372.

cohabited

upon what motive is not poſitively known, no more than the time of their removal: and, finding that the *Avims* [y] were a people ſeated in a pleaſant and fruitful land, and that they were ſtrong enough to expel them, they made their attempt, and ſucceeded. We are not much inclined to think them a very numerous multitude when they firſt ſettled in this their conqueſt; for their king, even in the days of *Iſaac*, grew jealous of that patriarch's power, which is no great ſign that his own was very exorbitant; though poſſibly they may have been ſettled there many years before, and muſt conſequently have been very much increaſed to what they were at firſt. But, ſuppoſing this kingdom or ſtate to have been but weak in its beginnings, as moſt others have been, we proceed, continuing with the next notice we have of their affairs.

Abimelech I.

Abimelech (L), their king in *Abraham*'s days, was an holy and juſt perſon, and one who had intercourſe with God. He reſided at *Gerar*, of which place he is called king, and had like to have been drawn into a very fatal ſnare by the too great caution of *Abraham*; who, coming into this kingdom to be out of the ſtench of the vale of *Siddim*, then reeking under the calamitous judgment of heaven, pretended, that *Sarah* was not his wife, but his ſiſter. *Abimelech* ſaw her, and was ſmitten with love of her; and, underſtanding ſhe was a ſingle woman, reſolved to take her to his bed, and he took her accordingly to him with that intent: but, ere he accompliſhed his deſires, he was warned by God to return the woman to her concealed huſband, and that immediately,

[y] Deut. ii. 23.

cohabited with the *Phœnices* or *Canaanites* in *Goſhen*, that is, that ſide of *Egypt* next to *Arabia*; but finding their country invaded by their kindred, the other ſons of *Mizraïm*, they left it to avoid the miſeries of the impending war between the paſtors and the pure *Egyptians*; that is, they removed into the land where *Abraham* found them.

(L) One *Philiſtinus*, whom *Joſephus* (19) makes a ſon of *Mizraïm*, is ſometimes reckoned their firſt king (20), from whom that *Jewiſh* writer derives the name of *Paleſtine*. Whatever truth there may be in this, it is alſo likely, that either they borrowed their name from *Peluſium*, or *Peluſium* from them; for here, or hereabouts, did they firſt ſettle, as is by moſt allowed (21); and it will not be much out of the way if we ſuppoſe they founded that city, and dwelt there till force or inclination made them remove.

(19) *Antiq. l.* 1. *c.* 7. (20) *Vide Hiſt. Jul. in Regn. Palæſt.*
(21) *See Vol. I. p.* 367.

upon

upon pain of death. *Abimelech* hereupon excuſed himſelf to the divine viſion upon the innocence of his intentions; and ſeeming to have freſh in mind the terrible overthrow of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, *Lord*, ſays he, *wilt thou alſo ſlay a righteous nation?* As if he would take vengeance on his people for a crime he was going ignorantly to commit. But he had the comfortable anſwer from the viſion or dream, That GOD knew well, and approved his integrity, and had prevented him in his intentions; and, to conclude, that *Abraham* ſhould, at his requeſt, pray for him, and all would be well again. Being thus admoniſhed, he firſt acquainted his ſervants with what had happened, and all were inſtantly ſeized with a general dread for the conſequences which might enſue: Then, calling *Abraham* to him, he asked what he had done to him, that he ſhould miſlead him into ſo dangerous an error; or what offence he had ever committed againſt him, that he ſhould tempt him to ſuch a ſin, as might have proved the ruin, not of himſelf only, but of his whole kingdom alſo. Indeed, ſays he, you have not uſed me well; what have you obſerved in the morals or behaviour of me and my people, that you ſhould imagine, we would offer any violence to you out of deſire for your wife? The anſwer he received from *Abraham* to all this, was a frank confeſſion of the truth, he acknowledging, without diſguiſe, that he feared they had not been endued with right notions of GOD and his laws, and that he ſhould certainly be deprived of his life, that they might enioy *Sarah*. Moreover, that in ſaying ſhe was his ſiſter, he had not ſpoken wrong, ſhe being really ſo; and, to ſalve the matter in ſome meaſure to the king's good liking, he acquainted him, That in ſtrange places it had always been his cuſtom to make her paſs for his ſiſter, only for fear of the worſt. *Abimelech* was ſatisfied with what he heard; and in conſequence thereof, and in obedience to the divine admonition, not only returned *Sarah* to *Abraham*, but in ſo doing, made him a very noble preſent in ſheep and oxen, and in ſervants, both men and women; declaring to him withal, that he was welcome to live in what part of his dominions he beſt liked. To *Sarah* he ſaid, *Behold, I have given thy brother a thouſand* pieces *of ſilver: behold, he* is *to thee a covering of the eyes, unto all that* are *with thee, and with all* other: *thus ſhe was reproved.* In this manner did *Abimelech* acquit himſelf of the divine admonition, and, upon the prayers of *Abraham*, he and his whole houſe were reſtored to their natural faculties, of which they had been deprived for *Sarah*'s ſake, the LORD having ſtruck them

them all with barrenneſs and impotency (M). Ever after this, *Abimelech* lived in perfect harmony with *Abraham*, and that the ſame might be tranſmitted down to their poſterity, *Abimelech*, with the participation of *Phichol* the chief captain of his hoſt, propoſed an oath to *Abraham*, whereby he ſhould bind his poſterity to live in love with his, and deal by them juſt as he had dealt by him. This was readily embraced by *Abraham*; but firſt he deſired a diſpute might be ſet right, concerning a well which *Abimelech*'s ſervants had forcibly taken from him. *Abimelech* declared he never had heard a word of this outrage till that moment, and that nothing of the kind ſhould have been then to be complained of, had *Abraham* informed him of it. And that this matter might be terminated in ſuch a manner as to admit of no farther diſpute, he accepted of ſeven ew-lambs, in teſtimony, that as *Abraham* had been at the charge of digging the well, it belonged of right to him, and to him alone. Theſe ſeven ew-lambs, which were ſet apart for this end out of a very great herd of other cattle, ſheep and oxen, he accepted, together with the reſt, from whence they were picked, and the deſired covenant was made; then *Abimelech*, roſe up, and *Phichol* the chief captain of his hoſt, and they returned from whence they came [z] (N).

Abimelech

[z] Gen. xx. xxi.

(M) "Or with ſuch ſwellings in the ſecret parts, that the men "could neither enjoy their wives, or the women, who were with "child, be delivered (22)." They muſt have been very ſenſible of ſuch an alteration as this; but it is on the other hand ſuppoſed to have been ſomething imperceptible, both by the men and women, and a matter not to be diſcovered, but by length of time; and thence it is concluded, that *Abraham* and *Sarah* were a conſiderable time at *Abimelech*'s court (23). Nothing can be poſitively determined in this caſe from the words of the text. We find this whole ſtory quite altered by *Joſephus* (24), who ſays, *Abimelech* was taken with ſo violent a fit of ſickneſs, that his life was deſpaired of; that in the midſt of it he had a dream, which admoniſhed him concerning *Sarah*; that finding himſelf upon the mending-hand, he called together his friends, and diſcloſed to them his dream, and the violence of his paſſion; and that thereupon he made up the matter with *Abraham*, and ſo on.

(N) In the text it is, *they returned into the land of the Philiſtines* (25); as if they had come out of it to make a league with *Abraham*, who was ſtill a ſojourner in *Paleſtine*: it can therefore mean

(22) *Patrick upon Gen. xx.* 18. (23) *Vide Cleric. in Gen. xx.* 37. (24) *Antiq. l.* 1. *c.* 13. (25) *Gen.* 21. 31.

no

ABIMELECH the ſon of *Abimelech*, and therefore called the ſecond (O) of that name or appellation, ſucceeded his father in the kingdom of the *Philiſtines*, and reigned alſo at *Gerar*, and had almoſt the ſame tranſactions with *Iſaac*, as his father had with *Abraham*. He ſeems to have been actuated by the very ſame principles with his father, and, by what appears, he well deſerves to be ſtiled a juſt and pious prince. In his days came *Iſaac* to *Gerar*, ſore preſſed by famine, and conducting *Rebekah* with him, whom in imitation of his father, he gave out as his ſiſter or couſin. Whether *Abimelech* and his ſubjects had remembrance of that fallacy before, and what had like thereupon to have enſued to the grievous detriment of the whole nation; or whether the morals of this country were ſtill ſo pure, and chaſtity and hoſpitality in ſuch due and high eſteem, that they abhorred the thoughts of an impure or troubleſome attempt, we take not on us to ſay; but ſo it was, that *Rebekah* was unmoleſted by ſuitors of any ſort: and *Iſaac* was perfectly at his eaſe upon her account. However, it is pretty evident, that *Abimelech* himſelf, at leaſt, had a ſhrewd ſuſpicion that they were man and wife; for looking one day out of his window, as it is expreſſed, he ſaw *Iſaac* careſſing *Rebekah* in ſuch a manner, as convinced him they were much nearer related than they pretended to be. Wherefore, he called *Iſaac* to him, and asked him how he could be ſo deceitful, pretending that ſhe, who was really his wife, was no more than his ſiſter? To which *Iſaac* pleaded his father *Abraham*'s excuſe. *Abimelech* replied, It was by *Abimelech* II.

no more than that *Abimelech* returned to the place of his own abode, as if a diſtinction was now made of that part of the country occupied by *Abraham*, which, by the covenant made, was now conſidered as his own, and no longer under the juriſdiction of the *Philiſtines*.

(O) Some (26), between theſe two *Abimelechs*, place *Ephron* the *Hittite*, who was ſo kind to *Abraham* (27), which, perhaps, is the beſt, if not the only ground of ſuch a ſurmiſe. It is ſuppoſed he may have been ſurnamed the *Hittite*, either from having conquered that tribe, or from having entered into a league with them (28); but nothing of this kind is to be depended upon or believed. This ſecond *Abimelech* is the natural ſucceſſor of the former, as appears by his name or appellation, and by the ſeries of time: his father was contemporary with *Abraham*, as he was with *Iſaac*; but ſo plain a caſe can admit of no diſpute with any, but ſuch as are fond of nothing elſe.

(26) *Theophil. Antioch.* (27) *See before, p.* 171. (28) *Vide Hiſt. Jul. in Regn. Palæſt. p.* 76.

no means kindly done of him, for that ignorantly ſome or other of the people might have lain with her, and thereby have involved the whole nation in a moſt dangerous ſin (P). Which to prevent, he made proclamation of the matter, and forbad any to ſeek *Rebekah* to lie with her, or attempt to hurt her huſband, upon pain of death. Nothing can well be added to give us a more favourable idea of this upright king than his behaviour in this caſe; doubtleſs he was no ſtranger to what had happened in a like caſe to his father; and having the fearful judgments of God before his eyes, he had faith therein, and dreaded to incur the wrath of God. And very remarkable it is, that though, conſidering the dreadfulneſs of his apprehenſions, it might have been expected, that he would have driven out *Iſaac* from his dominions, as one who, either maliciouſly or ignorantly, had expoſed his whole nation to irretrievable ruin; yet, inſtead of that, he ſuffers him to abide in the land till he began to look on him more as a dangerous rival, than a harmleſs inmate. Then indeed, when the *Philiſtines* beheld the prodigious increaſe of *Iſaac*'s ſtore, they envied him, and ſtudied to make him uneaſy: and at laſt *Abimelech* himſelf ſent to *Iſaac*, deſiring he would ſeek ſome other abode, pretending, he could not be at reſt while he had ſo powerful and near a neighbour. This requeſt, though ſeemingly conceived in very modeſt and friendly terms, took not effect; *Iſaac*, as ſeems, only removing from one part of

(P) Notwithſtanding this *Abimelech* makes ſo amiable a figure in the writings of *Moſes*, *Joſephus* (29) repreſents him as a very ill and corrupt perſon; and, to mend the matter, tells his ſtory in a very broken manner. Paſſing over what relates to *Rebekah*, and *Iſaac*'s denial of her for his wife, he ſays, that *Abimelech* did behave with much outward reſpect to *Iſaac* upon his firſt arrival in his country; but in time, finding him to be more in the favour of God than himſelf, he broke with him, and burned with envy of him, and gave him all the ill-natured trouble he could upon all occaſions. But in the end, perceiving the man's increaſe, and well knowing the corruption of his own heart, he began to be afraid of the conſequences his inhoſpitable breach might bring on him and his, and thought it beſt to propoſe to him the covenant which was made between him and *Abraham*; for he all along takes this *Abimelech* for the ſame that converſed with *Abraham*, thereby to blacken him the more, as a man of no faith or ſimplicity of intention; and beſides, thereby makes him abundantly too old, except he ſuppoſes *Abimelech* to have been but a child, or a mere lad, when *Abraham* firſt removed into the land of the *Philiſtines*.

(29) *Antiq. l.* 1. *c.* 18.

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the country to another; for violence in thoſe days was neither uſed or dreaded, except in very extraordinary caſes, or maintained by the falſe and inhuman gloſſes and arguments, which have ſince been too frequently advanced to prove the neceſſity or wiſdom of it. Hot bickerings and contentions after this aroſe between the *Philiſtines* of *Gerar* and *Iſaac*'s ſervants, who opening the wells which *Abraham* had dug, and which the *Philiſtines* after his death had ſtopped up, and wanting ſtill more water, ſought for new ſprings, and dug new wells, which the *Philiſtine* herdſmen claimed as their right; whence the wells thus diſputed, which were two, were one of them by *Iſaac* called *eſek*, or *contention*, and the other *ſitnah*, or *hatred*. By theſe vexations and obſtinate claims, they put *Iſaac* upon ſhifting his place a ſecond time. *Abimelech* at laſt, remembring, we may ſuppoſe, the covenant between his father and *Abraham*, and plainly perceiving, that *Iſaac* was favoured with GOD's ſpecial favour and bleſſing, thought it his duty, or his intereſt, to renew the aforeſaid covenant; and taking with him *Ahuzzath*, an intimate friend, and *Phichol* (Q) the chief captain of his hoſt, went to *Iſaac*, who at firſt wondered to ſee them, after what had paſt, and plainly told them as much. To which they anſwered, That they plainly ſaw GOD was with him, and that he was riſing to a high pitch of power and proſperity; and therefore deſired to enter into bonds of friendſhip with him by a new covenant, or by a revival of the old; deſiring no other terms, than that the *Philiſtines* and their poſterity might be uſed and conſidered by *Iſaac* and his poſterity, as he and his family had been conſidered and uſed by *Abimelech* and his people. They were all three then entertained by *Iſaac*, and the league they deſired was mutually ſworn to next morning, and they departed in peace [a].

THE hiſtory of the *Philiſtines*, hitherto pretty clear and circumſtantial, is all at once involved in an impenetrable miſt, through which we can only perceive, that the men of *Gath* fell on the children of *Ephraim*, and ſlew them for at-

[a] Gen. xxvi.

(Q) The chief captain of his father's hoſt, as may be remembred, was alſo called *Phichol* (30); but, as it is impoſſible, or very highly improbable at leaſt, that this was the ſame man, we conclude *Phichol* to have been a title of honour or dignity; and that as the king was conſtantly called *Abimelech*, his chief miniſter or general was conſtantly called *Phichol*.

(30) *See before, p.* 204.

tempting

tempting to drive off their cattle [b]. When this happened, or the particulars of it, or the conſequences that enſued, we know not [c].

For a very long ſeries of years we hear nothing of this people, and are only left to gueſs, that they in the mean time diſſolved their antient form of government, and contracted an averſion to the *Iſraelites*; for when they are next mentioned, they are repreſented under diſtinct juriſdictions, and at ſtrife with the children of *Iſrael*.

They eſcaped, as ſeems, the fury of *Joſhua*; but ſoon after his death *Gaza*, *Aſkelon*, and *Ekron* (R) were taken from them by the united tribes of *Simeon* and *Judah* [d]; but they poſſeſſed the ſaid cities again in a very ſhort time [e]: but whether they recovered them by force of *Arms*, or whether they were reſtored to them by the conquerors, is not ſaid.

About one hundred and twenty years after the reduction of the three cities above-mentioned, the *Philiſtines* held the *Iſraelites* under their yoke, till they were delivered by *Shamgar*, who ſlew ſix hundred of this people with an ox-goad (S) [f]. Nor muſt we forget, that the *Philiſtines* ſuffered in common with the *Iſraelites* [g], by the furious incurſions and ravages of *Zebah* and *Zalmunna* kings of *Midian* [h].

A ſecond time they oppreſſed the *Iſraelites* in conjunction with the *Ammonites* in the days of *Jephthah* [i].

A third time they reduced the *Iſraelites* by the permiſſion of God, and kept them very ſtrictly under, forty years. In the mean time was *Samſon* born to check their pride, and give them

[b] 1 Cron. vii. 21. [c] See before, p. 196, (E). [d] Judg. iii. 18. [e] Judg. xiv. 19. [f] iii. 31. [g] See Judg. vi. 4. [h] See before, p. 120. [i] See before, p. 102.

(R) Here *Joſephus* (31) tells us of only *Askelon* and *Aſhdod*, or *Azotus*, as ſubdued, and, by an unpardonable inaccuracy, reckons them to the *Canaanites*. But for *Gaza* and *Ekron*, or *Accaron*, ſays he, they were in the flat country, very ſtrong in chariots, and well able to make good their defence, whereby they ſaved themſelves from the calamities of their neighbours.

(S) It is worth obſerving, that *Joſephus* (32), who is ſo fond of extraordinary events, and ſo apt to make more of them, than, it is likely, he found them, quite paſſes over this. We will not dwell on the niceties which are offered to explain or illuſtrate this action. A parallel caſe is found in *Homer*, where *Lycurgus* puts to

(31) *Antiq. l.* 5. *c.* 2. (32) *Antiq. l.* 5. *c.* 5.

flight

them great trouble (T). He, when grown up, was ſmitten with love of a damſel of this country, who dwelt at *Timnath*. At the celebration of the nuptials thirty young men of the *Philiſtines* were appointed to attend on *Samſon*, as we now ſpeak (U); who, among other diſcourſe, propoſed a riddle to theſe thirty youths concerning a lion he had killed, in whoſe carcaſs, a twelve-month after he had killed him, he found honey. It was propoſed to theſe young men by *Samſon*, that if they got the better of his riddle, he would give them thirty ſuits of apparel, one to each; but that if they could not anſwer him at the end of the ſeven days of the marriage-feſtival, they ſhould each of them give him the ſame. They accepted the offer, and deſired to hear the riddle, and in vain perplexed themſelves therewith for three days together, and then deſpairing to overcome the difficulty, they went to their countrywoman, *Samſon*'s bride, to deſire her to get the myſtery out of her huſband, or elſe they would burn her and all her kindred, as perſons who had on ſet purpoſe introduced a ſtranger to trick them out of their ſubſtance. This made a deep impreſſion on the young woman, who, by continual entreaties, prevailed at laſt on her huſband to diſcloſe the ambiguity to her, which ſhe communicated to the thirty young men; in conſequence of which they won the prize. This brought a misfortune upon *Aſkelon*; for *Samſon*, to make good his engagements, went down thither, and ſlew thirty men, whoſe garments he gave to the thirty expoſitors of his riddle [k].

[k] Judg. xv.

ſlight the *Bacchæ* with an ox-goad. By the *Vulgate* it is interpreted a plow-ſhare, induced thereto by the LXX. But thoſe (33) ſeem to think very rationally, who imagine, that *Shamgar* put himſelf at the head of a tumultuary riſe of country people, who were armed in their ruſtic way with the implements of tillage, and that *Shamgar* happened to have an ox-goad in his hand when theſe ſix hundred of the *Philiſtines* fell; not that he killed them all himſelf with that weapon.

(T) *Joſephus* (34) reckons, that the *Philiſtines* were ſtripped of their dominion over *Iſrael* by *Samſon*, but he is plainly miſtaken.

(U) This we take to have been the cuſtom of the country in caſes of a like nature, and an uſual compliment now paid to *Samſon*, who was come to marry among them; but nothing leſs appears by *Joſephus* (35), who writes, that theſe young men were ſet as a guard upon him to prevent his doing any miſchief in his cups.

(33) *Vide Cleric. in Judic.* iii. 31. (34) *Antiq. l.* 5. *c.* 10.
(35) *Ubi ſupr.*

This marriage was a very obſcure beginning of great miſery upon the *Philiſtines*; for *Samſon*'s father-in-law, apprehending his daughter was not well poſſeſſed of her huſband's heart, gave her away to another, and denied *Samſon*, who had been abſent a twelve-month, all acceſs to his wife; but, to pacify his reſentment, would have given him another daughter, who, as he ſaid, was younger and handſomer. This did by no means mollify *Samſon*, who in revenge ſent out three hundred foxes with firebrands at their tails into the corn-fields; and all the ſtanding corn was thereby conſumed with fire, as were alſo the other fruits of the earth, and the vines, and the olives. The *Philiſtines* were amazed at ſo terrible a diſaſter, and underſtanding the motives which had induced *Samſon* to uſe them ſo cruelly, they looked on his father-in-law as the incendiary in a primary ſenſe; and therefore they went, and burnt him together with his daughter, who alſo may be called the cauſe of all this miſchief (W). But this execution they did not with impunity, they were ſmitten hip and thigh by *Samſon*. They determined then to take their revenge on him; and underſtanding he had retreated to the rock *Etam*, they went thither to take him; but he was delivered bound to them by the men of *Judah*, who dreaded their diſpleaſure. The *Philiſtines* ſhouted aloud at the ſight of *Samſon* bound; but their joy was ſoon turned into mourning; for *Samſon*, breaking his cords, found the jaw-bone of an aſs at hand, and killed a thouſand of them therewith [1].

All this the *Philiſtines* never forgot, and wiſhed for nothing ſo much as an opportunity to be revenged on *Samſon*. The *Gazites*, about twenty years after the laſt ſlaughter,

[1] Judg. xv.

(W) This ſeems to have been inflicted on them by way of retaliation; for as through their indiſcretion they drew on their country ſo ſad a revenge by fire, the reſt might think it but juſt and natural, that they ſhould periſh thereby to expiate their crime. But on the other hand, we find, that puniſhing or revenging by fire was a notorious practice in thoſe days with this people: for the thirty young men, as may be remembered, when they began to deſpair that they ſhould ever unfold *Samſon*'s riddle, threatened the bride to burn her and her father's houſe with fire, if ſhe did not befriend them and help them out. It is ſuppoſed they were taken by ſurprize, and burnt in their houſe; and it is obſerved, that the bride and her father's houſe ſuffered the ſame calamity ſhe ſought to avoid by betraying her huſband (36).

(36) *See Patrick upon Judg. xv.* 6.

thought

thought they had him ſecure in their city. They had information, that he was with an harlot of theirs; and they watched him, and made faſt their gates, being ſure they ſhould kill him the next morning. But their precaution was to no purpoſe, and they were diſappointed; for *Samſon* riſing at midnight took the city gates, and poſt, and bar and all, and carried them away towards *Hebron*, leaving an open place behind him.

THE lords of the *Philiſtines* then heard, that *Samſon* was enſnared by another harlot of their nation in the valley of *Sorek*, whoſe name was *Delilah*. The five lords came to this woman, and promiſed her, each of them, eleven hundred pieces of ſilver, if ſhe would betray *Samſon* to them, by enticing him to tell her where his ſtrength lay, and how he might be reduced to the ordinary ſtrength of another man. So large a bribe corrupted *Delilah*'s heart, and ſhe uſed her beſt endeavours to earn the very many pieces of ſilver ſhe had in proſpect; and thinking ſhe was miſtreſs of the ſecret, ſhe ſent for the *Philiſtines* to execute their pleaſure on him; but ſhe was deceived, and they were diſappointed. A ſecond time ſhe was deceived in like manner, and a third time; but the fourth time ſhe was ſincerely informed, that his ſtrength lay in his hair, which ſhe cut off, and delivered *Samſon* a helpleſs prey to the lords of the *Philiſtines*, who gave her the promiſed reward of her treachery, and put out *Samſon*'s eyes, and bound him with fetters of braſs, and carried him to *Gaza*, and there made him grind in the priſon-houſe.

THEY then met in a ſolemn manner to celebrate a feſtival to their god *Dagon*, and to offer him thanks, and praiſes, and ſacrifices. They met together to the number of many thouſands, and were all in one place; which, whether it was a temple, or a theatre, or a palace, is quite unknown; but it was of ſuch extent that no leſs than three thouſand perſons were on the top of it (X). In the height of their jollity they ſent

(X) We find the generality of the learned moſt inclined to think this vaſt building a theatre, ſuch as formerly the *Romans* contrived, and which were almoſt incredibly capacious: this may have been the truth of the matter, and we ſhould moſt readily have embraced the ſame opinion, did we not perceive, that this building was roofed, and that ſo firmly as to bear the weight of three thouſand perſons upon its top. A difficulty ſtarts up here; how could this roof be contrived, ſo that ſuch a multitude might partake of the diverſion *Samſon* was making below? It is anſwered, that thoſe on the roof were the vulgar ſort, who had conveniencies of looking down into a great hall, where the lords, and chiefs, and better ſort, ſate

sent for the blind *Samson* from the prison-house to make sport with him (Y), forgetting his hair was by this time pretty well grown again (Z), and his strength, consequently, returned to him. They made what diversion they pleased with him, and dearly they paid for it; for they all perished by the fall of the building they were in, which was brought down by the strength of *Samson*. This was a terrible disaster, and most of, if not all, the chiefs of the *Philistines* were lost in this mighty ruin; so that the nation must upon that account, have been greatly humbled, and in a low condition, being destitute of governors, and commanders, and men of wisdom [m].

For a considerable time the *Philistines* lay quiet: they recovered their loss at *Gaza*, and grew to a greater pitch of power than ever. They now made war upon the *Israelites* again, who had as good as thrown off their yoke since the fatal day at *Gaza*. They pitched first in *Aphek*, and the *Israelites* lay encamped at *Eben-ezer*. The two armies soon came to action, and the day turned in favour of the *Philistines*, who put the enemy to a precipitate flight, and in all slew four thousand of them, and drove them into their camp. The *Philistines*, in the midst of their triumph upon this occasion, heard an uncommon shout of joy from the *Hebrew* camp; and, enquiring into the cause of it, were told, that

[m] Judg. xvi.

in state; which will still make the building more extensive. A roof it had, which we sufficiently understand by the two pillars which *Samson* pulled down, and which supported it. It hence must have been a place of a particular construction, like the *Egyptian* hall in *Vitruvius* (37), and nothing like the theatres of the antient *Greeks* or *Romans*.

(Y) *Josephus* (38) understands, that they wanted to flout and jeer him; though also they may have made him go through a course of ridiculous gestures and speeches.

(Z) In the margin of our version it is, *As when he was shaven*; or it was grown to the same length it was of when *Delilah* clipt it. Whence we gather, that *Josephus* (39) is right in saying this was an annual feast in honour of their god *Dagon*, as appears also by the text of scripture; where great thanks are returned to *Dagon*, for delivering *Samson* into their hands, which was still uppermost in their thoughts, and what they had chiefly desired several years past. From hence we may learn, that the worship of *Dagon* was not confined to *Ashdod*, though it may have been his peculiar place, and that in these days he was the most highly revered of any god they had.

(37) *l.* 6. *c.* 5. (38) *Ubi supra.* (39) *Ubi supra.*

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the *Hebrews* had sent for the ark of the Lord, and that it was come into their camp. Upon hearing this they cried out in the utmost consternation, GOD is come into the enemy's camp, what will become of us! Such a thing was never known before; and greatly did they bewail their unhappy lot, despairing to be delivered from those mighty gods, as they spoke, who had so severely smitten the *Egyptians*. They now were quite daunted and spiritless, till their chiefs, or some of the more resolute, awakened them from their fears, exhorting them to be of good chear, and behave like men, lest they fell under the power of the *Hebrews*, and became their servants, instead of being their masters, as they were: behave like men, said they, and fear not. This exhortation had its effect upon the drooping hearts of the *Philistines* in gegeral, and inspired them with fresh courage. Animated in this sort, they came to a battle, and fell on so furiously that they slew thirty thousand of the enemy's footmen; and, to crown all, they took the ark of GOD, which at first gave them so much trouble, and *Hophni* and *Phinehas*, the priests who attended it, they slew. Doubtless they called this a most complete victory, and rejoiced in a most extraordinary manner, ignorant of the evil consequences they were to suffer in return. In high triumph they carried the captive ark to *Ashdod*, and placed it in the temple of their idol *Dagon*, as an acceptable offering to him, and as properly his captive, we may suppose. The next morning they went into the temple, and *behold*, *Dagon was fallen upon his face to the earth*, *before the ark of the Lord*. They took him up therefore, and set him in his place again, attributing this first humiliation to some unheeded accident (A). But on the second day, when they went in again, they not only saw their god in the prostrate posture they beheld him yesterday, but dismembered also of his head, and hands, and feet, which lay upon the threshold; nor was any thing left of him but the stump, or, as we rather choose to express it, the trunk of his body. Hence came a superstitious custom among his priests, never to tread on the threshold as they went into his temple (B), either in remembrance of this mutilation as a calamity,

(A) They might impute it to some defect in the pedestal, or might imagine the statue itself not to have been exactly poised, or, finally, they might attribute it to some unusual shock, as of an earthquake, and the like.

(B) This superstition obtained for many ages, as may be gather-

calamity, or becauſe it had been hallowed by having ſerved for a reſting-place to the head and hands of their perſecuted god. But their own ſufferings far exceeded thoſe of their idol, who, being ſenſeleſs, could feel none of the pains they themſelves were afflicted with, being ſmitten with a ſudden plague, of which many of them died, while thoſe who ſurvived were grievouſly tormented with *emerods*. *Aſhdod* and its whole territory labouring under ſo dreadful a calamity, they reſolved to keep the ark no longer among them, being too ſenſibly convinced, that they ſuffered becauſe of the ark. But that they might not take a haſty ſtep, they called an aſſembly of all the lords of the *Philiſtines* to deliberate upon the means of delivering them from this raging evil, and what was beſt to be done with the pernicious ark. The reſolution they came to was, that the ark ſhould be removed to *Gath*, apprehending, as is thought, that *Aſhdod* was a place unacceptable to it (C). They carried it thither, and the ſame plague, and another ſort of *emerods* (D) followed it to *Gath*, without

ed from *Zephaniah* (39), where thoſe are threatened *that leap on the threſhold*. Hence it appears, that they were wont to leap over the threſhold. This has doubtleſs an eye to the ridiculous and ſtupidly grounded ſuperſtition of this people (40). The *Jews* have an idle ſtory, that the *Philiſtines*, henceforward, forſaking *Dagon* himſelf, worſhipped the threſhold of his temple (41).

(C) Juſt as *Æneas* and his people indited their beds and their houſes of the diſaſters that befel them; and *Cadmus* forſook his own city.

——tanquam fortuna locorum,
Non ſua ſe premeret.——

As if the ill luck which hunted him had been the place's, not his own; as our Dr *Jackſon* obſerves out of *Ovid*, in his *Original of Unbelief*, *chap.* 18. *paragr.* 4. (42).

(D) At *Aſhdod*, it is ſaid, they were ſmitten with *emerods* only, without any addition; but now it is ſaid, they were ſmitten with *emerods in their ſecret parts:* whence it is evident enough, that this plague was ſome how or other altered; and it being the moſt univerſally interpreted in both places that they were afflicted by *emerods*, there is no other way that occurs to us of accounting for this alteration, but that at *Aſhdod* they had the ordinary ſort, which appear outwardly, and that now at *Gath* they had the *blind* ſort, which are inward. Inſtead of *emerods* ſome (43) ſpeak of violent diſorders in the inteſtines, of their rotting alive, and of their waſte-

(39) *i.* 9. (40) *Vide Bochart. Hierozoic. Par.* 1. *l.* 2. *c.* 36. (41) *Vide Buxtorf. Hiſt. Arc. c.* 19. *p.* 172. (42) *Patrick upon* 1 *Sam. v.* 8. (43) *Joſeph. Ant. l.* 6. *c.* 1.

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withour diſtinction of ſmall or great. The men of *Gath* then ſent the ark to *Ekron*; where, knowing what *Gath* and *Aſhdod* had already ſuffered by the detention of the ſame, they cried out with a frightful voice, that the ark of the GOD of *Iſrael* was ſent to deſtroy and afflict them alſo. Their fears were not vain, and great was their lamentation for the loſs of thoſe that died, and for the grievous ſoreneſs of the *emerods*; the affliction gathering ſtrength, and growing worſe as it ſpread (E). But they had no ſooner received the ark than, all in confuſion, they ſent to the lords of the *Philiſtines* to conſult with them, entreating them to fix upon ſome manner of ſending the ark to its place. The reſult of this council is not expreſſed; but it ſeems as if, obſerving the afflictions to ravage the cities chiefly, they removed the ark into the country (F), which, as ſeems alſo, only added to

ing away by dyſenteries and vomitings, thereby diſcharging their loathſome corruption. Other opinions there are concerning this matter; but none ſo generally received as what we have ſaid of the *emerods*.

(E) We find their lamentation and affliction expreſſed in deeper terms, upon every removal; which gives room for this aſſertion.

(F) *Joſephus* (44) relates, that the ark went through all the five cities of the *Philiſtines*, which we have no warrant to aſſert from ſcripture, except that the five cities being equally afflicted, and their gods equally perſecuted, as afterwards appears, may be accepted for a demonſtrative proof thereof: but there is no room to ſuppoſe this, ſince we find, that the *Ekronites*, convinced of the deſtruction and plague which followed the ark, did not ſo much as think of procuring it to be ſent either to *Askelon* or *Gaza*; but only, that it might be ſent back to its place. Their requeſt, it ſeems, was no farther complied with by the reſt, than the removing it from them into the country, or the *fields*, for that is the ſenſe of the original, where it remained ſeven months; nor is it likely, that either of thoſe two cities would have admitted it within their gates, after a thrice-repeated experience of what the conſequence would be, if they did admit it; nor does it appear, that they had yet been affected in the manner of *Aſhdod*, *Gath*, and *Ekron*, where the ark had been lodged. It ſeems, that the ark, being removed into the fields, gave birth to thoſe prodigious ſwarms of mice, which did eat up the country; and that *Gaza* and *Askelon* were now ſmitten by the plagues alſo; that the whole body of this people groaning under the ſame ſeverities and diſtreſs, there might be no diſſention among them about diſmiſſing the ark. And hence, perhaps, we may diſcover, that as much as they were divided into five ſatrapies

(44) *Ubi ſupra.*

to the number of their plagues, the country being now deſolated by an extraordinary production of mice. Finding therefore there was no reſpite to be had, and that the perſecution lay harder and harder upon them, and multiplied as often as the ark was removed, they called for their prieſts and diviners, to demand of them what they thought moſt expedient to be done in this mournful time of peſtilence; and in what manner it would be fitteſt to ſend the ark quite away from among them. Their anſwer was, That they ought not to ſend it away empty, but, by all means, with a treſpaſs-offering, as an attonement. They were then aſked what this treſpaſs-offering muſt be: They replied, five golden *emerods*, and five golden *mice*, according to the number of the lords of the *Philiſtines*; "for the ſame plague was common to you "all; make images of your *emerods*, and images of your "*mice*, which have been ſo deſtructive to your land; and "humble yourſelves to the God of *Iſrael*, that he may "withdraw his avenging hand from among you. Do not "offer to harden your hearts, as *Pharaoh* did: proceed "then, and make a new cart, and take two milk cows "which have never felt the yoke, and take their calves "away from them, and harneſs them to the cart you make "(G), and on it place the ark, and the jewels you offer for "a treſpaſs-offering in a coffer by it, and in that manner "ſuffer it to depart. If it takes the way which leads to "*Beth-ſhemeſh*, you need not doubt who has ſo ſorely afflict-"ed you; but if not, you may conclude, that what you "have ſuffered has proceeded from a mere natural cauſe." They obeyed the voice of their prieſts, and punctually followed their directions. The cows moved away for *Beth-ſhemeſh*, lowing as they went along, nor turned once to the right or the leſt, the lords of the *Philiſtines* keeping after

or lordſhips, they were nevertheleſs ſo linked together, that one of them could not act in any matter of public concern without the concurrence of all the reſt; which is no where ſo evident as in this caſe of the *Ekronites*, who were ſo thoroughly convinced the ark was to be ſent home, that we cannot conceive what ſhould have prevented them from acting accordingly, had it not been, that they were afraid of making a breach into their common conſtitution; or dreaded to be called to an account by the reſt, for preſuming to act of their own heads in an affair of ſuch moment.

(G) The new cart was ordered in honour of the God of *Iſrael*, and the kine unconſcious of the yoke to draw it, were to prove, whether or no he would interfere in the return of his ark; for ſuch unbroken cattle could never go on right together, or at all, as we may ſay, but by a miracle.

them

them till they ſaw them clear of their borders, where they wondering ſtood, to obſerve in what manner the ſacred captive was received by thoſe with whom it would dwell [n].

WE have ſufficient reaſon to conclude, that the *Philiſtines*, by diſmiſſing the ark in the manner they did, freed themſelves from their bitter afflictions, and that, though they were undeniably ſenſible of the hand which chaſtiſed them, they ſoon forgot the mighty power thereof. For about twenty years afterwards, underſtanding the *Iſraelites* were gathered in a body at *Mizpeh*, they reſolved to diſperſe them, jealous perhaps that they were upon meaſures of throwing off their yoke. They marched therefore towards *Mizpeh*, and a terror went before them, which quite confounded the *Iſraelites*, who having *Samuel* in the midſt of them begged, that, without ceaſing, he would entreat GOD for them. The *Philiſtines* marched on, unmindful of him, who, when his people turned to him, was ready to confound the ſtrength and devices of the wiſeſt and mightieſt, and being on the edge of aſſaulting the *Iſraelites*, a fearful ſtorm of thunder and lightning came on (H), which beat them down, and diſperſed them; and being broken into this wild diſorder, they were purſued and ſlaughtered by the *Iſraelites* to *Beth-car*. This was a blow indeed, and deprived them of the dominion they had exerciſed over the *Hebrews*, and was the loſs of all the encroachments they had made upon their territory, and reduced them ſo low that they never offered to moleſt *Iſrael* again all the days that *Samuel* [o] governed.

DURING all this time that they had held *Iſrael* in ſubjection, they had quite diſarmed them, and would not ſo much as ſuffer a ſmith to dwell among them [p]. How ſenſibly ſoever the *Philiſtines* may have been affected by this laſt rout; yet in a few years they ſeem to have been vaſtly, nay, infinitely more formidable than ever. For underſtanding that a fortreſs of theirs, called *Geba*, had been ſurprized by *Jonathan* the ſon of *Saul*, they gathered together thirty thouſand chariots, ſix thouſand horſemen (I), and foot as the ſand

[n] 1 Sam. iv. v, vi. [o] Ibid. vii. [p] Ibid xiii. 19.

(H) To this *Joſephus* (45) adds, that they were in part ſwallowed by an earthquake, ſo violent that it was as much as they could do to keep their legs.

(I) Sir *Iſaac Newton* (46), from this vaſt number of chariots and horſemen, is tempted to think the *Philiſtines* were now very pow-

(45) *Antiq. l.* 6. *c.* 2. (46) *Chronol. of ant. king. amended, p.* 167.

erfully

ſand of the ſea, to fight with, or rather plunder the *Iſraelites*, who ſtill laboured under the ill effect of their tyrannical policy, by continuing deſtitute of arms. This very numerous multitude went out, and pitched in *Michmaſh*, and ſent ſuch a terror before them, that happy was the *Iſraelite* who could hide himſelf to his ſatisfaction from them, or get out of their way. *Michmaſh* was their ſtation, from whence they ſent out three bands, three ſeveral ways, to ſpoil the country; and great damage they did to the whole land, as we have room to infer. Their ravages they committed without interruption, having to deal with an unarmed enemy, who conſequently were in no condition to make head againſt them.

At *Michmaſh* they continued to lie encamped, while their ſpoilers quite ruined and ſtripped the country; and here they took up their quarters ſome time. But in the midſt of their depredations they received a check from *Jonathan*, who, hurried on by a divine impulſe, and accompanied only by his armour-bearer, made a conſiderable ſlaughter of one of their out-guards; the noiſe of which ſpreading to the whole body, they were ſeized with a ſudden panic, and an unſpeakable tumult aroſe among them; ſo that, hyperbolically ſpeaking,

erfully ſuccoured, and their numbers mightily encreaſed by the acceſſion of the ſhepherds out of *Egypt*, who were now expelled that kingdom: We ſhall not contend with him upon ſo dark a point, wherein he may as well be right as not. But we cannot refrain from noting, that he takes theſe thirty thouſand chariots to be of the warlike ſort, and deſigned for battle, wondering at the great exceſs of the number, when compared with thoſe that followed *Pharaoh*, who periſhed in the *Red-ſea*. For our parts we cannot take theſe chariots to have been any other than carriages, that were uſed, partly, in carrying the baggage of ſo great an army, as they ſeem to have had on foot at this time, and, partly, deſigned to move off the plunder of the whole couutry, which they ſeemed to have graſped at with the moſt inſolent preſumption: And this upon obſerving the method in which this war was carried on, muſt have been their deſign by ſuch a number of carriages; which if we reduce to three thouſand, as the number ſtands in the *Syriac* and *Arabic* copies, will, as is very judiciouſly remarked (47), be far too many to ſuppoſe them to have been warlike chariots, ſince *Mithridates* had but one hundred, *Darius* but two hundred, and *Antiochus Epiphanes* but three hundred; and no one can imagine, that the *Philiſtines*, and whoſoever elſe may have joined them upon this occaſion, were able to muſter up ſuch a force in chariots as either of thoſe three monarchs.

(47) *Patrick upon* 1 *Sam. xiii.* 5.

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the very earth trembled therewith (K). In the height of this diſorder, it came to paſs that they fell upon each other with a moſt fearful ſlaughter of themſelves (L); and preſently they began to move off in a wild uproar and fury; which, when it was obſerved by the *Iſraelites*, they moved after them by degrees, and at length purſued them one and all, with *Saul* at their head, who, if he had not been in too great a hurry, and commanded his men not to ſtand to take a little refreſhment, the *Philiſtines* had loſt a great deal more blood than they did upon this occaſion; but as it was, their loſs was very conſiderable (M), they being purſued from *Michmaſh* to *Aijalon*. [q].

THOUGH they were thus viſibly defeated by the hand of heaven; yet in a few years they revived again, and put them-

[q] 1 Sam. xiii, xiv.

(K) Not that there was really an earthquake upon this occaſion. Beſides the thirty thouſand chariots, and ſix thouſand horſemen mentioned in ſcripture, *Joſephus* (48) numbers the foot at three hundred thouſand. But a late commentator (49), from the alarm given them by *Jonathan* and his armour-bearer, and the fearful effects of the ſame, takes occaſion to think, that the *Philiſtines* were neither ſo numerous, as is, in ſcripture ſaid, or ſo well ſkilled in war as they are uſually deemed; and infers, that the text muſt have been corrupted.

(L) This favours, very much, the conjecture of Sir *Iſaac Newton*, who ſuppoſes they had, about this time, an acceſſion of the ſhepherds from *Egypt*, as we have already noted from him (50). It looks very much as if this great hoſt, for ſuch it may be juſtly ſtiled, though not a quarter ſo ſtrong as is repreſented to us, had not a mutual confidence in each other, ſo far as to be certain, that a defection and treachery might not be brought to paſs among them by the artifices of the enemy. The out-guard routed by *Jonathan* aud his armour-bearer ſavoured ſtrongly of treachery. The bare fame of an attack made by any two perſons on ſo vaſt an army, could never of itſelf, have cauſed ſo wild an uproar, but ſomething at the ſame time muſt have been added thereto, that made them enraged againſt each other, and fired them with the utmoſt fury and indignation. Nor does what we here inſinuate, by any means, derogate from the concern the Almighty had, in this miraculous deliverance of his people; ſince in caſes of this kind he has ſo often acted by ſecond cauſes.

(M) According to *Joſephus* (51), they now loſt ſixty thouſand men.

(48) *Antiq. l.* 6. *c.* 7. (49) *Cleric, in* 1 *Sam. xiv.* 15. (50) *See before p.* 217, (I). (51) *Ubi ſupr.*

ſelves

ſelves under arms, once more to try what they could do with the *Iſraelites:* but they were now, perhaps chiefly induced thereto upon hearing that *Saul* was gone diſtracted. But though they made a great noiſe and parade this time, yet they did not proceed with ſuch fury as formerly, and do not ſeem to have been very eager for a battle. They found *Saul* in the field ready to contend with them, which checked them in their career. They firſt rendezvouſed in *Shochoh*, in the tribe of *Judah*; and advancing thence, and ſtill finding the *Iſraelites* in a poſture to fight them, they went, and pitched upon a mountain oppoſite to another, on which *Iſrael* was incamped. They had in their army at this time a giant, one *Goliath* of *Gath*, who was ſix cubits and a ſpan high, and wore a ponderous and well wrought ſuit of braſs armour: he had a helmet of braſs on his head, a coat of mail (N) of the ſame on his body, and a target or gorget of the ſame between his ſhoulders, and greaves of the ſame upon his legs. The ſtaff of his ſpear was like a weaver's beam, and the head of it weighed ſix hundred ſhekels of iron; and before him went one who bore his ſhield. This gigantic perſon ſeems to have been very ſenſible of his warlike abilities and ſtrength, and to have fancied, that he alone could ſupport his country's cauſe. Accordingly, whether by his own ſuggeſtions, or at the ſollicitation of his countrymen, we know not; this man took on him to fight any one in the hoſt of *Iſrael*, and by a ſingle combat to determine which of the two nations ſhould rule, and which obey. Accordingly he went down into the valley which parted the two camps, and called up to the *Iſraelites*, "To what purpoſe do you draw your-

(N) According to the *Engliſh* ſtandard, the height of *Goliath* was twelve *foot* eight *inches*, and ſomewhat better than three *tenths*. His coat of mail alone weighed five thouſand ſhekels of braſs, or upwards of one hundred and eighty nine of our *pounds Troy*; and by the ſame rule, the head of his ſpear, which weighed ſix hundred ſhekels of iron, exceeded two and twenty of the ſame *pounds* (52). The weight of theſe and the other parts of his armour and arms, whoſe weight is not ſpecified, was not, perhaps, too heavy for ſo gigantic a perſon, whoſe ſtrength, doubtleſs, was in proportion to his ſtature: and yet ſome are willing to think it was too cumberſom; and therefore chooſe to ſay the ſhekels enumerated above, and commonly taken for the weight of his coat of mail, were the price of it (53), which ſeems to be as much too little on this hand, as it may appear too much on the other.

(52) *See Arbuthnot's Tables of ant. Coins, Weights, and Meaſures.*
(53) *See Patrick upon* 1 *Sam. xxii.* 5.

"ſelves

" ſelves out in battle array! here am I, a *Philiſtine* (O), " and ye the ſlaves of *Saul*, find me out a man among you " that has the heart to come down and fight me: if he kill " me, we will ſubmit to be your ſubjects; but if I kill him, " you ſhall ſerve us, as you have done heretofore: mark, that " I defy every one of you; let who dare advance out of " your ranks to fight me!" This arrogant challenge met with no acceptance, and *Goliath* was left to himſelf to vapour his fill; but the figure of the man, and his menacing deportment ſtood the *Philiſtines* in good ſtead, by quite diſheartening the *Iſraelites*, who were greatly diſmayed, both at him and his words. But, as confident as *Goliath* was in his own ſtrength, and in conſequence thereof, how ready ſoever he was to fight, the reſt of his countrymen had not the leaſt ſtomach to it: They remembered how terribly it had more than once fared with them in their contentions with *Iſrael*. Wherefore, though the firſt day's experience convinced them, that not one ſoul of the *Iſraelites* would undertake a ſingle combat with *Goliath*; yet, having no mind to come to a battle, they every morning and evening ſent out *Goliath* to repeat his idle challenge, for forty days together. At laſt, as the armies were drawing down to each other in battle array, *Goliath* advanced out of the ranks as uſual; and in the height of his pretended expectations for one to come out (for pretended they muſt have been, after ſo many fruitleſs repetitions of the ſame defiance) he ſaw a handſome ruddy youth advancing toward him, from the *Iſraelites*, in the habit and appearance of an ordinary ſhepherd. The ſight fired him with indignation, and obſerving a ſtaff in his hand; " What, ſays he, am I a dog, that you are come againſt " me with a ſtaff? and curſing him by his gods, Come hi- " ther, that I may give your fleſh to the fowls of the air and " the beaſts of the field." Having heard what the young man, *David*, had to ſay in anſwer to him, he ſtepped toward him to ſeize on him, and cruſh the preſumptuous lad; but ere he reached him, a ſtone was flung at him by *David*, which took his forehead, and laid him flat at his length on the ground; and his head was inſtantly ſevered from his body by his own ſword, and carried off as a trophy by the conqueror. The *Philiſtines* no ſooner ſaw their champion gone,

(O) It is generally thought, that he here vaunts himſelf as a lord among the *Philiſtines*; or rather that he boaſts of his liberty, as he was born of that country, and reviles the *Iſraelites* as ſervants or ſlaves; inſinuating, that he did them honour in offering to demean himſelf, ſo far as to contend in ſingle combat with any one of them.

than

than they fled (P), as if their hopes and all centered in him; and to judge by their behaviour, it was really the caſe. They fled, and were purſued by *Saul*, quite home to the gates of their own cities, *Gath* and *Ekron*, with a fearful ſlaughter no doubt (Q); leaving all their tents and baggage behind them [r].

The ſame hand, which had deprived them of *Goliath*, perſecuted them again ſoon afterwards; for two hundred of them were ſlain by *David* for the ſake of their fore-ſkins only, that he might perform the condition impoſed on him by *Saul*, before he would give him his daughter to wife; but the particulars of this ſlaughter are not ſpecified in the text of ſcripture. But thence it may be gathered, that this was the cauſe of a freſh rupture, and that the princes of the *Philiſtines* undertook to revenge the injury, but what ſucceſs they had, is not ſaid [s].

Achiſh. Soon after this they were overthrown in battle by *David* [*], and ſome great change ſeems, about this time, to have been wrought in their government: for as, ever ſince the *Abimelechs* they are repreſented under lords or princes; ſo now we read of a king they had, whoſe name was *Achiſh*, and who reſided at *Gath* [t]. He is elſewhere called *Abimelech* [u], the antient appellation, as we have ſeen, of the firſt kings of this people. *David*, to avoid the terrible intentions of

[r] 1 Sam. xvii. [s] Ibid. xviii. [*] Sam. xix. 8. [t] Ibid. xxi. 10. [u] Pſal. xxxiv.

(P) From this flight commentators are apt to imagine, that what *Goliath* did in offering to decide the fate of each nation by ſingle combat, was his own act and deed, and without the aſſent of the *Philiſtines*; or elſe, that if they did bind themſelves to ſubmit to the fate of ſuch a battle, they were faithleſs enough to ſlight the obligation. To us, it appears, that they did in a very great meaſure depend on *Goliath* for ſucceſs in this war; that they prided themſelves chiefly in him; and that flattering themſelves he was invincible, and, by his ſtrength and armour, an overmatch for any in the hoſt of *Iſrael*, they were not againſt what he took on him, as their champion; but that they formally agreed to ſtand to what he promiſed is unlikely: ſuch deciſions by ſingle combat ſeem not to have been the cuſtom of thoſe early times; but the whole ſeems to be the effect of great pride and vanity in the champion, and a mixture of ſtupidity and cowardice in the reſt.

(Q) If we hearken to *Joſephus* (54), they had thirty thouſand killed, and twice that number wounded in this purſuit, which ſeem to be exceedingly too many.

(54) *Antiq. l.* 6. *c.* 11.

Saul,

Saul, fled to *Gath*, and was brought before this king; who imagining him, by his behaviour, to be beſide himſelf, would take no farther notice of him, than to order he ſhould be brought no more into his preſence [w].

THE *Philiſtines* all this time were upon no ſettled terms with *Saul*, but invaded him, and thereby diverted him from laying hold on *David* in the wilderneſs of *Maon*; but it ſeems they had ill ſucceſs this time again, and fled before *Saul*, or elſe retreated for fear of him.

ACHISH, the ſon of *Maoch* (R), after this received *David* and his wives and all his train of followers into his protection, and treated the diſtreſſed refugees with great hoſpitality. And, at *David*'s requeſt, that he might have ſome place allotted him for his particular dwelling, he very generouſly named *Ziklag* for that purpoſe; whence it came to be afterwards claimed by the kings of *Judah*. All this muſt give us a very favourable idea of *Achiſh*, if we conſider what reaſon the *Philiſtines* had to be angry with *David*, who certainly deſerved not very well at their hands; and thoſe muſt have had very commendable notions, who could thus forgive a man, with whom moſt others would have kept no meaſures (S), and have ſlighted the obſervance of all laws. *Achiſh*

[w] 1 Sam. ubi ſupr. Ibid. xxi. 14—15.

(R) From this mention of his father's name, ſome are willing to think him a different perſon from the former; to which they ſeem to be partly inclined, by the kind manner in which he received *David*, whom the former had ſpurned at, as an ideot or a madman. But we muſt remember, that *David* actually played that part to ſave his life; and it is no wonder, if *Achiſh* did not care to be troubled with ſo unhappy a wretch, as *David* then made himſelf: but the ſame man may have returned to a better mind concerning him, when he was let into the ſecret of *David*'s fears: and may afterwards have entertained a correſpondence with a perſon of ſuch known worth, and invited him into his dominions, and aſſured him of protection againſt the evil intentions of *Saul*: hoping thereby to weaken *Saul*, and keep up a diviſion in his kingdom, at the ſame time that he ſtrengthened himſelf. If no humanity may be allowed to *Achiſh* in this caſe, a large ſhare of human policy may be admitted: nor do we perceive any ſolid ground for ſuppoſing this *Achiſh* and the former to be different perſons.

(S) Thoſe who remember that *David* ſlew two hundred of them, for their foreſkins only, may juſtly admire at the patience and forgiveneſs of this people, who could after ſuch an action receive him any otherwiſe than as a ſworn enemy to them and theirs. How it was poſſible, that they could refrain from exerciſing great rigour towards him, is what we are wholly at a loſs for, except we recur to the immediate interpoſition of the Almighty.

conceived

conceived very high thoughts of *David*, and understanding he had been out upon some expedition, examined him about it, and receiving from him such an answer, as made him imagine he had been plundering his own nation; he expressed great satisfaction thereat, hoping *David* had done something to make himself odious in the eyes of his countrymen, and that now he should have him a servant for ever. Preparing soon after to war with *Saul*, he told *David*, that he expected him to head his followers, and march with him; and promised to recompense him with some most eminent post in his service. The *Philistines* first gathered together at *Shunem*, and there encamped. From thence they removed to *Aphek*. Here the several bodies of the *Philistines* appeared together, in a kind of review, under their respective chiefs, and *David* and his men followed about, or after *Achish*; from whence it is gathered, that the post he promised him was, to be captain of his guard. When the lords and chiefs of the *Philistines* observed this, they were offended, and expostulated with *Achish*, who in vain endeavoured to persuade them that *David* was a fast, and very trusty friend. Instead of being satisfied with what the king said, they grew angry with him; and insisted on it, that *David* should not stir a step farther with them; that he should return to *Ziklag*, his appointed place: and not have it in his power to betray them in battle, the only way he could have to reconcile himself with his natural lord and master, at the cruel expence of the *Philistines*. In short they could not imagine, that *David*, who was the idol of his own people, would forfeit his valuable popularity among them by fighting against them. *Achish* was unable to resist all this clamour, and calling *David* to him, assured him, That for his own part he had the highest sense of his sincerity and innate worth, and had been perfectly satisfied with his behaviour ever since he had sheltered him; but that, since the lords were far from being disposed to think so well of him, it were in vain, and imprudent to contend against them in this matter; and therefore desired him to return quietly to *Ziklag*. *David* resenting the unkindness of the notions the lords entertained concerning him, and protesting his readiness to fight in his cause, *Achish* answered him with great earnestness, that he was fully convinced of his affection; that he had a singular veneration for him; and that, in his eyes, he was as *an angel of God*; but, that seeing the lords were so unreasonably bent against him, the thing could not be, and he must set out for *Ziklag* early the next morning.

So

So *David* went his way, and *Achiſh* and the *Philiſtines* marched againſt *Saul*, who was encamped on mount *Gilboa*. A battle was fought between them on that ſame mount, and the *Philiſtines* prevailed mightily againſt the *Iſraelites*, and drove them before them with a great ſlaughter. In particular, they preſſed hard after *Saul* and his ſons; and theſe, *Jonathan*, and *Abinadab*, and *Malchiſhua*, they ſlew. They ſent their arrows with great eagerneſs after *Saul*, and did hit him ſeveral times; but did not lay him along, nor had they the honour of diſpatching him: he was dead ere they reached him by his own weapon. Thus the *Philiſtines* at length obtained a complete victory; in conſequence of which they poſſeſſed themſelves of much of the enemy's country. On the morrow after the battle, when they came to ſtrip the ſlain, they found *Saul* king of *Iſrael*, and his three ſons among the reſt, in mount *Gilboa*. They did cut off *Saul*'s head, and diſpoiled his body of his armour. His armour they dedicated in the temple of *Aſhtaroth*, and his body, and thoſe alſo of his ſons, they ignominiouſly hung upon the walls of *Beth-ſhan*. What they did, particularly with his head, is not related; but it ſeems, as if they at firſt ſent it up and down with his armour, to dedicate both in the temples of their idols, and to feaſt the eyes of their people with ſuch grateful objects, and ſuch demonſtrative marks of victory. But the bodies of *Saul* and his three ſons hung not long where the *Philiſtines* expoſed them. They were ſtolen away from them by the men of *Jabeſh* [y].

Now there is reaſon to think, that *Achiſh* ſoon after died, inaſmuch as we find the *Philiſtines* in a ſhort time at variance with *David*, with whom *Achiſh* would certainly have maintained a fair correſpondence, except we ſuppoſe the lords of the *Philiſtines* to have had ſuch power over him, as to have conſtrained him to make a breach into the kind friendſhip he had made with *David*. To diſmiſs this obſcurity, the *Philiſtines* invaded king *David* very early in his reign, and no ſooner heard that he was anointed king over *Iſrael*, than they went out to make war upon him. Their deſign ſeems to have been to nip him in the bud; for while the diviſion between him and *Iſh-boſheth* ſubſiſted, they gave him no trouble; but when they underſtood that *Iſrael* and *Judah* were united under him, it is likely, they feared the heavy effects of his reſentment, or innate enmity to their nation. They marched out therefore, and incamped in the valley of *Rephaim*, from whence they removed to *Baal-perazim*, where

[y] 2 Sam. xxviii, xxix, xxxi.

they were encountered by *David*, and by him ſo completley overthrown, that, intent upon nothing but ſaving themſelves, they left their baggage behind them, and even their gods, which they carried about with them, in imitation of the *Iſraelites*, when they brought their ark againſt them. The *Philiſtines* ſeem to have rallied again upon recollection, to reſcue their captive gods, and drew up again in battalia in the valley of *Rephaim* (T); but they were defeated again by *David* in a ſudden onſet, by the immediate interpoſition of God, and purſued with a long and bloody ſlaughter from *Geba* to *Gazer* [z], a place, it ſeems, on their own frontiers.

The war did not end here; for a ſhort time afterwards they were invaded by *David*, and ſubdued, and *Metheg-ammah* (U) was taken out of their hands [a].

[z] 2 Sam. v. 17—25. [a] Ibid. viii. 1.

(T) Or the *valley of the giants* as *Joſephus* (55) renders it; who ſuppoſes, that they were now unable to raiſe any thing of an army themſelves, and that they were joined by the *Syrians* and *Phœnicians*; as a proof of which he alledges they returned home upon their firſt defeat, and came back to the charge again with thrice the numbers they had before, and drew up in the ſame place where the former battle was fought; and that they were again miraculouſly defeated with very great eaſe, and put to flight with the loſs of all their baggage and their gods. *Joſephus* is very fond of trebling the forces of a vanquiſhed people, as we have obſerved before (56), and may have occaſion to obſerve hereafter. But why he ſhould imagine the *Philiſtines* were at ſo low an ebb, as to be unable to make war with *David* of themſelves, we do not clearly perceive, even though we ſhould allow of the great ſlaughter and deſtruction, he makes of them in ſome of their preceding battles (57).

(U) Or as it is in the margin *the bridle of Ammah*; or, as it is explained in the *Chronicles* (58), the city of *Gath* and the territory thereunto belonging. There are many and very various expoſitions of this point; but as the context clears it up naturally, we ſhall paſs them over, and adhere to that, as moſt likely and juſt. Only let it be obſerved, that as *Gath* was the royal ſeat, it may, on many accounts, have been called a *bridle* to the reſt of the land. As to its ſtanding upon a hill called *Ammah*, as ſome commentators teach, they would have done well, had they produced their authority for ſo ſaying: we know of none.

(55) *Antiq. l. 7. c. 4.* (56) *See before in the Notes, p.* 106. (57) *See before in the Notes, p.* 219, 222, (58) 1 *Chronicles xviii.* 1.

The

THE *Philiſtines* had ſeveral men of extraordinary ſtature among them, and all it ſeems of the kindred of *Goliath* (W). And though they had experienced the little uſe of ſuch men in an army, yet they ſeem ſottiſhly to have caſt their eyes upon theſe; now flattering themſelves, that by their help they might retrieve their honour, and take revenge on *David*. Wherefore, after they had lain quiet ſeveral years, they broke out into a war again with *Iſrael*, and their giants marched with them. They came to a battle, in which *Iſhbi-benob* (X), a ſon of *Goliath*, as is thought, taking *David* at ſome diſadvantage, had like to have ſlain him. But miſſing his aim, he fell by the hand of *David*, aſſiſted by *Abiſhai*, although the head of his ſpear weighed three hundred ſhekels of braſs (Y), and although he was extraordinarily appointed (Z) for war. A ſecond battle was fought near a place called *Gob*, wherein *Saph*, another ſon of *Goliath*, was ſlain by *Sibbechai* the *Huſhathite*. A third battle they fought at *Gob* alſo, and *Goliath*'s brother,

(W) If they were not immediately his ſons, they may poſſibly have been of the ſame family. To ſay nothing of their deſcent from the *Anakims*, who were expelled from *Hebron*, and took up their abode at *Gath*, which is a very obſcure piece of hiſtory; it is common in all nations to ſee families remarkable for their extraordinary ſtature: nor is there any need to ſuppoſe them deſcended from any antient race of giants. We are indeed told that the *Anakims* either fled from *Hebron*, to the cities of the *Philiſtines*, or elſe were planted there of old time (59). But how it came to paſs, that they were ſo dwindled away there in the days of *David*; and how it comes to paſs, that we read no where of them in the armies of the *Philiſtines* to the days of *Saul*, we preſume not to ſay.

(X) *Joſephus* (60) calls him *Amchon*.

(Y) To judge of him by the weight of his ſpear, he was not of much above half the ſtrength and ſtature of *Goliath*, the head of whoſe ſpear, as we have noted (61), weighed ſix hundred ſhekels, or twenty two of our pounds *Troy*; whereas this man's weighed but three hundred ſhekels, or eleven of the ſame pounds.

(Z) The words of the text are obſcure; it ſays, *he was girded with a new* ſword: ——— *Joſephus* (62) ſays only, that he had his ſword by his ſide. Of all the expoſitions we have ſeen, we approve of that moſt, which gueſſes that his ſword was made on purpoſe for him (63), to ſuit his ſtrength, which ſurpaſſed that of an ordinary man.

(59) *Joſh. xi.* 22. (60) *Antiq. c.* 10. (61) *See before in the Notes, p.* 220. (62) *Ubi ſupr.* (63) *Vide Cleric. in* 2 *Sam. xxi.* 16.

the ſtaff of whoſe ſpear was like a weaver's beam, fell by the valorous might of *Elhanan* the ſon of *Jaare-oregim* a *Bethlehemite*. From this laſt place the war was transferred into the territory of *Gath*; and in this fourth battle, another ſon of *Goliath*, who had ſix fingers upon each hand, and ſix toes upon each foot, did, in imitation of his father, challenge the whole army of *Iſrael* to ſend out one of their number to fight him, and was brought down by the hands of *Jonathan* the brother of *David*. The *Philiſtines*, thus exhauſted of their gigantic brood, or perceiving that their mighty ſtature and ſtrength ſtood them in no manner of ſtead, refrained from a further proſecution of the war they had ſo obſtinately maintained, in ſpite of the frowns of fortune in three ſucceſſive conflicts, before this laſt [b].

From henceforward the affairs of this people are more ſlightly touched on; whence it may be argued, that they ſuffered a decay; and accordingly we are told, that *their horn was broken aſunder* by theſe unfortunate wars with *David* [c], who now made them tributaries to his throne, as we ſhall ſee anon (A); though on the other hand it may be alſo concluded, that having ſo often, and to ſo little purpoſe, engaged themſelves in bloody and deſtructive wars, they grew wiſer, and rather applied themſelves to commerce and the advancement of their nation that way (B). And hence it may be, that we find

[b] Ibid. xxi. 15—22. [c] See Eccleſiaſt. xlvii. 7.

(A) According to *Joſephus* (64), this was the laſt battle they had with the *Hebrews*, never daring to look them in the face again; which muſt be one of his miſtakes.

(B) We the rather think after this manner, it being pretty evident, that they had been increaſed ſome years ago by the fugitive *Edomites* (65), who brought with them their ſuperior skill in commercial and nautical affairs; not that the *Philiſtines* were wholly ignorant therein till the *Edomites* came among them; but it is now likely they applied themſelves thereto much more than ever, and that they were greatly improved therein. Sir *Iſaac Newton* (66) reckons that they took *Sidon* by the advice and aſſiſtance of the *Edomites*, thereby, it is likely, meaning to extend their trade, which they had now chiefly at heart, by deſtroying ſo dangerous a rival. He alſo (67) ſuppoſes this to have fallen out in the reign of *David*; for he obſerves, that in *Solomon*'s reign the *Zidonians*, though ſettled at *Tyre*, had not yet loſt their name We read in *Juſtin* (68), that

(64) *Ubi ſupr.* (65) *See before, p.* 197. (66) *Chronol of ant. Kingd. amended, p.* 104, 105. (67) *Ubi ſupr.* (68) *l.* 18. *c.* 3.

Sidon

find their country open to the *Iſraelites* in the beginning of *Solomon*'s reign, *Achiſh* the ſon of *Maachah* then reigning at *Gath*; who, whether he is the ſame *Achiſh* who was ſo kind to *David*, we muſt not hope to determine, though commentators are divided upon it; probably he was not [d].

MANY years after theſe wars the *Philiſtines* were harraſſed by *Nadab* [e] king of *Iſrael*, who laid ſiege to a city of theirs, called *Gibbethon*; which city was again beſieged by *Elah* king of *Iſrael* [f], ſome years afterwards; for it belonged to their kingdom, though the *Philiſtines* finding it deſerted by the *Levites* [g], ſeized on it, and kept it, notwithſtanding theſe ſeveral efforts to tear it from them; the kingdom of *Iſrael* at this time being in great diſtraction.

BUT, notwithſtanding this their obſtinacy againſt the kings of *Iſrael*, they afterwards courted the favour of *Jehoſhaphat* king of *Judah*, by a voluntary payment of the tribute [h], which had been, as we may hence conclude, impoſed on them by their conqueror *David* (C); and which, it ſeems, they had neglected to pay to ſome of *Jehoſhaphat*'s predeceſſors, as this ſtory plainly enough inſinuates, and as will be further confirmed by what follows.

FOR they rebelled againſt *Jehoram* the ſon of *Jehoſhaphat*, and brake into his kingdom, and in the end rifled his palace of all the wealth they there found; and even extended their rage againſt him, to the cruel butchery of all his houſe, except *Athaliah* and her ſon *Ahaziah*, who ſome how or other eſcaped. At this time we alſo gather, that they carried off a great number of captives, ſome of whom they ſold to the *Edomites* [i], next to themſelves, the worſt enemies the *Iſraelites* had; and ſome to the *Grecians* [k], thereby ſending them ſo far from home, that they could have but little or no chance of ſeeing

[d] 1 Kings ii. 39. [e] Ibid. xv. 27. [f] Ibid. xvi. 15.
[g] 2 Chron. xi. 14. [h] Ibid. xvii. 11. [i] Amos i. 6.
[k] Joel iii. 6.

Sidon was expugned by the *Philiſtines*; though he ſeems to miſtake, in ſaying it was done by the king of *Aſcalon*; for we do not read of a king of that place any where elſe. Remembering the ſtory of the *Syrian* goddeſs *Derceto*, who was metamorphoſed here (69), the *Greeks* and *Romans* may have conſidered the city of *Aſcalon* as the metropolis of *Palæſtine*; whence we find the king of *Palæſtine* placed in that city by *Trogus*, whom *Juſtin* epitomizes.

(C) *Joſephus* (70) calls it their accuſtomed tribute, and it can have been no body but *David* himſelf that impoſed it on them.

(69) *See before, p.* 194. (70) *Antiq. l.* 8. *c.* 9.

their native country again. This their extraordinary ſucceſs may have been brought to paſs either by the conjunctive, or diſtant co-operation of the *Arabians*, who made war at the ſame time upon *Jehoram* [l].

Whencesoever their ſucceſs aroſe, it in the end proved a very unfortunate affair to them. They were invaded by *Uzziah* king of *Judah*, who diſmantled *Gath*, and *Jabneh*, and *Aſhdod*, and reared cities of ſtrength among them to awe them, and keep them in ſubjection [m]; which muſt greatly have broken their ſpirits, and have brought them low.

They groaned under this fearful blow all the days of *Uzziah*, we may ſuppoſe, and perhaps all the days of *Jotham*; but in the reign of *Ahaz*, they perceived the crazy ſtate of the kingdom of *Judah*; and, obſerving the opportunity to be favourable, they took up arms again. They warred againſt *Ahaz* with a ſucceſs which made ample amends for their ſufferings by *Uzziah* his grandfather; reducing the cities of *Beth-ſhemeſh*, *Ahjalon*, *Gederoth*, *Shocho*, *Timnai*, and *Gimzo*, and the ſeveral territories thereunto belonging, and there ſettled themſelves, thereby adding a large portion of the kingdom of *Judah* to their own country *.

Thus did the *Philiſtines* rather more than reinſtate themſelves; but this fine acquiſition was a very ſhort time in their hands. They were immediately after this conqueſt admoniſhed not to rejoice, becauſe the rod of him that ſmote them was broken; *for that out of the ſerpent's root ſhould come forth a cockatrice . . . . . which ſhould diſſolve their whole country* [n]. And this was ſeverely fulfilled on them by *Hezekiah* the ſon of *Ahaz*, whom they had conquered; for *Hezekiah*, as we underſtand it, over-ran their whole country [o], and forced ample retribution of all ſorts from them. This, though it had been, alone, a very grievous oppreſſion on them, they ſaw almoſt at the ſame time the *Aſſyrians* among them, in the reign of *Sennacherib*, who ſent his general *Tartan* to reduce them. Their city *Aſhdod* was beſieged accordingly, and taken by *Tartan* †; and thus ſucceſſively were they broken, almoſt without any intermiſſion.

And now the burthen of their final extinction comes heavily upon them. By their ſubjection to the *Aſſyrians*, their liberties departed entirely from them; and, what was worſe, their country became the ſeat of a long and obſtinate war. For *Pſammitichus* king of *Egypt* beholding the vaſt progreſs

[l] 2 Chron. xxi. 16, 17. [m] Ibid. xxvi. 6. * Ibid. xxviii. 18. [n] Iſa. xiv. 29—31. [o] 2 Kings xviii. 8. † Iſai. xx. 1.

of

A MAP *of the Divisions & Situations of the Tri*
nites, Edomites, Amalekites, *&c before & at y^e time of y^e*

THE GREAT

OR

MEDITERRANEAN

SEA

PART

OF

EGYPT

ARABIA

M.t Carmel

Ashdoth

Ascalon

Gaza

PHILISTINE

AMALEK

Selah or

HEROOPOLITAN GULF

of the RED SEA

Mount Sinai

33

32

31

30

29

D. Pomarede Sc.t

e Tribes of the Canaanites, Moabites, Ammonites, Midia=
of y^e Exodus *of y^e* CHILDREN *of* ISRAEL, *according to this* History

of the *Aſſyrian* power, grew jealous and apprehenſive, that *Egypt* might ſhare the fate of its neighbours; and therefore, to be as timely in his oppoſition as he could, he undertook to drive the *Aſſyrians* out of *Paleſtine*. To this purpoſe he particularly laid ſiege to *Aſhdod*, or *Azotus*; but he was twenty nine years before that place ere he could reduce it [p]: during all which time it cannot be doubted, but that the country ſighed under all the calamites uſual in ſuch caſes.

From henceforward they were tributary to the great monarchies, as they ſucceeded each other. In the beginning of this ſervitude they were miſerably harraſſed by the *Egyptians*; who willing to make their barrier as ſtrong as poſſible againſt the dreaded invader, laid hands on all they could of this country, and, particularly, took *Gaza* from them [q].

AFTER this we read of a king of *Gaza* [r]; concerning which we have nothing to add, nor have we ought elſe to relate concerning this people. What in the end became of them will be beſt learned from the threats of the prophets, and particularly, *Zephaniah*, who paints their deſtruction in very lively and natural colours (D): *Gaza ſhall be forſaken, and Aſkelon a deſolation: they ſhall drive out Aſhdod at the noon day, and Ekron ſhall be rooted up. Woe unto the inhabitants of the ſea-coaſts, the nation of the Cherethites: the word of the Lord* is *againſt you: O Canaan, the land of the Philiſtines, I will even deſtroy thee, that there ſhall be no inhabitant; and the ſea-coaſt ſhall be dwellings* and *cottages for ſhepherds, and folds for flocks.* [s]

[p] HERODOT. l. 2. c. 157. [q] Jerem. xlvii. [r] Zach. ix. 5. [s] Zephan. ii 4—6. See alſo Joel iii. Amos i. Jerem. xlvii. Ezek. xxv. Zach. ubi ſupr.

(D) Here it is worth obſerving, that *Gath* is omitted, as if already deſtroyed, as it doubtleſs was, being moſt obnoxious to the enemy, as it was the royal ſeat of this turbulent people; and as it was a key to, and a curb upon the whole country (71). Hence therefore it muſt have been, that the throne of this kingdom was removed to *Gaza*; but to purſue this point any farther were time loſt.

(71) *See before in the Notes, p.* 226.

CHAP. V.

The Hiſtory of the antient Syrians.

SECT. I.

A Deſcription of Syria.

Its names. SYRIA is in *Hebrew Aram*, ſo named from *Aram*, the youngeſt ſon of *Shem*. This *Hebrew* name is of very wide extent; perhaps, of little leſs than the *Greek* name *Syria*; at leaſt it included what we now call *Syria* and *Meſopotamia*, which is the *Aram Naharaim*, or *Syria* of the two rivers [a].

ARAM then is its firſt and genuine name; how it came to be called *Syria* is variouſly ſaid. Some [b] derive it from one *Syrus*, who ſprung from the earth (A). Others [c] from *Syrus*, the ſon of *Agenor*. Other thoughts there are upon this ſubject; but the moſt certain opinion is, that *Syria* is a contraction of *Aſſyria* [d], and that the antients uſually confounded them together (B).

AUTHORS are not agreed upon the exact bounds of this country, becauſe they conſider it at different times, when its name was more or leſs famous, and its empire more or leſs ample. But, confining ourſelves to the proper *Syria*, we may

[a] See Vol. I. p. 362. [b] AFRICAN. apud SYNCELL. p. 150. [c] Chronic. Alexandr. p. 101. [d] Vide HERODOT. l. 7. c. 63. JUST. l. 1. c. 2.

(A) Perhaps this fabulous account may have taken birth from an antient tradition, which ſtill obtains in the country, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter, that *Adam* was created in *Syria*.

(B) Mr. *Selden*, in his *Prolegomena* to his *Syrian gods*, has dwelt on this point, to whom we refer our reader, who would be thoroughly informed and convinced thereof. We ſhall only add, that *Lucian* (8), who was himſelf a *Syrian* of *Samoſata* calls himſelf an *Aſſyrian*.

(8) *De Dea Syr. p.* 1.

venture

venture to ſet bounds to it, and determine its dimenſions. It lay between the *Mediterranean* on the weſt, and the river *Euphrates* on the eaſt; and between mount *Taurus* on the north, and *Arabia* the deſert, *Paleſtine*, and *Phœnice* on the ſouth. And this tract extends from the thirty ſecond to the thirty ſeventh degree of north latitude, and from the thirty ſixth to the forty firſt degree of longitude, E. from *Lond.* Its length from north to ſouth three hundred ſeventy five miles; its breadth from eaſt to weſt three hundred miles.

Its diviſions.

SYRIA, in antient times, has been very variouſly divided. At firſt, we may be ſure, it was parcelled out into endleſs little kingdoms and juriſdictions. In after-times it ſeems to have been divided into four principal ones, *Zobah*, *Damaſcus*, *Hamath*, and *Geſhur*. Theſe were the principal diviſions; the reſt we find in ſcripture, ſuch as *Beth-rehob*, *Iſhtob*, *Maachah*, were ſubdiviſions, as we think. Afterwards the whole country was divided into two parts only, though the *Phœnicians*, *Idumeans*, *Jews*, *Gazites*, and *Azotites*, or the whole country of the *Philiſtines*, were included, which two parts were *Cœle-Syria*, and *Phœnice*[c]. After the death of *Alexander*, *Syria* in the great extent of its name was thus divided, *Commagene*, *Seleucis* of *Syria*, *Cœle-Syria*, *Phœnice* on the ſea-coaſt, and *Judæa* in the Midland. This is *Strabo*'s diviſion; but *Ptolemy* ſubdivides theſe, and in the proper *Syria* only, reckons *Commagene*, *Pieria*, *Cyrriſtica* or *Cyrrheſtica*, *Seleucis*, *Caſſiotis* or *Caſiotis*, *Chalybonitis*, *Chalcidice* or *Chalcidene*, *Apamene*, *Laodicene*, *Phœnicia*, *Mediterranea*, *Cœle-Syria*, and *Palmyrene*.

Commagene.

To follow the diviſion of *Ptolemy*; *Commagene* or *Comagene*, had on the weſt mount *Amanus*; on the north part of mount *Taurus*; on the eaſt it was waſhed by the *Euphrates*; but on the ſouth, whether it was conterminous with *Seleucis*, or *Cyrrheſtica*, or with both, is uncertain. It was the north corner of *Syria*. The chief cities of this province were *Samoſata* upon the *Euphrates*, *Antiochia ad Taurum*, or at the foot of *Taurus*, and *Germanicia*; theſe, and other cities and eminent places ſtood within this compaſs, once flouriſhing and magnificent, but now obliterated and in ruins.

Seleucis, Pieria *and* Caſiotis.

THE maritime *Seleucis* contained *Pieria* and *Caſiotis*, which were ſubdiviſions thereof; the firſt lying to the north, and the laſt to the ſouth. Within theſe limits ſtood *Alexandria* upon the *Sinus Iſſicus*, *Seleucia*, *Pieria* upon the *Mediterranean*, and *Laodicea* upon the ſame.

[c] STRABO, l. 16.

IN

Seleucis Mediterranea.

In the inland or *Mediterranean Seleucis*, ſtood the famous *Antioch* upon the *Orontes*. Theſe two *Seleucides* are by *Mela* and *Pliny* called *Antiochene*.

Apamene.

Apamene lay to the eaſtward of *Caſiotis*, and had *Apamea*, at leaſt half ſurrounded by the *Orontes*, for its chief town.

Cyrrheſtica.

Cyrrhestica was a province upon the *Euphrates*, *Cyrrhus*, or *Cyrus*, was the capital of this part of *Syria*. Here alſo ſtood a famous city called *Hierapolis*, *Bambyce*, and, by the *Syrians Magog* [f], where the *Syrian* goddeſs was worſhipped.

Chalcidine.

Chalcidine was wholly an inland province, nor bordered either upon the *Mediterranean ſea*, or the *Euphrates*, and had *Chalcis* for its capital. It was ſurrounded by *Antiochene* or *Seleucis* on the weſt; by *Cyrrheſtica* on the north; by *Chalybonitis* on the eaſt; and by *Apamene* and *Cœle-Syria* on the ſouth.

Chalybonitis.

On the eaſt of *Chalcidine* lay *Chalybonitis* on the *Euphrates*; its chief city *Chalybon*.

Palmyrene.

Palmyrene was a ſpacious and fertile province in the midſt of a frightful deſert to the ſouth of *Chalybonitis*; waſhed on the eaſt by the river *Euphrates*; once ſtored with great cities; all of which are quite periſhed but their metropolis *Palmyra*; which though now as much a deſert as that which ſurrounds, and divides it from the reſt of the nations, is yet deſervedly reckoned one of the wonders of our preſent world.

Cœle-Syria.

There is no reconciling the antient geographers, ſo as to be able to determine the bounds of what they mean by *Cœle-Syria*; but before all of them we prefer *Strabo*, who tells us, that *Cœle-Syria* was the vale between *Libanus* and *Anti-Libanus*; which, however the name may have been extended, was undoubtedly the proper *Cœle-Syria* and *Syria Cava*, which we take to have been the ſame. The principal cities of this part are *Heliopolis*, now *Balbek*, which we ſhall have occaſion to reſume hereafter, and *Damaſcus*, now *Shâm*, as is commonly and inaccurately ſaid, which lying eaſtward of *Anti-Libanus*, cannot be immediately reckoned into the proper *Cœle-Syria*.

Laodicene.

We know not how to fix the place of *Laodicene*. It may have been a part of the proper *Cœle-Syria*. Its chief city was *Laodicea Cabioſa*, or *ad Libanum*.

Of the *Phœnicia Mediterranea* we ſhall ſpeak in the next chapter.

[f] Plin. Hiſt. Nat. l. 5. c. 19, or 23.

Under

UNDER the *Roman* empire, the proper *Syria* was divided into *Comagena* or *Euphratenſis*, *Syria*, *Palmyrena* or *Syria Salutaris*, *Phœnicia Libani* or *Libaneſia*, *Libaniſia*, and *Libanuſia*, as we think. The *Arabs* reckon *Paleſtine* into *Syria*, on the one hand, and even *Cilicia* on the other, and call it *Shâm*, and *Abûlfeda* divides the whole into five *Junds*, or provinces, the *Kinneſryne*, the *Hemſene*, the *Damaſcene*, the *Jordanitic*, and the *Paleſtine*. *Other diviſions.*

THE climate of *Syria* is happy, if any be ſo, and its fertility ſo great, that it may be juſtly ſtiled a pleaſant garden almoſt throughout. We ſhall not here enter into a detail of its productions, which are many, noble, uſeful, and delicious. It abounds with ſufficient of all things, both for the profit and delight of man. It is moſtly a plain country, and for the moſt part covered over with a deep and rich ſoil. In ſhort it yields to no ſpot on earth, that lies under the ſame happy parallel. *Climate and fertility.*

THE rivers of this country, that we ſhall take notice of, are the *Orontes* (B), the largeſt of them all, a turbid, rapid ſtream, with waters not fit to drink, and fiſh unfit to eat *; and the *Barrady*, formerly the *Chryſorrhoas*, which ruſhing from *Anti-Libanus* down to *Damaſcus* is there divided into endleſs ſtreams for the ſupply and decoration of that city; whence recollecting at ſome diſtance, it ſoon loſes itſelf in a bog [g]. The rivers *Abana* and *Pharpar* muſt have been only branches (C) of this. *Rivers.*

THINGS

* See MAUNDRELL's Journey from Alepp. to Jeruſ. p. 4.

[g] MAUNDRELL's Voyage from Aleppo to Jeruſalem, p. 123.

(B) This river, according to *Strabo* (2), diſappeared at a place called *Charybdis*, between *Apamea* and *Antioch*; and after having run five miles under ground, appeared again. In the ſame author (3) alſo there is a fabulous tradition concerning the origin of this river, as that *Typhon*, in his flight, furrowed up the earth, and formed the canal; that he was thunder-ſtruck at the fountain-head of this river, and that his going down was the cauſe of the ſpring which riſes there. They feigned him to be a huge dragon. This may be added to the fabulous accounts we have already given of *Typhon*'s exit (4).

(C) *Radziville* (2), the *Palatine* of *Wilna*, tells us roundly of the rivers *Abana* and *Pharpar*, which watered the city of *Damaſcus*, when he was there, which is about one hundred and fifty years ago,

(2) *l.* 6. *p.* 275. (3) *l.* 16. *p.* 750, (4) *See* Vol. I. *p.* 521. (2) *Peregrin Jeroſolym. Epiſt.* 2. *p.* 31.

and

Natural Rarities.

THINGS more particularly remarkable in this country are the two valleys of ſalt, the one within four hours of *Aleppo* [h], the other in the neighbourhood of *Palmyra* [i], which ſhoot forth that mineral in ſurprizing abundance; the ſoil to a conſiderable depth being ſtrongly impregnated therewith, as is ſaid of the valley near *Aleppo*; and as might, doubtleſs, have been ſaid of the other, had trial thereof been made. The medicinal waters alſo in and about *Palmyra*, and in ſeveral other parts of *Palmyrene* [k], might claim our attention, were this a proper place. Among the remarkables of this country we may alſo reckon the few cedars which are now ſtanding upon *Lebanon*, or *Libanus*. They are near a Chriſtian monaſtery, called *Canobine*, about ten hours journey from *Tripoli*. They ſtand in the midſt of ſnow (D), near the higheſt part of *Libanus*,

[h] Idem ibid. ſub fine. [i] Philoſophical Tranſact. Numb. 217. p. 83. [k] Ibid. p. 103, 104.

and that they were unnavigable, but full of fiſh, and ſtreamed down to it from the mountain *Chrizoroa*, which ſhould have been written *Chryſorrhoas*, the *Greek* name of the river which watered *Damaſcus*, and not of any mountain there. *Thevenot*, who was ſo curious and minute an obſerver of every thing in and about *Damaſcus*, never once mentions the rivers *Abana* and *Pharpar*; but tells us (3) of three rivers that water *Damaſcus*, and meet at the end of the town; one of which, in the chapter following, he calls *Banias*. There is no footſtep of the names *Abana* and *Pharpar** among the beſt *Arabian* geographers. *Abûlfeda* tells us, that the ſtream which ſupplies *Damaſcus*, comes out of a cavern on the weſt ſide of the city, and immediately divides; which is ſo exactly Dr. *Maundrell*'s (4) deſcription of this water, that they very abundantly confirm each other. This laſt traveller could not ſo much as find any memory of the names of *Abana* and *Pharpar*, and ſuppoſes they muſt have been branches of this river *Barrady*, which comes out of the rock. And, as he ſo nicely agrees with *Abûlfeda* in the approach of this river to *Damaſcus*, he does the ſame with *Thevenot* in its departure therefrom; they both agreeing, that its divided ſtreams meet again on the other ſide of the town. Dr. *Maundrell* then in this caſe may be ſafely relied on, in what he ſays of this remarkable ſtream.

(D) *Rauwolf*, who viſited theſe cedars about midſummer, complains of the rigour of the cold, and the ſnows here. *Radziville*, who was here in *June*, about five years after him, talks of the ſnow that never melts away from theſe mountains, Other travellers talk to the ſame purpoſe; among whom our *Maundrell* repreſents the cedars ſtanding in the midſt of ſnow; but he was there in the month

(3) *Travels to the Levant*, *Part* 2, *Book* 1. *c.* 4. * *Vide Alber. Schult. Comment. Geograph. in vit. Salad. ad vocem, Damaſcus*
(4) *Journey from Alepp. to Jeruſ. p.* 122. of

banus, or *Lebanon*. Of the old ones, which are very large, there are only ſixteen, but young ones of a leſſer growth there are in great numbers. One of the largeſt of the former being meaſured, was found to be twelve yards ſix inches in girt, yet perfectly ſound, and the ſpread of its branches was thirty ſeven yards in circumference: and about five or ſix yards from the ground it divided itſelf into five limbs, each equal to a great tree [1]. Another traveller *, who was alſo on the ſpot tells us, that the largeſt he meaſured was, towards the middle of the trunk, ſeven foot wanting two inches round, at the ſame time that he reckons the ſpread of its boughs one hundred and twenty foot about. In which laſt dimenſion, agreeing ſo nearly with what is ſaid before of the ſame, there muſt be a monſtrous ſlip of the pen, or overſight of the preſs, either in this or the former account; for the difference between ſeven foot and twelve yards is quite ſurprizing. But the difference between theſe travellers goes on: the latter ſays, the largeſt of the cedars had not a trunk above ſix or ſeven foot high out of the ground, which falls moſt unaccountably ſhort of what has been juſt now ſaid upon that point: and yet this author [*De la Roque*] talks of the enormity of the trunks of theſe trees, and of the prodigious branches which part therefrom; which is throwing away great words very improperly, if he is not moſt egregiouſly out in the dimenſions he gives us, which are ſo trifling, that they cannot deſerve admiration in any degree. This, though a digreſſion of ſuch a kind as is unfit to find a place in a work of this nature, we hope we ſhall be excuſed in, meaning thereby only to obviate what might be objected, by ſome, to the diſcredit of a very ſincere traveller of our own nation (E). It

[1] MAUNDRELL ubi ſupr. p. 142. * DE LA ROQUE, *Voyage de Syrie, Tome* I. *p.* 88.

of *May*. From all this we might have formed a judgment, that the cedars ſtand always in the midſt of ſnow: but we are aſſured of the contrary by another traveller (5), according to whom the ſnows here begin to melt in *April*, and are no more to be ſeen after *July*; nor is, ſays he, any at all left, but in ſuch clefts of the mountains which the ſun cannot come at: that the ſnow begins not to fall again till *December*, and that he himſelf, when he was here, ſaw no ſnow at all; and, it is probable that he ſpeaks nothing but the truth.

(E) We cannot forbear obſerving, that there ſeems to be almoſt as great a difference, concerning theſe cedars, between *Rau-*

(5) *De la Roque Voyage de Syrie, Tome I. p.* 89.

wolfs-

It will not be expected of us to give an accurate deſcription of this noble tree; therefore we ſhall only ſay, that it bears a narrow leaf, of a ſad green, together with a cone like that of the pine-tree, but darker, and of a ſmoother coat. As theſe cedars ſpread out extremely with a broad flat head, which is compared to the top of an umbrella, the weight of the ſnow that might lodge upon them at certain ſeaſons, would break down their branches: but, to prevent this, they are reported to have the extraordinary faculty of preparing themſelves againſt ſo deſtructive a danger, by ſtretching their branches upwards till they form a cone; thereby exhibiting the ſmalleſt ſurface poſſible to the heavens, and by that means, preſerving themſelves from ruin [m]. Theſe cedars of *Lebanon* making ſo noble a figure in the books of the Old Teſtament, and having been antiently the pride of this country, we could not well ſay leſs than we have concerning the few of them left, which are held in ſuch veneration by the inhabitants in theſe parts, that nothing can be added thereto (F).

As

[m] De la Roque ubi ſupr. p. 90, 91.

wolf (6), and *Radziville* (7); who viſited them about a century and a half ago. The former reckons the largeſt cedars at ſeveral fathoms in circumference. The latter ſays, they were handſome proper trees, with wide ſpreading branches, like the trees the *Poles* call *Modrzew*; he does not raiſe the admiration at all. But the truth of it is, Mr. *de la Roque* muſt be excuſed, if he does deceive us by leſſening the cedars ſo much. It is not his own voyage, though he ſets his name to it, which is ſomewhat odd. He is no more than editor of this, as well as of other voyages under his name, which were really and properly Monſ. le Chevalier *d' Arvieux*'s. To prove that it muſt be his miſtake, we ſhall only recur to the *Memoirs of the* miſſionaries (8) *in the Levant*, where a *Jeſuit*, who meaſured the largeſt of theſe cedars, tells us it was in girt ſix fathom, which ſquare very well with *Maundrell*'s twelve yards.

(F) We are told (9), that at the foot of the largeſt of theſe cedars are four ſtone altars: that upon the *day of the tranſfiguration*, the patriarch of the *Maronites* repairs to them, attended by a number of biſhops, prieſts and monks; and followed by five or ſix thouſand of their religion from all parts; and that under theſe trees they celebrate that feſtival, which they miſcal the *feaſt of cedars*. By another it is added, that the patriarch officiates pontifically upon this ſolemn occaſion; that they are particularly mindful of the bleſſed Virgin upon this day; becauſe the ſcripture compares her to

(6) *Ray's Collect. of Voyages ubi ſupra.* (7) *Peregrin Jeroſolym. ubi ſupr.* (8) *Tom.* 4. *p.* 358. (9) *Ibid.*

the

2

Artificial Rarities.

As we have been ſo particular in deſcribing the *Egyptian* monuments of antiquity; we cannot paſs over the chief, at leaſt, of thoſe which are to be found in this country, which, in the judgment of many, may be thought no way inferior to any thing of the kind in *Egypt*. Who founded the noble edifices, whoſe remains we ſhall have here occaſion to deſcribe, is quite uncertain; but nothing is more probable, than that they were not erected under any of the princes in the enſuing hiſtory, they being in the moſt correct ſtile of the antient *Greeks* and *Romans*. Upon this account we might be taxed with irregularity in introducing them into a period, when they had no being, had we not this for our excuſe; that being quite in the dark, as to the time when they were built, we may as well ſpeak of them here as any where elſe.

THOUGH there are many noble veſtiges of the magnificence of *Syria*, ſcattered up and down the country, both *Pagan* and *Chriſtian*, we ſhall dwell on two only; *Balbek*, formerly *Heliopolis*, as is commonly ſuppoſed, and *Palmyra*, or *Tadmor* in the wilderneſs.

The fine Ruins at Heliopolis *now* Balbek.

BALBEK, or *Balbeck*, is mentioned by the *Arabians* as the wonder of *Syria* (G); and ſuch of our *European* travellers as have viſited it, are ſo charmed with what they there behold, that they are at a loſs how to expreſs their admiration. On the ſouth-weſt of the town, which ſtands in a delightful plain on the weſt foot of *Anti-Libanus*, is a heathen temple, together with the remains of ſome other edifices; among the reſt a palace of a true magnificence. Theſe antient ſtructures have been patched and pieced in later times, and converted into a caſtle, as it is called. As you draw near to theſe venerable ruins, you meet with a *rotunda*, or round pile of building, incircled with pillars of the *Corinthian* order, which ſupport a corniſh that runs all round the ſtructure; the whole

The Rotunda.

the cedars of *Lebanon*; and that the ſame holy father threatens, with his church thunderbolts, thoſe who preſume to (10) hurt or diminiſh them,

(G) The *Arabian* geographical lexicographer, cited by *Schultens*, in his geographical commentary (11), at the end of his edition of *Soltân Salah'addin*'s life, ſays; *Balbek is a city of three days journey from Damaſcus, where are wonderful foundations and magnificent veſtiges of antiquity, and palaces with marble columns, ſuch as in the whole world are no where elſe to be ſeen.* And *Abûlfeda*; at *Balbek are palaces of hewn ſtone with moſt lofty columns; nor is there in all* Syria *any ſtone ſtructure more admirable or magnificent.*

(10) *De la Roque ubi ſupra p.* 87, 89. (11) *Ad vocem Balbecum.*

of

of great elegance and ſtatelineſs, but now in a very tottering condition [n]. It is moſtly of marble, and, though round on the outſide, is an octagon within; being withinſide adorned with eight arches, ſupported by eight *Corinthian* columns, each of one ſingle piece. It is now open at top, but appears to have been covered with a ſhell, and to have been much embelliſhed with the figures of eagles. The *Greeks*, who have converted this lovely round into a church, have barbarouſly ſpoiled the beauty of the inſide, by daubing it over with plaiſter [o]. Leaving this, you come to a large, firm, and very lofty pile of building, which has the air of an adjectitious work; and through this pile you paſs into a noble arched walk, or portico, one hundred and fifty paces long, which leads you to the temple.

The great Temple.

This temple has, to a miracle, reſiſted the injuries of time, and the madneſs of ſuperſtition, being as good as entire. It is an oblong ſquare, in its general form and proportion exactly like St. *Paul's* ~~in~~ *Covent-Garden*; but for magnificence of ſtructure and dimenſion, there is ſcarce any compariſon, this temple being almoſt as big again every way. Its length on the outſide is one hundred ninety two foot, and its breadth ninety ſix [p]. Its length within ſide is one hundred and twenty foot, and its breadth ſixty. The *pronaos*, or anti-temple, took up fifty four foot of the hundred and ninety, but is now tumbled down, and the pillars which ſupported it are broken. The whole body of this temple, as it now ſtands, is ſurrounded with a noble portico, ſupported by pillars of the *Corinthian* order, ſix foot three inches in diameter, about fifty four in height (H), and each of three ſtones apiece. Their diſtance from each other, and from the wall of the

[n] Maundrell ubi ſupr. p. 135. [o] De La Roque ubi ſupr. p. 152. [p] Maundrell ubi ſupr.

(H) Theſe fifty four are *French* feet, which according to *Maundrell*, ought to be but forty five *Engliſh*, which is a very great difference. The *French* author viewed this place for a fortnight together, whereas our *Engliſh* traveller was ſcarce here a day; ſo that the former may be chiefly relied on in moſt particulars, and accordingly we have adhered chiefly to him; though they both agree very well, conſidering, that the one was a tranſitory, the other a conſtant obſerver, as we may call them. Beſides, in this caſe the thing ſpeaks itſelf; for, according to our mean ſkill in architecture, a *Corinthian* pillar, whoſe diameter is ſix foot, in which they both agree, will require at leaſt fifty foot of height to appear with any manner of elegance and delicacy.

temple,

temple, is nine foot. There are fourteen of them on each ſide of the temple, and eight at each end, counting the corner pillars in each number. The architrave and corniſh, which are ſupported all round by theſe pillars, are exquiſitely carved. And as you walk round this temple, between its wall and the pillars which go round it, you have, over-head, a ſolid arcade all the way, of great ſtones hollowed out arch-wiſe; in the centre of each of which is a god, a goddeſs, or a hero (I), ſtruck out with that life that is not to be conceived [q]; and all round the foot of the wall of the temple itſelf is a double border of marble, the loweſt parts of which is a continued baſs relieve in miniature, expreſſing heathen myſteries and ceremonies, where, without any confuſion, you ſee a ſurprizing mixture of men and beaſts, in the moſt happy compoſition, and moſt agreeable variety [r].

HAVING thus deſcribed the outſide of this temple, we will proceed to the inſide; but let us firſt take a view of the entrance, than which nothing can be more auguſt. The aſcent to it is by thirty ſteps, on each ſide bounded by a wall, which terminates in a pedeſtal, on which formerly ſtood a ſtatue, as may be ſafely ſuppoſed. The front is compoſed of eight *Corinthian* pillars, as we have already ſaid, fluted, as are all the reſt that go round the temple, and an ample and nobly proportioned triangular pediment. Within theſe eight pillars, at the diſtance of about ſix foot, are four others like the two former, and two pillars of three faces each, that terminate the walls of the temple, which come out a good way from the body of the temple itſelf. All theſe form a porch or portico before the door of the temple, in depth about twenty four foot, and in breadth ſixty odd. Through theſe pillars appears the door of the temple, under the vault of the portico; but it there appears with great majeſty, and without the leaſt confuſion; ſo nice are the proportions of the pillars, their diſtance from each other, and the receſs of the door itſelf. The door-caſe or portal is ſquare, and of marble, in proportion and conſtruction juſt like the great marble portal at the weſt end of St. *Paul*'s, but far richer in ſculpture, and larger, if we miſtake not. The whole height of it is about forty foot, and its whole width about twenty

[q] Idem ibid. [r] DE LA ROQUE ubi ſupr. p. 138, 147.

(I) An emperor or an empreſs, ſays *de la Roque* (12); but in this we chooſe to rely on *Maundrell*'s judgment.

(12) *Ubi ſupr. p.* 148.

eight, with an opening of about twenty foot wide [r]. You are no ſooner got under this portal, but looking up, you ſee the bottom of the lintel, enriched with a piece of ſculpture, which has ſcarce its equal in the world. It is a vaſt eagle in baſs relieve, expanding his wings, and carrying a caduceus in his pounce; and on each hand of him is a fame [t], or cupid [u]. Theſe, each of them, ſupport the one end of a feſtoon by a ſtring or ribbon, the other being held in the eagle's beak on each hand, inimitably fine [w].

When you are got withinſide of the temple, you find it divided into three iſles, two narrow on the ſides, and one broad in the middle, after the manner of our churches, being formed by two rows of fluted *Corinthian* pillars, of between three and four foot diameter, and in height, including the pedeſtal, about thirty ſix. Theſe pillars are twelve in number, ſix on a ſide, at the diſtance of about eighteen foot from each other, and about twelve from the walls of the temple. The walls are adorned with two rows or orders of pilaſters one over another, and between each two of the lowermoſt is a round nich about fifteen foot high. The bottom of the niches is upon a level with the baſes of the pillars, and the wall to that height is wrought in the proportions of a *Corinthian* pedeſtal, and the niches themſelves are *Corinthian* in all their parts, with the ſtricteſt preciſion and niceſt delicacy. Over theſe round niches is a row of ſquare ones, between the pilaſters of the upper order: the ornaments belonging to them are all marble, and they are each crowned with a triangular pediment (K). Towards the weſt end of the middle iſle you aſcend to a choir, as it is called, by thirteen ſteps, which are the whole breadth of this part in length. This choir is diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of the temple by two large ſquare columns adorned with pilaſters, which form a noble entrance, exactly correſponding with that of the temple itſelf. Here is a great profuſion of aſtoniſhing ſculpture; but the architecture is the ſame here as in the body of the temple, except that the pillars have no pedeſtals, and the niches ſtand upon the pavement [x].

[r] Idem ubi ſupr. p. 136. [t] Maundrell ubi ſupr. [u] De la Roque ubi ſupr. p. 137. [w] Idem ibid. [x] Idem ubi ſupr. p. 140—142.

(K) In the draught *Maundrell* (13) has given us of the inſide of this temple, the upper and the lower niches are exactly alike, both round: this is a remarkable difference; but which way to reconcile them we know not.

(13) *Journey from Aleppo to Jeruſ.*

The

The two large ſquare pillars, which ſo remarkably diſtinguiſh this part of the temple, are thought to have ſupported a canopy; but nothing of that kind is to be ſeen now. In the bottom of this choir, is a vaſt marble nich, where ſtood the principal deity here worſhipped. In this choir are ſeen the moſt finely imagined ſculptures, feſtoons, birds, flowers, fruits; and fine baſs relieves, neptunes, tritons, fiſhes, ſea-gods, *Arion* and his dolphin, and other marine figures [y]. The cieling, or vault, of this temple is bold, and divided into compartments filled with excellent carvings. It is open towards the middle; but whether a cupola or lanthorn ſtood there for the admiſſion of light, or whether it was always open, cannot be judged at this diſtance of time [z]. In a word, the charming ſymmetry, the correct taſte, and the height wherewith all the carvings are finiſhed, even at ſuch elevations, where ſuch niceneſs is thought unneceſſary, are ſuch, that it may be truly ſaid, the whole pile is faultleſs, and without the leaſt blemiſh. The whole ſtands upon vaults of ſuch excellent architecture, and ſo bold a turn, that it is thought they ſerved for ſomething more than merely the ſupport of the ſuperincumbent weight, and may have been a ſubterraneous temple, applied to ſome particular ſervice in the Pagan worſhip. And, though this temple now ſtands by itſelf, there are evident marks, that it was accompanied by other buildings, no way unworthy of it; among which are reckoned four different aſcents to it, one upon each angle, with marble ſteps ſo long, that eight or ten perſons may go up abreaſt [a].

WITHIN the walls of this caſtle, as it is now called, are alſo great remains of what muſt have been a palace, ſcarce inferior to any royal ſeat, that has ever been in the world; but being by no means in ſo perfect a ſtate as the temple, we ſhall ſpeak of it in general terms, and inſiſt only on ſuch parts as deſerve our greateſt attention. But firſt of all it muſt be obſerved, that the old wall, which encloſed both this and the temple above deſcribed, is built of ſuch monſtrous blocks of ſtone, as exceed all belief, and have given birth to a tradition among the natives, that the whole is the work of the devil. There are particularly three, which lie end for end with each other, and which together extend one hundred eighty three foot in length, whereof one is ſixty three foot long, and the other two ſixty apiece. Their depth is twelve foot, and their breadth the ſame; and, what adds to the wonder, theſe

Stones of an incredible ſize.

[y] MAUNDRELL ubi ſupr. DE LA ROQUE ubi ſupr. p. 143.
[z] Idem ubi ſupr. p. 144, 145. [a] Idem ubi ſupr. p. 149, 150.

ſtones are lifted twenty foot from the ground. The reſt of the ſtones of this wall are of ſurprizing dimenſions, but none quite ſo large as theſe [b].

The palace. Going through the long arched walk, which we have already mentioned as leading to the temple, and which looks like a ſubterraneous paſſage, adorned with many buſts, which for want of light cannot well be diſcerned, the firſt object which ſtrikes the ſight is a ſpacious hexagonal building, or wall; which forms a kind of a ſpacious theatre, which is open at the other end, and preſents you with a terraſs, to which you aſcend by marble ſteps. This aperture admits you into a ſquare court, larger than the firſt, round which are buildings more magnificent than what you ſee till then. Here, on each hand, you have a double row of pillars, which form porticoes, or galleries, of ſixty ſix fathom in length, and eight in breadth. The bottom of this court was taken up by a third building, more ſumptuous than the reſt and deeper, and ſeems to have been the body of the palace, fronting eaſt, as all the fronts in this caſtle do. The columns belonging to this part are of ſuch ſize, that they are compared with thoſe of the hippodrome at *Conſtantinople*. Nine of theſe columns are ſtanding (L), and a good piece of the entablature, which evince it to have been one of the wonders of *Aſia*; and, to crown all, each of theſe nine pillars is but one block. Many conſiderable and diſtinct veſtiges of the ſeveral parts of this palace are ſtill extant. The *Corinthian* order prevails chiefly throughout the whole; and ſcarce is there any where to be found ſuch precious remains of architecture and ſculpture. The ornaments are various, but without any of the wild extravagancies of modern architects. The fine taſte of *Greece*, and the magnificence of *Rome* here meet; ſtatues without number, buſts of all ſorts, proud trophies, curiouſly-wrought niches, walls and cielings inriched with baſs relieves,

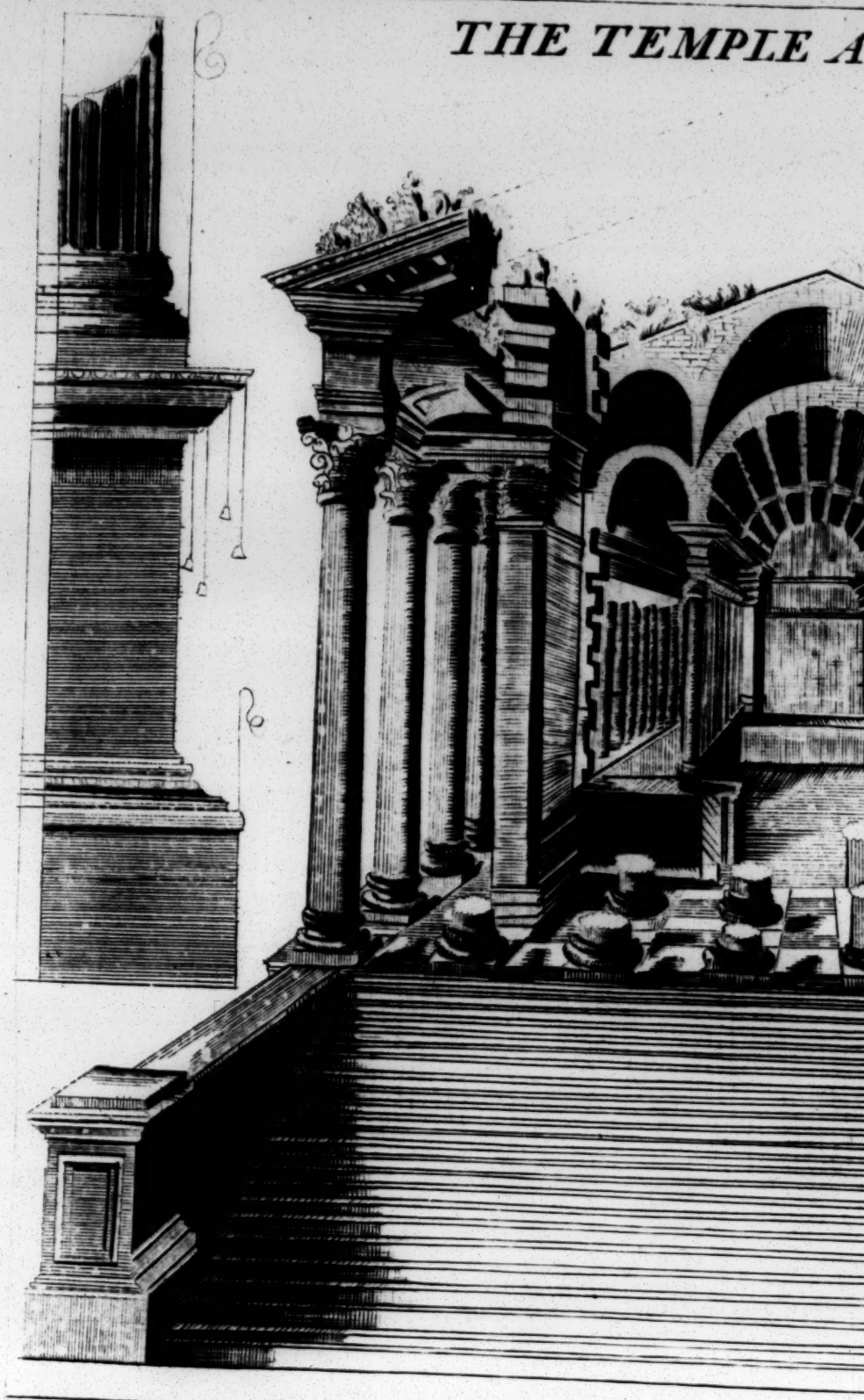
[b] Maundrell ubi ſupr. p. 138. De la Roque ubi ſupr. p. 121.

(L) *Maundrell* remembers theſe pillars in the following words: *About fifty yards diſtant from the temple, is a row of* Corinthian *pillars, very great and lofty; with a moſt ſtately architrave and corniſh at top. This ſpeaks itſelf to have been part of ſome very auguſt pile; but what one now ſees of it is but juſt enough to give a regret that there ſhould be no more of it remaining* (14). He did not viſit the palace; not being prepared, we ſuppoſe, with the thoughts, that there had been any building of the kind there.

(14) *Journey from Aleppo to Jeruſ. p.* 137.

incruſtations,

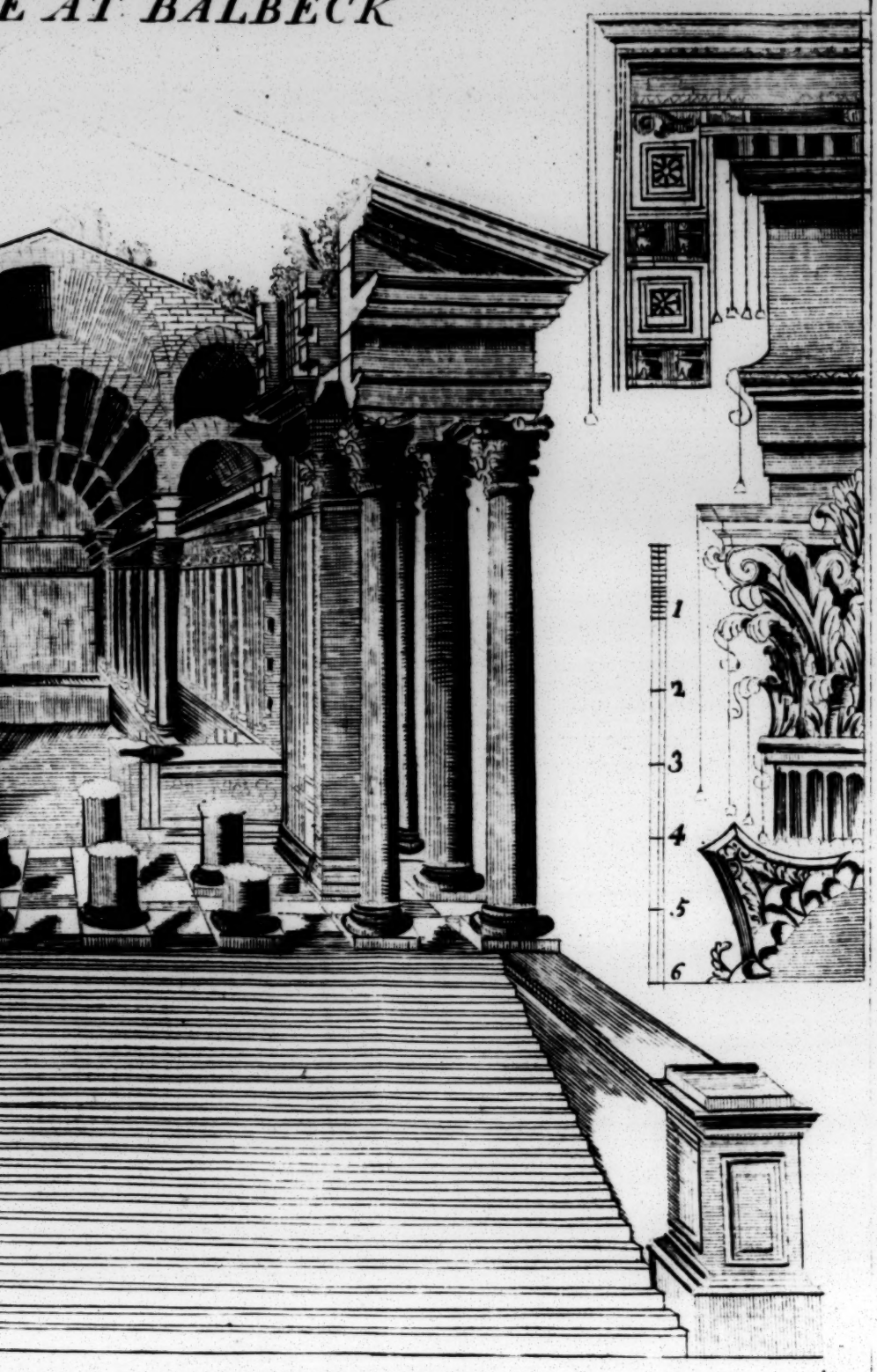
THE TEMPLE A



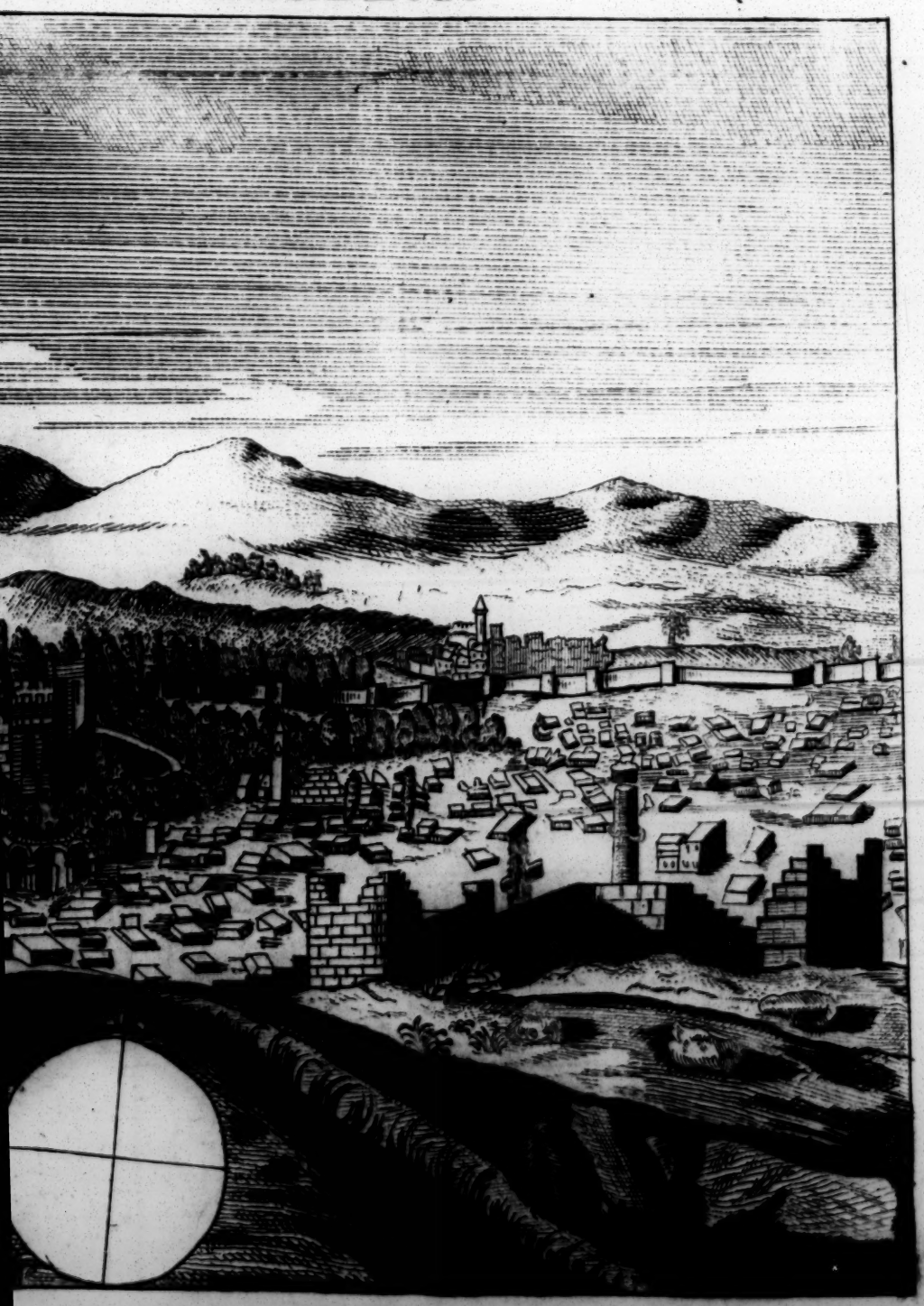
D. Pomarede Sculpt

THE PROSPECT

E AT BALBECK



CT OF BALBECK



incruſtations, and other works of the fineſt marble; therms and caryatides judiciouſly placed. Underneath the whole are vaſt vaults; where from time to time you diſcover, through the ruins, long flights of marble ſtairs, near two hundred in a flight. The turn and elevation of theſe vaults are bold and ſurprizing: and in theſe ſubterraneous parts you find many rooms, halls, rich apartments entire, and many marble tombs. The walls here alſo are adorned with niches, baſs relieves, and inſcriptions in *Roman* characters; but theſe inſcriptions are quite effaced by the length of time and the damps. Some of theſe vaults are quite dark, and muſt be viſited with lights, either becauſe of their great depth, or becauſe the paſſages, which may have given them light, are ſtopped up by rubbiſh; but others receive light by great windows, which ſtand on the level of the ground above: and laſtly, all theſe edifices are built with ſtones of the enormous ſize already mentioned, without any viſible mortar, cement, or binding whatſoever[c]. The temple and theſe ruins ſtand in the ſame incloſure, as we have ſaid, and may challenge any monument of antiquity now extant, either at *Athens*, or *Rome*, or even in *Egypt*. All over and about the town you, at every ſtep, meet with ſome melancholy fragment of antiquity. The quarry from whence they had the ſtone for theſe works is a little way out of the town. It is cut out in ſteps ſomething like an amphitheatre, where there lies one ſtone ready hewn, which ſeems to ſurpaſs what have been already deſcribed. It is a notion, it was too heavy to be moved; but, upon a nice examination, it is faſt to the rock[d]. Such was *Balbek*, which might tempt one to think it to have been once the moſt conſiderable place in *Syria*, and the delight of ſome mighty prince, who there choſe to reſide (M).

BUT

[c] Idem ubi ſupr. p. 124—132. [d] Idem ubi ſupr. p. 151, 155.

(M) We flatter ourſelves, that no antiquary will, according to this deſcription of *Balbek*, allow *Solomon* to have had any hand in what we ſee there; and yet prince *Radziville* (15), who is, in the main, a very judicious traveller, thinks it paſt diſpute that it is the work of *Solomon*. He imagines it to be the houſe he built for *Pharaoh*'s daughter, and that it moſt exactly anſwers the deſcription of that palace in the book of *Kings* (16), and indeed we cannot ſay there is no ſimilitude in the caſe. This he avers upon an accurate and diligent obſervation, as he tells us; and adds as a further

(15) *Peregrin. Jeroſolym. Epiſt.* 2. *p.* 27. (16) 1 *Kings* vii. 8—13.

The ruins of Palmyra.

But the magnificent ruins of *Palmyra* ſeem equally to claim our admiration. We ſhall not here examine who was the original founder of this city, whether *Solomon*, or any other before him, nor will we endeavour to inveſtigate to whom we are indebted for what now ſtands of this deſolate and abandoned town. Such diſcuſſions will come more naturally in their proper places, as they may occur in the body of this work. Thus much, however, we may ſafely premiſe, that at *Palmyra* we ſee no remains, or next to none, of *Solomon*'s *Tadmor*, this city having been more than once ſacked and demoliſhed ſince his time, as will appear, when we come to mention the viciſſitudes thereof.

Its names and ſituation.

Palmyra, by the *Greeks* and *Romans*, in the ſcripture, *Tadmor* in the wilderneſs, by *Joſephus*, *Palmira*, and *Thadamor*, by the ſeptuagint copies, *Theodmor* and *Thedmor*, and by the *Arabs* and *Syrians* at this day, *Tadmor*, *Tadmur*, and *Tatmor*, was once a noble city in the ſouth-eaſtern parts of *Syria*. The origin of theſe names is dark and uncertain (N). It ſtood on a fertile iſland, if we may ſo call it, ſurrounded

proof of it, that the buildings have not ſuffered any violence, but are crumbled away and decayed by mere length of time. He muſt have minded theſe ruins in general; he cannot have deſcended to particulars; or he had never been ſo egregiouſly overſeen as he ſeems to have been.

(N) The author of the deſcription of *Palmyra* (17) calls it *Palmira*, which he derives from the palms about it, and ſuppoſes it to be the tranſlation of a *Hebrew* word, importing a palm. *Halley* (18) derives it from Πάλμυς *Palmys*, which *Heſychius* interprets a *king* or *father*, or from Παλμύτης, *Palmytes*, an *Egyptian* god, according to the ſame *Heſychius*. *Seller* (19) is of another mind, he cannot think of deriving it from *Palmys*, a *king* or *father*, or from *Palmytes* an *Egyptian* god: for what, ſays he, had the gods of *Egypt* to do ſo near the banks of *Euphrates*? He derives it therefore from Πάλμη, *Palme*, a *Perſian* ſhield, or *Parma*, as the *Latins* render it. This he ſupports with ſome authority, and a good deal of probability, rejecting the fantaſtic etymology of *Malela* (20), who will have it called *Palmira*, διὰ τὸ παλαι μοῖραν γενέσθαι τὴν κώμην τῶ Γαλιάθ, becauſe *David* ſlew *Goliath* there, which few or none will be willing to allow. The etymology of *Tadmor* is ſtill darker, if poſſible; but, as dark as it is, we cannot forbear acquainting the learned and inquiſitive reader with the thoughts of *Schultens*, in his

(17) *Philoſoph. Tranſact. Numb.* 217. *p.* 85. (18) *Ibid. Numb.* 218. *p.* 161. (19) *Hiſtory of Palmyra in the Appendix, p.* 177. (20) *Par.* 1. *p.* 1 *r.* 11. *p.* 153.

geographica

rounded on all ſides by a thirſty and barren deſert. The firſt object, that now occurs as you approach this forlorn place, is a caſtle of mean architecture and uncertain foundation, though impregnably ſituated, as we ſay, about half an hour from the city. This caſtle ſtands on the north ſide of the city, and from thence you deſcry *Tadmor*, incloſed on three ſides by long ridges of mountains; but to the ſouth is a vaſt plain, which ſtretches away out of ſight. The air is exceeding good; but the ſoil is barren (O), affording nothing green but a few palm trees in the gardens, and a few more ſcattered up and down. The city muſt have been of large extent by the ſpace now taken up by the ruins; but there are no veſtiges of the walls, whereby to judge of its antient form. It is now a deplorable ſpectacle to behold, being only inhabited by thirty or forty miſerable families, who have built them poor huts of dirt within a ſpacious court, which once encloſed a magnificent heathen temple.

The great court and temple.

To begin the deſcription here; this court, which ſtands about the ſouth end of the city, is two hundred and twenty

geographical commentary (21), upon both the names *Tadmor* and *Palmyra*. He obſerves, that in the text it is written תמר *Tamor*, and in the magin תדמר *Tadmor*. *Tamor* he reckons to have become the uſual name of this place, for ſoftneſs ſake, and to refer to תמר *Tamar* the *palm*; with which in the next note this place will be ſeen to have abounded. He ſuppoſes alſo, that originally in *Arabic* they did not ſpell it تدمر *Tadmor*, but [تتمر] تطمر *Tatmor*, and thus he accordingly finds it in his *Arabic* geographical Lexicon; as if you ſhould ſay *palmiferous*, or *palm-bearing*, the *T* for ſound ſake being changed into *D*. The alteration of this name he aſcribes wholly to the *Romans*, who upon finding the place called *Tadmor*, or *Tadmur*, may at firſt have corrupted it into *Talmura*; but that ſoon after, underſtanding the city had its name from its palm-trees, they converted *Talmura* into *Palmura*, whence *Palmyra*.

(O) Not that it had always the ſame ſterile appearance. *Abûlfeda*, who, though he calls *Tadmor* a ſmall city in the deſert of *Syria*, yet places it in *Arabia*, writes, that *Palmyrene*, for the moſt part, abounded in ſalt; and that the palm and olive flouriſhed there; adding, that there are many great and noble ruins there to be ſeen. In him moreover we read, that it had perpetual ſprings, and yielded fruits and corn. Upon this occaſion it may not be amiſs to refer you back to what we have conjectured concerning the preſent ſterility of the land of *Edom*. (22).

(21) *In vit. Salad. ad vocem Tadmora.* (22) *See before in the Notes, p.* 126.

yards on each ſide, with a high and ſtately wall of large ſquare ſtone, adorned with pilaſters within and without, to the number, as near as could be judged, of ſixty two on a ſide. The beautiful corniſhes have been purpoſely beaten down by the *Turks*, who have thereby deprived the world of one of the fineſt works of the kind, that, perhaps, was ever ſeen, as here and there a fragment, which has eſcaped their fury, abundantly evinces. The weſt ſide of this court, by which you enter it, is moſt of it broken down; and towards the middle of it there are remains of an old caſtle, built by the *Mamlûks*, as is ſuppoſed, out of part of the ruins which are here in ſuch abundance. This caſtle ſhrouds the remains of an antient fabric of exquiſite beauty, as appears by what is ſtill ſtanding of its entrance, being two ſtones of thirty five foot in length, carved with vines and cluſters of grapes, exceeding bold and to the life. They are both in their right places, and by them it appears, that the door or gate was fifteen foot wide. in this great court were the remains of two rows of very noble marble pillars thirty ſeven foot high, with capitals of the fineſt carved work; and the corniſhes muſt have been of equal beauty, though quite deſtroyed by the relentleſs ſuperſtition of the *Mohammedans*. Of theſe pillars fifty eight are entire. They muſt have been many more in number; for, by what appears, they went quite round the court, and ſupported a moſt ſpacious double piazza, or cloiſter. The walks on the weſt ſide of this piazza, which face the front of the temple, ſeem to have been the moſt ſpacious and ſtately of all; and at each end of it are two niches for ſtatues at their full length, with their pedeſtals, borders, ſupporters, and canopies, carved with the greateſt artifice and curioſity. The ſpace within this once beautiful incloſure is conceived to have been an open court, as we have already called it, in the midſt of which ſtands the temple, incompaſſed with another row of pillars of a different order, and far exceeding the former in dimenſions, being fifty foot high. Of theſe, ſixteen are now ſtanding; but there muſt have been about double that number, which, whether they formed an inner court, or ſupported the roof of a cloiſter, is utterly uncertain. One great ſtone lies down, which ſeems to have reached from theſe pillars to the walls of the temple; ſo that the latter conjecture may naturally enough take place. The whole ſpace contained within theſe pillars is one hundred and ſeventy ſeven foot in length, and in breadth eighty four. In the midſt of this ſpace is the temple, extending ninety nine foot in length, and in breadth, about forty. It has a ſumptuous entrance on the weſt, exactly in the middle of

the

the building, and, by what remains, ſeems to have been one of the moſt glorious edifices in the world. You here ſee vines and cluſters of grapes executed to the life; and over the door you can juſt trace out a ſpread eagle, as at *Balbek*, which takes up the whole width; with ſome angels, or cupids, accompanying it on the ſame ſtone, and ſeveral eagles are ſeen upon ſtones that are fallen down. Nothing of this temple is ſtanding but the walls, in which it is obſervable, that the windows, though not large, are narrower at top than at bottom, but mightily enriched with ſculpture. It has been aukwardly patched up to ſerve for a moſque, all but the north end, where are very precious reliques; which, whether they were in the nature of canopies over altars, or to what uſe elſe they ſerved, is not eaſy to conjecture. They are beautified with the moſt curious fret-work and ſculpture; in the midſt of which is a dome, or cupola, ſix foot diameter, all of one piece; but whether they are hewn out of the ſolid rock, or moulded of fine cement, or compoſition, is made a doubt.

Promiſcuous ruins.

LEAVING this court and temple your eyes are accoſted with an amazing ſight of marble pillars, ſcattered up and down for the ſpace of near a mile of ground; but in ſuch lamentable confuſion, that there is no room to gueſs for what ends they were framed. But, to paſs by the ruins of a moſque, as not worth our obſervation, and not bewilder your eye with the ſad confuſion which here preſents itſelf, we will proceed to particulars as they occur after, or correſpond with each other.

Obeliſk and two pillars.

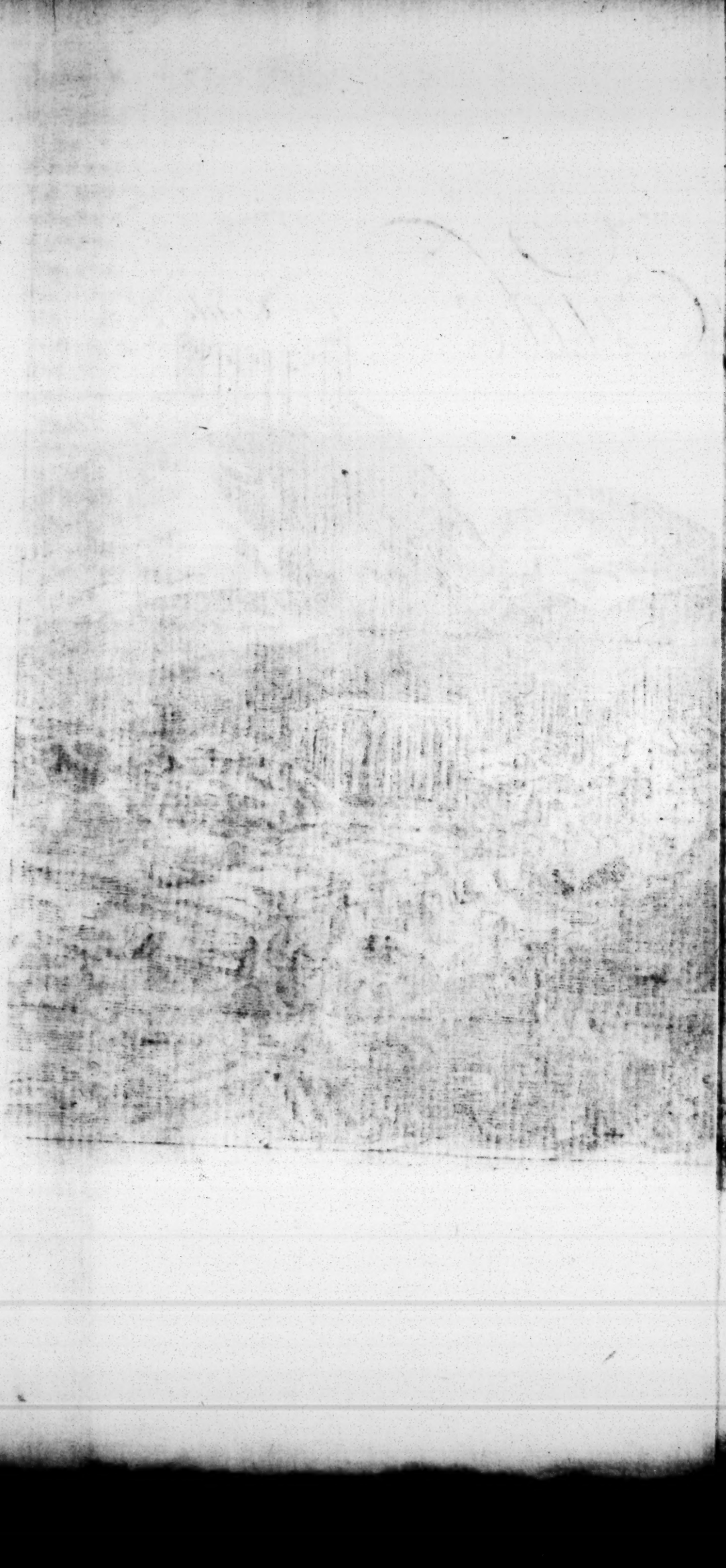
ADVANCING towards the north, as you leave the temple, you have a tall and ſtately obeliſk, or pillar, before you, conſiſting of ſeven large ſtones, beſides its capital. It has a wreathed work about it; the ſculpture here, as every where elſe, extremely fine. It exceeds fifty foot in height, is twelve foot and a half in compaſs juſt above the pedeſtal, and a ſtatue is conceived to have once ſtood upon it. On the eaſt and weſt of this, at the diſtance of a quarter of a mile, is a large pillar, which ſeem to have correſponded with each other. And there is a piece of another near to the eaſtern pillar, which looks as if there had been once a continued row of them. The height of this eaſtern pillar, as taken by a quadrant, is above forty foot. Its circumference is proportionable, and on the body of it is a *Greek* inſcription in commemoration of two patriots, by a grateful order of the ſenate and people, which, with the others of the ſame and other kinds, we may hereafter meet with, we ſhall paſs over for the preſent, that we may not break in upon the thread of this deſcription.

deſcription. The weſtern pillar has another inſcription of the like ſort; but not quite ſo perfect as the former.

The great piazza. Proceeding on from the obeliſk, or pillar, laſt mentioned, at the diſtance of one hundred paces, is a magnificent entrance, vaſtly large and lofty, and for workmanſhip nothing inferior to any piece hitherto deſcribed; but unhappily it has ſuffered the ſame fate with the reſt. This entrance leads into a noble piazza, above half a mile long and forty foot broad, formed by two rows of ſtately marble pillars twenty ſix foot high, and eight or nine about. Of theſe pillars one hundred and twenty nine are ſtanding; but by a moderate calculation, they cannot have been fewer at firſt, than five hundred and ſixty. Covering over them there is none remaining, nor pavement beneath, that can be ſeen. Upon moſt of theſe pillars are inſcriptions in *Greek* and *Palmyrene* characters; ſo that it ſeems to have been a much frequented, and the moſt conſpicuous part of the city, and moſt proper for the daily and honourable commemoration of ſuch as had deſerved well of their fellow-citizens, or friends and relations. And, as if inſcriptions were not ſufficient, it ſeems, as if here they fixed the ſtatues alſo of the perſons celebrated; there being pedeſtals jetting out from theſe pillars, ſometimes one way, and ſometimes more, whereon muſt have ſtood ſtatues, which have long ago fallen victims to the furious and barbarous zeal of the *Mohammedans*; and upon theſe pedeſtals are inſcriptions, even when none are on the pillar they belong to, and ſometimes even when there are. The upper end of this ſpacious piazza was ſhut in by a row of pillars, ſtanding cloſer together than thoſe on each ſide, and perhaps a banquetting-houſe ſtood upon them, though no ſign of it be ſpared. But on the left hand, a little farther, appear the ruins of a very ſtately pile, which may have been of ſuch a kind; of finer marble than is obſerved in the piazza, and with an air of delicacy throughout the whole, far ſurpaſſing what is obſerved in the piazza itſelf. The pillars, which ſupported this laſt pile, are all of one ſtone, twenty two foot long, and eight foot nine inches round. Among theſe ruins is found the only *Latin* inſcription that was ſeen in this place.

Banquetting-houſe.

Porphyry pillars and palace. In the weſt ſide of the above piazza are ſeveral openings, ſuppoſed to have been for gates, which led into the court of the palace. Two of theſe gates look as if they had been the moſt magnificent and glorious in the world, both for the elegance of the work in general, and for the ſtately porphyry pillars, wherewith they were adorned. Each gate had four, not ſtanding in a line with thoſe of the wall, but placed

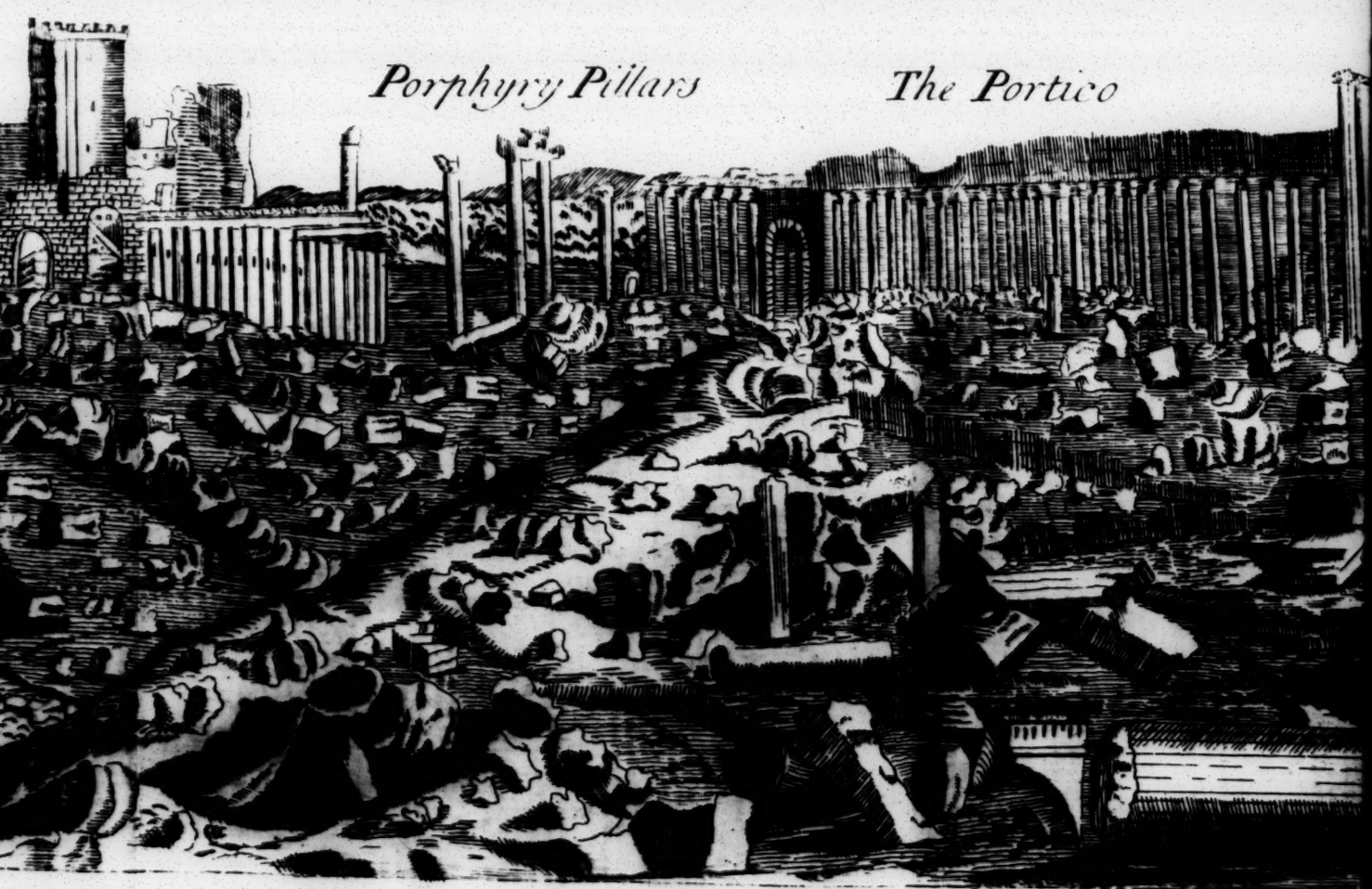


A View of

The Temple now inhabited

of the Ruins of Palm

gtnal



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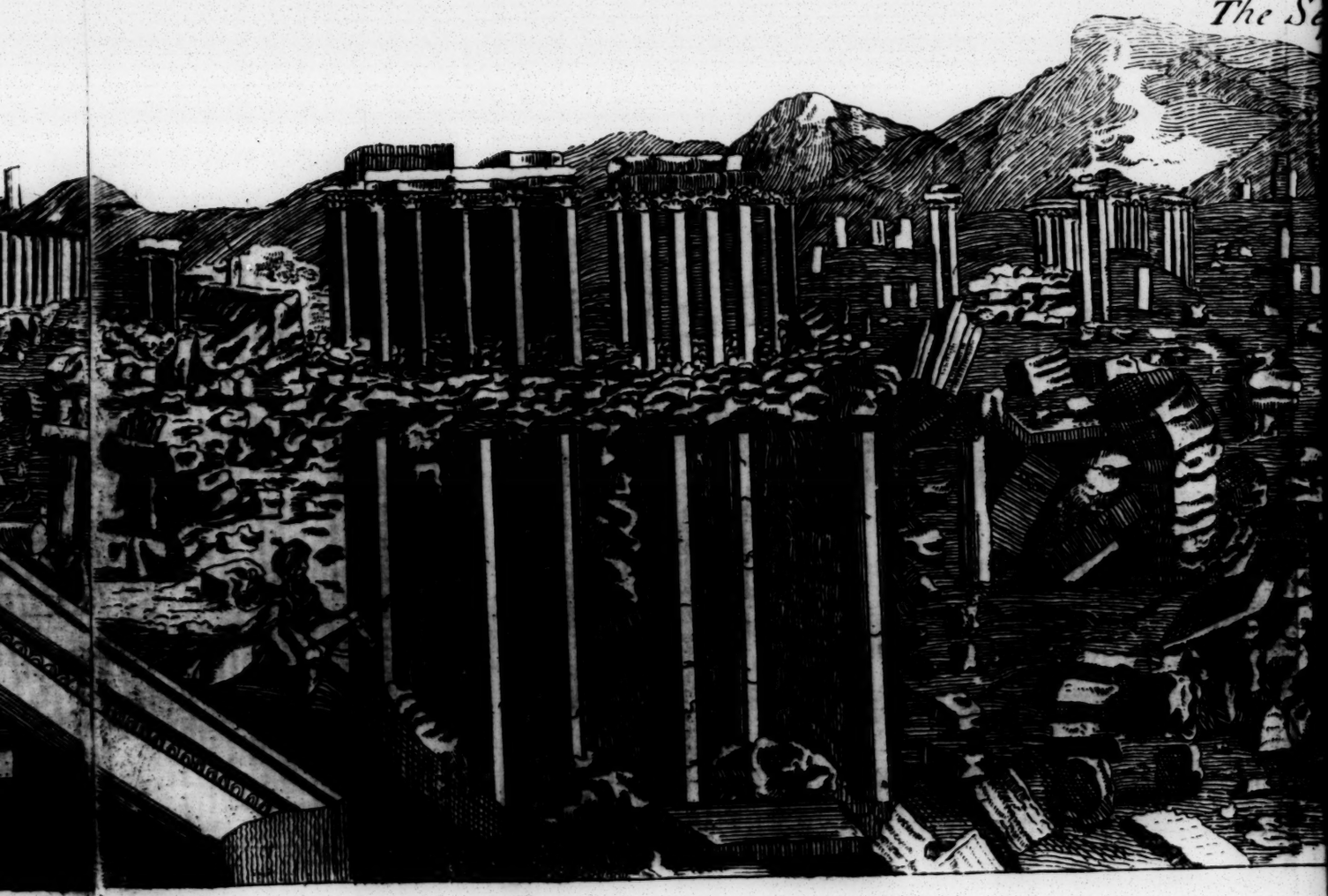
The Portico

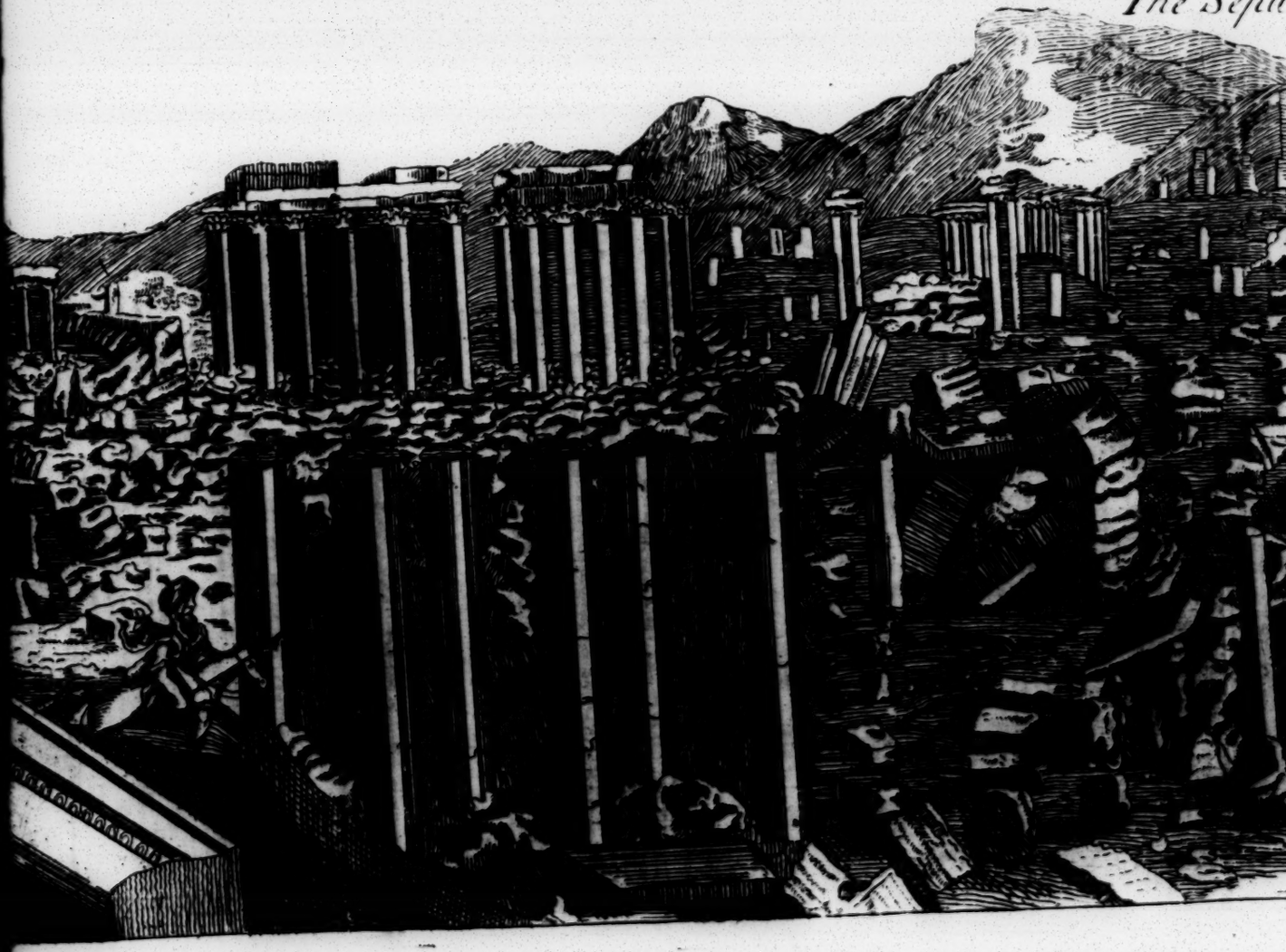
Tadmor taken on

The Se



Tadmor taken on

The Sepu

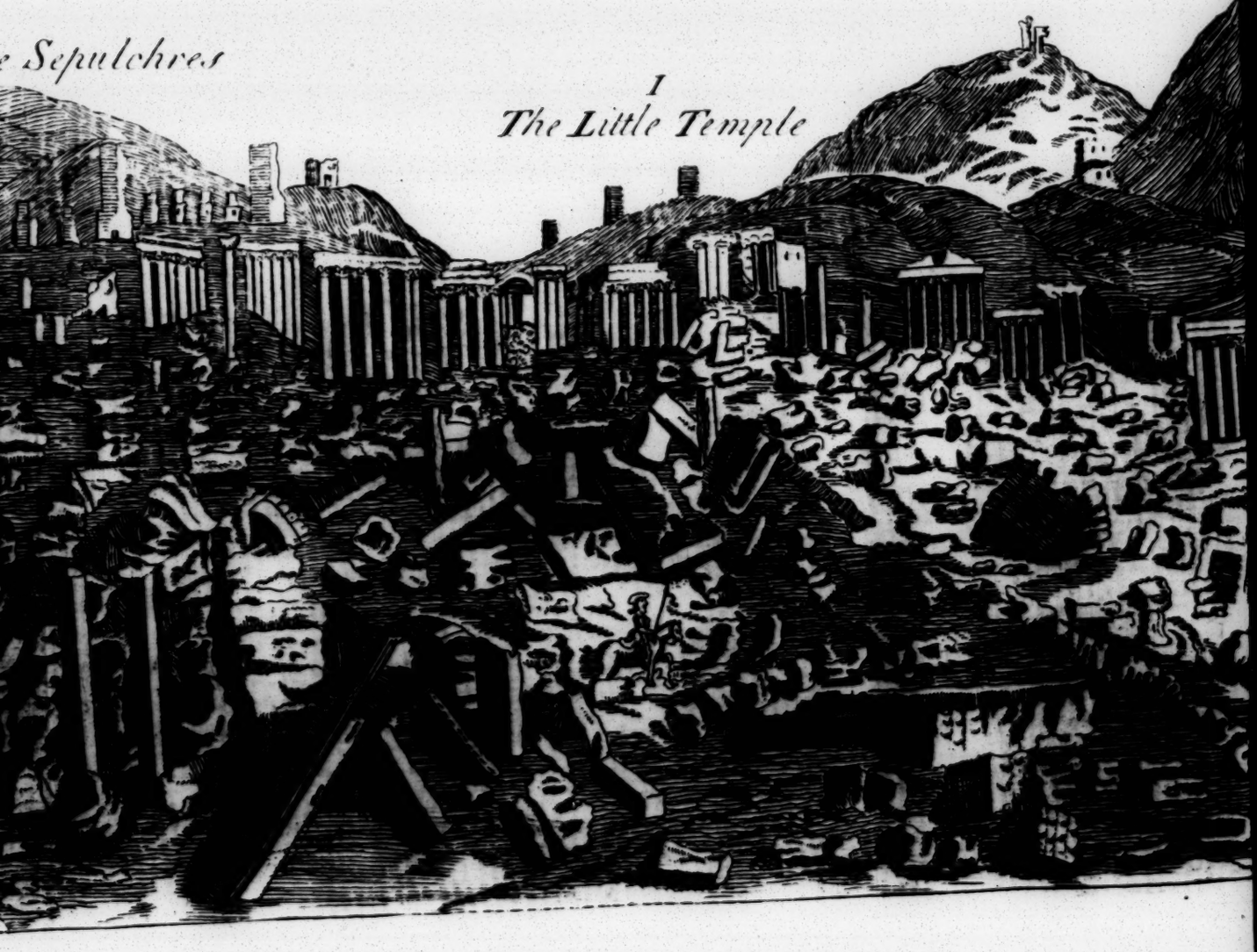


n the Southern Side

e Sepulchres

I

The Little Temple



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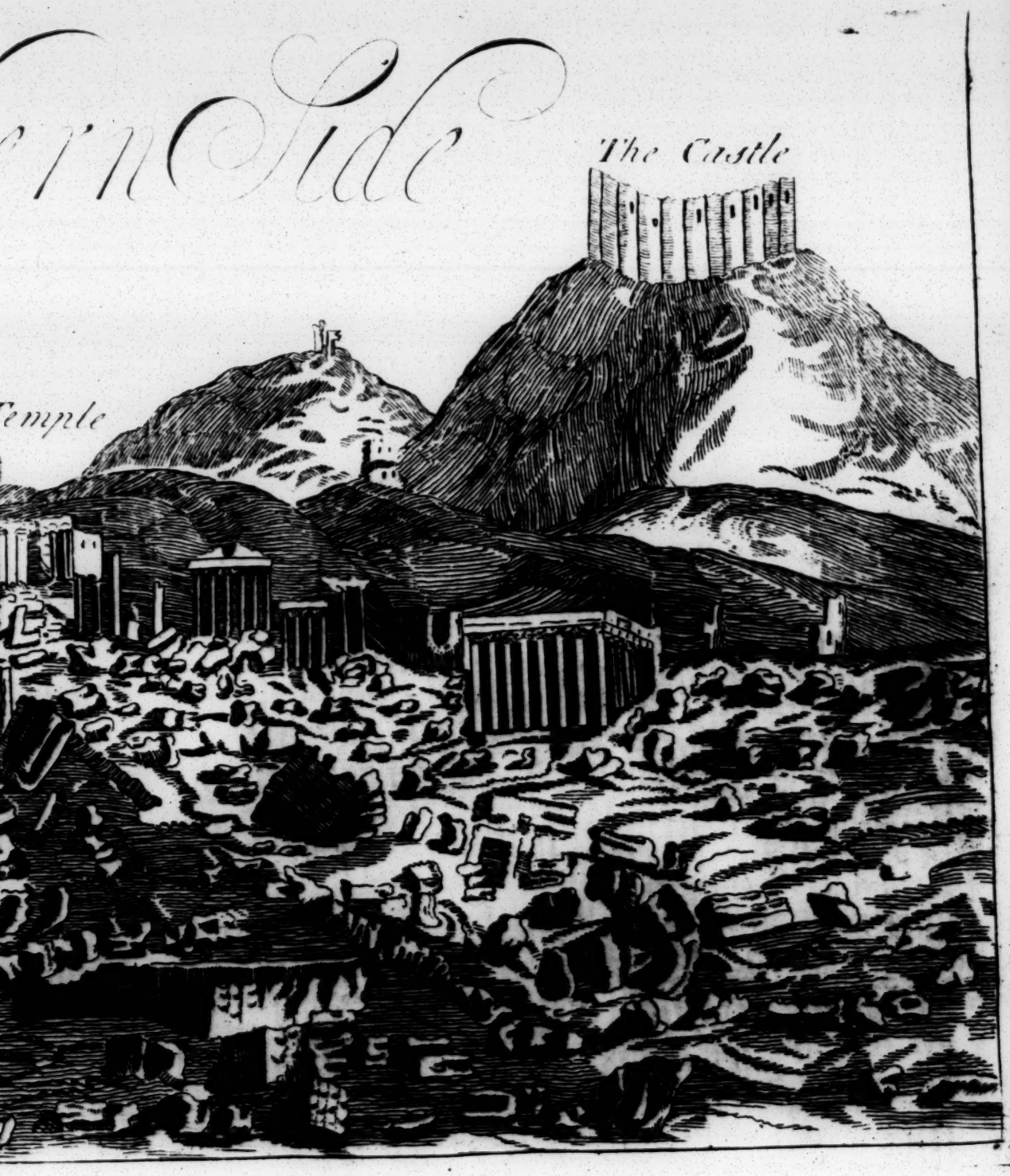
The Castle
Temple

placed by couples in the front of the gate, facing the palace, two on the one hand, and two on the other. Of theſe porphyry pillars, there are but two entire, and but one of them ſtanding in its proper place. They are about thirty foot in length, and nine in circumference, and of ſo very hard a conſiſtence (P) that it is a very difficult matter to injure them. Theſe, of all the pieces of porphyry here found, are the moſt beautiful. The palace itſelf is ſo completely demoliſhed, that there is no forming a judgment of what it has been, either for majeſty or ornament. It plainly appears to have been thrown down by violence, which, together with the length of time, has quite defaced and obliterated this once noble pile, there being only a broken piece of its walls left ſtanding here and there. But, it is very likely, that it fronted the famous piazza before-mentioned, and that it was ſurrounded with rows of pillars of different orders, many of which are ſtill ſtanding, ſome plain, and ſome wrought and channelled, as thoſe immediately encompaſſing the temple. To theſe pillars alſo there are pedeſtals with inſcriptions on them.

Great numbers of marble pillars.

ON the eaſt ſide of this ſame piazza is, if the expreſſion may be uſed, a wood of marble pillars, ſome perfect, ſome deprived of their beautiful capitals, but ſo ſcattered and confuſed, that there is no reducing them to order, or conjecturing to what uſe they formerly ſerved. In one place are eleven together, forming a ſquare in this diſpoſition, ⋮ ⋰ ⋮ ⋮ ⋱ ⋮ paved at the bottom with broad flat ſtone, but without any manner of roof.

The little temple.

AT a little diſtance from hence, is a ſmall ruined temple, which, by what remains of it, muſt have been a very curious piece. The entrance into this temple looks to the ſouth, and before it is a piazza of ſix pillars, two on one hand of the door, and two on the other, and one at each end. The pedeſtals of thoſe in the front have been filled up with inſcriptions, both in *Greek* and the other characters, but ſcarce intelligible.

The ſepulchres.

BUT of all the venerable remains of this deſolate place, none more attract the admiration of the curious, than their coſtly ſepulchres, which are ſquare towers, four or five ſtories high, ſtanding on each ſide of a hollow way, towards the north end of the city. They extend a mile, and may antiently have extended farther. At a diſtance they look like

(P) This our author ſays, ſuppoſing porphyry to be factitious, which is diſputed.

the

the ſteeples of decayed churches, or the baſtions of a ruined fortification. Many of them, though built of marble, have proved faithleſs to their charge; having ſunk under the weight of years, or ſubmitted to the inexorable malice of violent hands. They are all of one form, but of different ſize, in proportion to the fortune of the founder. In the ruins of one of them, that was entirely marble, were found the pieces of two ſtatues, the one of a man, the other of a woman, in a ſitting, or rather leaning, poſture. By theſe it is diſcovered, that their habit was very noble, rather agreeing with the *European* than the preſent eaſtern faſhions; whence they are conjectured to have been *Romans*. Of all theſe ſepulchres, there are two, which ſeem to be more entire than the reſt. They are ſquare towers, five ſtories high, their outſides of common ſtone, but their partitions and floors within, of good marble. They are beautified with very lively carvings and paintings, and figures both of men and women, as far as the breaſt and ſhoulders, but miſerably defaced. Under them, or on one ſide, are *Palmyrenean* characters, which are thought to be the names of the perſons there depoſited. To judge of the conſtruction of the reſt of theſe ſepulchres, by what is obſerved in one of them; they had a walk quite a-croſs them from north to ſouth, exactly in the middle, by which they entered. The vault below, was divided in the ſame manner, and the diviſion on each hand ſubdivided by thick walls into ſix, or more or leſs, partitions, each big enough to receive the largeſt corpſe, and deep enough to contain at leaſt ſix or ſeven piled one upon another. In the loweſt, ſecond, and third ſtories, theſe partitions were the ſame, excepting that the ſecond had a partition anſwering to the main entrance, for the convenience of a ſtair-caſe. Higher up this method was diſcontinued; becauſe the building growing narrower towards the top, could no longer admit of it. In the two uppermoſt rooms, it is likely that no bodies were depoſited, except that of the founder himſelf, whoſe ſtatue, wrapt up in funeral apparel, and in a lying poſture, is placed in a nich, or rather window, in the front of the monument, ſo as to be viſible both within and without. Here is a *Greek* epitaph [f].

Such were once the magnificent abodes, and ſuch the noble ſepulchres of the *Palmyrenians*; enough to evince, that the world never ſaw a more glorious city; the pride, it is likely of antient times, and the reproach of our own: a city, not more remarkable for the ſtate of her buildings and unwontedneſs of her ſituation, than for the extraordinary per-

[f] Philoſophical Tranſactions, Numb. 217.

ſonages

ſonages who once flouriſhed here, among whom the renowned *Zenobia* and the incomparable *Longinus*, muſt for ever be remembered, with admiration and regret.

SECT. II.

Of the Antiquity, Government, Laws, Religion, Cuſtoms, Arts, Learning, and Trade of the antient Syrians.

Antiquity.

THE antient *Syrians*, or *Aramites* (A), ſcarce ſubmitted to any other nation under the ſun, in point of antiquity, being the firſt that inhabited the fertile and well ſituated region of their abode after the general deluge as we have already obſerved [a]. This is indiſputably the caſe, and therefore there may be no need of expatiating thereon. But the poſterity of *Shem* by *Aram*, did not poſſeſs this country wholly to themſelves; their relations of *Canaan*'s line, being ſtraitened for want of room in the places where they ſettled at firſt, encroached upon them by degrees, and ſeized on a portion of their lot, and kept the ſame, till one common deſtruction and captivation involved them both. To uſe many words in proof of this twofold deſcent of the *Syrians*, from the righteous line of *Shem*, and the unrighteous line of *Ham*, is needleſs, ſince we find a very noted portion of the country of *Aram*, or *Syria*, denominated from *Hamathi*, one of the eleven ſons of *Canaan*, who may have even ſettled here in perſon. The ſame we might here ſay of the *Arkite*, the *Sinite*, *Zemarite*, and the *Arvadite*, though indeed we have not ſuch poſitive aſſurances thereof, as of what we ſay of the *Hamathite*. We can only deliver it as our opinion, that theſe *Canaanite* families did moſt, if not all of them, fix their abode in *Syria* (B). But whether the country was more or

[a] See Vol. I. p, 362.

(A) This name was not wholly unknown to the *Greeks*. *Strabo* calls them *Aramæi*; for thoſe, ſays he (1), whom we call *Syrians*, call themſelves *Aramæans*. Hence, the *Arami*, *Arimi*, and *Erembi*, and the like names.

(B) The *Arabs* have a tradition there were *Canaanites* very antiently in *Syria*, for they talk of *Dimaſhc* (2) the ſon of *Canaan*, who built the famous city of *Damaſcus* (3).

(1) *Geograph. l. i. p.* 42. (2) *Vide Schultens, Comment. Geograph. in vit. Salad. ad vocem Damaſcus.* (3) *See Vol. I. p.* 362.

leſs

bode in *Syria* (B). But whether the country was more or leſs divided between the *Aramites* and *Canaanites*, we forbear to enquire into, ſince we have little or no authority to build upon. The antient *Syrians* then were partly deſcended from *Ham*, and partly from *Shem*, and both of nearly equal ſtanding in this country, and very little behind any nation in antiquity; but, if we believe a tradition current among the preſent inhabitants, it muſt be called the oldeſt country in the world (C).

Government. That they were antiently governed by heads of families, called kings, and that there were great numbers of them in the country, is certain; and that they continued under the ſame government, in part, even to the days of *Saul*, is plain by the kings of *Zobah* [b]; and by the petty kings in *Meſopotamia*, who were ſummoned to attend *Ben-hadad* in his wars, no fewer than thirty two. Seeing therefore, that this moſt ſimple and natural form of government, obtained in *Canaan* on the one hand of them, and in *Meſopotamia* on the other, and that even we find veſtiges of the ſame in *Syria* itſelf, down to the days of *Saul*, we cannot doubt, but that they were at firſt divided into many ſmall kingdoms. Not that this was the only form that ſeems to have taken place; for as *Gibeon* in *Canaan*, in the days of *Joſhua*, ſeems to have been a commonwealth among the many kingdoms there; ſo *Damaſcus* in *Syria* ſeems to have been the ſame in *David*'s time. What we have to offer in ſupport of this opinion, is not indiſputably clear; but *Damaſcus* is ſpoken of as without a chief, and as if the power was wholly in the people, in *David*'s time. It is ſaid, that the *Syrians* of *Damaſcus* [c], not their king, ſent an army of upwards of twenty thouſand to

[b] See 1 Sam. xiv 47. [c] 2 Sam. viii. 5. 6.

(C) for here they particularly pretend that *Adam* was formed (4), and that *Cain* ſlew *Abel* * ; both which places they ſhew to travellers that viſit *Damaſcus*, for they are in the neighbourhood of that city (5). To which *Radziville* adds, that hollow groans are ſometimes heard under ground, in teſtimony of the innocent *Abel*, as they told him; that the place is held in deep veneration, and indued with a miraculous power of healing ſuch as labour under any violent diſeaſe, if they but lie down naked thereon, reſtoring them immediately to their priſtine health.

(4) *See Thevenot, Maundrell, &c.*
(5) *Peregrin. Jeroſolym. epiſt. ii. p.* 30.

* *See Vol. I. p.*148, (N).

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the relief of *Hadadezer* king of *Zobah*, which ſeems to imply, as if they were ſomething like what we call a republic. The foundation and nature of the kingdom of *Zobah*, we pretend not to ſpeak of; but that of *Damaſcus*, which roſe upon its ruins, as *Zobah* did upon the ſubverſion of the ſmaller principalities, ſeems to have been of the tyrannical and arbitrary kind. The kingdom of *Damaſcus* was eſtabliſhed in violence by a ſtrong hand, and the conſtitutions thereof muſt, one would think, have been of a piece with its foundation; haughty, uncontrou lable, and ambitious to ſubdue its neighbours; and in truth, it roſe to the univerſal monarchy of all the parts on both ſides of the *Euphrates* under *Hazael*, as will be ſhewn in its due place. This may be ſaid of the kingdom of *Damaſcus*, which ſupported itſelf with various fortune, till *Syria* changed both inhabitants and maſters, which it did upon the firſt riſe, as it were, of the *Aſſyrian* power.

Their laws

WE have no ſyſtem of their laws, and ſcarce wherewithal to form any particular idea of them, but we are not ſo much at a loſs for what concerns their religion.

Their religion.

THE antient ſtate of their religion, indeed, we are wholly at a loſs for, nor will we dwell on the obſcurities thereto relating. It is certain they had many idols among them of very antient repute; among the reſt *Rimmon* (D) may be reckoned, whoſe temple ſtood at *Damaſcus*: He ſeems to have been, at leaſt, the principal god of *Damaſcene*, which is all we ſhall venture to ſay concerning him.

THIS antient god in time gave way to another; for the *Syrians* deifying their king *Ben-hadad* II, under the ſtile of *Adad*, or *Ader* [d], he was conſidered as their moſt glorious and auſpicious god (E). This fancied god, and others

[d] JOSEPH Antiq. l. ix. c. 2.

(D) This name, in the language of the Old Teſtament, ſignifies a *pomegranate*: whence this deity, whether god or goddeſs, is thought to have born ſome relation to *Venus*. *Selden* (6) is moſt inclined to derive it from רום *rum*, *high*, or *lofty*. We forbear to ſpeak of *Gad*, and refer you to this laſt author. The *Syrians* had a deity alſo, called *Babia*, a goddeſs from whom the children and young people were called *Babias* (7). They may have eſteemed them under her tutelage, and our *Engliſh* word, *babes*, ſays one (8), may thence have been borrowed.

(E) *Adad* is called alſo *Adod* the *king of the gods* (9), and *Adad* is interpreted *One* (10); and where we have this interpretation we

(6) *Vide Selden de Di. Syr. Syntag. ii. c.* 10. (7) *Damaſc. vit. Iſidor. apud Pho. c. cxlii.* (8) *Purchas's Pilgrim, Book I. ch. xx. at the end.* (9) *Sanchon apud Euſeb. Præpar. Evangel. lib. i. p.* 38. (10) *Macrob. Saturnal. l.* 1. *c.* 18

are

thers of the ſame ſtamp that may have ſucceeded him, flouriſhed as long, we may ſafely ſuppoſe, as the antient *Syrians* poſſeſſed this their ſeat, or were maſters thereof. But both they themſelves and their gods, in great meaſure, ſubmitted to fate, when *Syria* was conquered and tranſplanted by *Tiglath-pileſer*.

Hereupon the religion of the country may, without ſtraining the point, be ſaid to have changed face; a new idolatry was introduced, or many additions to the old were brought in, by the new inhabitants, who were ſent hither by the *Aſſyrian*; and now the religion of *Aſſyria* prevailed chiefly all over the country. That this is true, will be pretty evident from ſome arguments you will find in our chronology of *Aſſyria*. What changes and alterations this ſyſtem ſuffered under the *Babylonians* firſt, and the *Perſians* afterwards, and laſtly under the *Seleucidæ* and *Romans*, we cannot preſume to

are told, he was their greateſt god. *Selden* (11) and *Iſaac Voſſius* (12), are very nice in deducing the true import of this name, which we ſhall for this once paſs over becauſe it appears to us, that according to the ſcripture orthography, it ought to be ſpelt *Hadad*, as is plain from *Joſephus* (13), who, in ſpeaking of the ſcripture kings of *Syria*, calls them *Adad* or *Ader*; and particularly writing of the great *Ben-hadad*, the ſecond of that name in ſcripture, he tells us he was deified or honoured with divine worſhip, as was alſo his ſucceſſor *Hazael*. Here we have the firſt account of their deifying of *Adad*, or, as the ſcripture ſtiles him, *Ben-hadad*, who, if we except his ſucceſſor *Hazael*, was the greateſt prince the antient *Syrians* can boaſt of; and we are clearly of opinion, that this great god *Hadad* or *Adad*, is no other than the deified *Ben-hadad*; and from thence it appears, that there were *Syriam* princes of the name of *Adad*, before they had any god ſo called. By *Adad* they meant the ſun, and pictured him with rays darting downwards, to expreſs his beneficence, and to ſhew that the chief influence of the heavens is in the beams of the ſun (14). This high compliment might have ſuited better with *Hazael*, whoſe reign was a continued ſeries of proſperity, than with *Ben-hadad*, who was ſeveral times unfortunate; but as *Joſephus* tells us, they were both deified, and as *Adad*, or *Hadad*, was a name common to all the kings of *Syria*, as appears both by ſcripture and *Nicolas* of *Damaſcus* (15), it may have been the *Hazael* of ſcripture, who was ſo highly revered.

(11) *Ubi ſupr. Syntag.* 1. *c.* 6. (12) *De Idololatria, l.* *i. c.* 22. (13 *Antiq. l. ix. c.* 2. (14) *Macrob.* *Saturnal. ubi ſupr.* (15) *Apud Joſeph. Antiq. l. vii. c.* 6.

ſay; but ſuch as it was, in the ſecond century of the chriſtian æra, we ſhall borrow from *Lucian*, who was an eye-witneſs of what he ſays for the moſt part, and the reſt he received from the prieſts.

AT *Hierapolis*, or the holy city, or *Magog*, as the *Syrians* themſelves are ſaid [c] to have called it, in the province of *Cyrrheſtica*, ſtood the temple of the great *Syrian goddeſs* (F). It was upon an eminence in the midſt of the city, ſurrounded by a double incloſure or two walls, the one old, the other new. At the north ſide it had a court, or porch, before it, of about five or ſix hundred foot in circumference, where ſtood the *priaps*, of three hundred fathom, or three hundred cubits high; for we find both theſe meaſures, but both exceedingly too large, to our apprehenſion. Theſe obſcene images, or rather columns, were but ſlender, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter; but by whom, or to whom, they were erected, was the ſubject of much fable. The front of the temple itſelf ſtood eaſt, and before it was a tower raiſed upon a terraſs, about twelve foot high; which was no ſooner mounted than the temple appeared. It was built after the manner of the *Ionian* Temples; the porch of it was adorned with golden doors; nay, the whole temple glittered with gold, and particularly the roof. The air about it was inchanting, nothing inferior to the ſweeteſt of *Arabia*, and ſo ſtrongly perfumed the garments of all that viſited it, that they were ſcented for a conſiderable time.

THIS temple was not without its ſanctuary, into which no admiſſion was allowed, even to ſuch of the prieſts, as were not in an eſpecial manner allied to the gods there kept, or wholly addicted to their ſervice and worſhip. Within the ſanctuary, which was always open, were the ſtatues of *Jupiter* and *Juno*, as the *Greeks* were ſo complaiſant as to call them, though the inhabitants, as our author aſſures us, had other

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(16) *L. xxxvi. c. 2.*

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names for them. But ſince we have not their true names, we muſt be contented with the *Greek*. Theſe ſtatues of *Jupiter* and *Juno* were of gold. *Juno* ſat upon lions, and *Jupiter* was ſupported by bulls, being in looks and poſture like the *Jupiter* of the *Greeks*; but the ſtatue of *Juno* was contrived ſo as to participate of *Minerva*, *Venus*, *Luna*, *Rhea*, *Diana*, *Nemeſis*, and the *Deſtinies*, according to the view you had of her. In one hand ſhe had a ſceptre, in the other a diſtaff. On her head ſhe had rays and a tower, and ſhe was girt with the *ceſtus*, or girdle, of the celeſtial *Venus*. She was adorned with a great variety of gems, which had from time to time been preſented to her, by *Egyptians*, *Indians*, *Ethiopians*, *Medes*, *Armenians*, and *Babylonians*. But of all theſe, the moſt remarkable was the *Lychnis* ſhe wore at her ſide. This ſtone is ſaid to ſhine moſt by candle-light. With this *Lychnis* therefore ſhe illuminated, ſays our author, the temple by night. In the day-time it had no remarkable luſtre, and only looked of a fiery aſpect. It was wonderful of this ſtatue, that though a perſon ſtood either on one ſide or before it, ſtill it looked at him. Between *Jupiter* and *Juno* was another golden ſtatue, but with no characteriſtics, or peculiar enſigns, and only called the *Sign*. It was uncertain who they pointed at by this ſtatue; but, becauſe it had a golden dove on its head, ſome were willing to think it was *Semiramis*. Twice every year it went in proceſſion to the ſea-ſide. On the left hand, going into the temple, was the throne of the *Sun*, but it had no ſtatue in it; for they held it abſurd to make ſtatues either of the ſun or moon, who were ſo reſplendently viſible to mortal eyes; but no more than right, to form the ſtatues of ſuch as were inviſible. Next after this throne was the ſtatue of *Apollo*, not a ſtripling, but with a large beard; for they could not endure the thoughts of addreſſing themſelves to any god that was under age; and moreover, they did put cloaths on this idol, which was done to no other. Next to *Apollo* ſtood *Atlas*, then *Mercury*, then *Lucina*, all which made the ſide furniture of the temple. On the right hand as they entered the temple, ſtood *Semiramis* pointing to *Juno*; for that empreſs had had the arrogance to claim ſupremacy to herſelf, in the adoration of mankind, not excepting even *Juno*; whereupon being ſeverely puniſhed by the gods, who perſecuted her with diſeaſes and various calamities to humble her pride, ſhe at laſt ſubmitted to the goddeſs; and for this reaſon was figured as pointing to *Juno*, in perpetual acknowledgement of her arrogant error; and to direct people that the ſaid goddeſs was to be worſhipped, not herſelf. Next to *Semiramis* ſtood *Helen*, then *Hecuba*, *Andromache*,

dromache, *Paris*, *Hector*, *Achilles*, *Nereus* the ſon of *Aglaia*, *Philomel*, and *Progne*, *Tereus* turned into a bird, another ſtatue of *Semiramis*, *Combabus*, *Stratonice*, a beautiful piece, *Alexander* done after the life, and *Sardanapalus*, in a peculiar habit and attitude. Under this temple they ſhewed the cleft where the waters drained off at *Deucalion*'s flood: on this place, ſaid they, did *Deucalion* erect an altar to *Juno*, and this tradition brought on an extraordinary ceremony, which we ſhall mention hereafter. This hole or cleft was but ſmall when our author ſaw it. We had almoſt forgotten, that on the right hand of the temple, there was a little brazen man, with privities far beyond their due proportion.

FINALLY, within the incloſures of the temple, they kept oxen, horſes, lions, bears, eagles, all which were no way noxious to men, but all ſacred and tame.

ADJACENT to the temple was a lake, where ſacred fiſhes were preſerved and attended. Some of the largeſt had names given to them, and came when called. One of theſe our author particularly obſerved had golden fins. The lake itſelf was deep, two hundred fathom, the prieſts reported; and in the midſt of it ſtood a ſtone altar, which ſeemed to ſwim, as moſt thought it did; for the pillar, or what elſe ſupported it, was not eaſily to be diſcerned. This altar was for ever crowned, and reeking with incenſe, and daily frequented, as we ſhall ſee anon. Without the temple ſtood a large brazen altar, and ſtatues of kings and prieſts almoſt innumerable. *The ſacred lake.*

THE oracle in the temple was quite extraordinary, and may ſerve to evince, how deeply the prieſts were verſed in the myſtery of their profeſſion. Here were images that would move, ſweat, and deliver oracles, as if alive; and noiſes were often heard in the temple, when it was ſhut up. *Apollo*, as we underſtand our author, was the chief Oracle. Other idols delivered their anſwers by their prieſts: This *Syrian Apollo* did all himſelf. He, as we have already obſerved, was the only god that had cloaths put on him: the reaſon of which, to our apprehenſion, was, that a living perſon might the more ſpeciouſly be ſubſtituted to act the part of the ſtupid block. However this were, this *Apollo*, when he was inclined to make anſwer upon any conſultation, began firſt to move himſelf; upon which the prieſts immediately ſtepped up to him to lift him, or elſe he fell into great agonies, ſweating, and beſtirring himſelf after a furious rate. But with the prieſts, who came to his aſſiſtance, he behaved in a very unruly manner, toſſing and tumbling them about from place to place as he pleaſed; till the high prieſt, coming up to him, propoſed his queſtion. If the queſtion was unacceptable to him, *The oracle.*

he retired; if otherwiſe, he drove his ſupporters onwards. He had the direction of all matters ſacred and civil, being upon all occaſions conſulted, and always declared the time when it was proper for the image, we have called the *Sign*, to make its proceſſion to the ſea. In fine, our author aſſures us, that he ſaw this god walk in the air.

Riches of the temple. The revenues and treaſure of this temple were in proportion to its ſplendor, to the great majeſty of the goddeſs, and to the mighty power and excellence of her kindred deities that attended her. *Arabia*, *Phœnice*, *Babylonia*, *Cappadocia*, *Cilicia*, and *Syria*, paid their liberal contributions. Here were coſtly preſents ſhewn, in garments and other things of ineſtimable price, which were very carefully kept; ſo that, in this reſpect, it was a very *Loretto*.

Now for the prieſts. There were ſeveral ſorts of them, each aſſigned to particular tasks. Some killed the ſacrifices, ſome bore the drink-offerings, ſome carried fire, and ſome waited at the altar; and of theſe above three hundred, in white habits, and with caps, or bonnets, on their heads, attended the ſacrifices. And beſides them, there were other conſecrated orders; as of minſtrels, ſkilful in the touch of ſeveral inſtruments, *Galli*, or eunuch prieſts, and, to conclude, mad and frantic women. The office of high prieſt was annual, he wore purple, and a golden mitre. Other ſorts of holy perſons there were of the ſeveral nations, who held the *Syrian Goddeſs* in veneration, whoſe buſineſs it was to inſtruct their countrymen, who from time to time reſorted hither in pilgrimage, in the rules and cuſtoms of this holy city. They were called maſters, or inſtructors.

It is remarkable of their eunuch prieſts, that they were emaſculated by the voluntary operation of their own hands. How this unnatural cuſtom came to prevail, is accounted for by the following ſtory. *Stratonice*, who built this temple, having been admoniſhed by the goddeſs, to undertake the work, to no purpoſe, till ſhe forcibly brought her to obedience by a violent procedure againſt her, the king her huſband conſented to let her go and take in hand the building; but committed the care of her to a beautiful youth named *Combabus*. This *Combabus*, no way fond of his commiſſion, but dreading the conſequences of being ſo much alone with the beauteous queen, deſtroyed his ſex, and left the ruins of it, carefully embalmed and ſealed up, with the king. He departed with the queen *Stratonice*, was after ſome time ſolicited by her, and convinced her of his inability. But nevertheleſs, it came to paſs, either through malice or envy, that *Combabus* was clearly convicted of adultery, infidelity, and impiety

The ſtory of Combabus.

impiety to the goddeſs. As he was leading to execution, he called out for the treaſure he had left with the king, which being produced, his intended puniſhment was converted into the moſt tender embraces in the arms of his prince. The king now raiſed him to the higheſt degree of riches and honour, and he was famed for the wiſeſt and happieſt man living. *Combabus* deſired leave to finiſh the temple; which being granted, he paſſed the remainder of his life there. And there ſtood his ſtatue in braſs, as we have already ſaid, the work of *Hermolaus* the *Rhodian*. And becauſe it was induſtriouſly reported, that ſome of his deareſt companions reſolved to undergo his calamity for his ſake, or that *Juno* inſpired ſeveral with a rage of unmanning themſelves, that he might not be ſingle in his misfortune; many mad zealots, either in honour of *Combabus*, or to pleaſe *Juno*, performed the hated operation on themſelves every year in the temple, as we ſhall hereafter relate. Furthermore, theſe *Galli*, or devoted eunuchs, took on them the habit and offices of women, becauſe *Combabus* had been fallen in love with by a ſtrange woman, who knew not the violence he had done to his ſex; which to prevent for the future, he put on the outward appearance of a woman. Such were the *Galli*, their inſtitution, and their patron.

Sacrifices.

WE come now to ſpeak of the ſacrifices, ceremonies, and peculiar cuſtoms pertaining to this holy city. They ſacrificed twice a day, to *Jupiter* in ſilence, to *Juno* with great noiſe of minſtrels and ſingers. Every ſpring they celebrated an extraordinary ſacrifice; for, felling ſome great trees, in the court of the temple, they garniſhed them with goats, ſheep, birds, rich veſtments, and fine pieces of wrought gold and ſilver: they then carried the ſacred images round theſe decorated trees, and ſet fire to them, and all was conſumed. At this ſacrifice there was always a great concourſe of people from all parts, every one bringing his ſacred images with him, made in imitation of thoſe in the temple. There was alſo a private ſacrifice made by every one that undertook the pilgrimage to this city of *Hierapolis*. The pilgrim killed a ſheep, cut it up in joints, and feaſted on it, ſpreading the fleece on the ground, and kneeling upon it. In this poſture he put the feet and head of the victim upon his own head, and beſought the goddeſs to accept his ſacrifice, and vowed her a better. To theſe may be annexed the offerings made upon the following occaſion. Twice a year a man climbed up to the top of one of the *priaps* we have mentioned, and there continued ſeven days. He let down a chain, by which to draw up what ſhould be given to him; for many upon theſe occaſions

brought their offerings, and declared their names, which one below took care to bawl out to the man ſitting above, who thereupon began a prayer, ſtriking a kind of a bell all the time. Finally, they had, ſometimes, a way of ſacrificing which was truly ſhocking and barbarous. They firſt crowned the victims with garlands, and then drove them out of the porch or court of the temple, one ſide of which was an abrupt ſteep, where falling, they periſhed. Nay, ſome were ſo mad as to tie up their children in ſacks, and then ſhove them down the ſame ſteep, reproaching them as not children, but beaſts.

Feſtivals. Some of their feſtivals, if ſo they may be called, were obſerved in memory of *Deucalion*'s flood. Twice a year they went to the ſea-ſide, and thence brought water into the temple; in which labour not only the prieſts were employed, but alſo all *Syria* and *Arabia*, ſays our author. This water they poured out in the temple, and it ran off by the hole or cleft we have already mentioned. This they did by a pretended command of *Deucalion*'s, as our author, like a mere *Greek*, calls him. What ceremonies they practiſed at the ſea-ſide, we are not told; but it ſeems they were very extraordinary. Returning with their veſſels full of water and ſealed up, they carried them firſt to a ſacred perſon called *Alectryo*, who receiving the ſaid veſſels of water, examined the ſeals, and taking his due from each votary for his pains, untyed the ſtring, took off the ſeal, and returned his burthen to each, who carried it into the temple for the purpoſe before-mentioned. This *Alectryo*, whoever, or whatever, he was, received a conſiderable revenue for holy uſes upon theſe ſolemn days. They had another kind of feſtivals, which, in our language, may be called their *deſcenſion days*. For upon theſe days did their gods and their other fine things make a viſit to the bottom of the lake we formerly mentioned. *Juno*, or the *Syrian Goddeſs*, herſelf went down firſt, for the preſervation of her favourite fiſh, who, if they had ſeen *Jupiter*, would have died. Upon theſe occaſions a notable farce was acted between the ſaid goddeſs and god. He was wont to advance to go down firſt; whereupon ſhe interpoſed, and, after much ado, prevailed on him to return back again. But of all their holy-days the *great burning*, as we may call it, was the moſt conſiderable. Upon this occaſion there came people from all parts to aſſiſt at the great ſacrifice we have already deſcribed, and the other religious duties of the ſeaſon. This feſtival was of ſome days continuance, as we apprehend our author; and at particular times while it laſted, the whole multitude was drawn into the temple, while the prieſts ſtood without,

without, ſome of them mangling their bodies; ſome thumping violently againſt each other, while others beat upon tabrets or drums, and ſounded with muſical inſtruments, and ſang out aloud, and prophecied. And now it was, that, amidſt all this uproar, the frenzy of caſtrating themſelves ſeized on many in the temple, who, crying out with a loud voice, and drawing their ſwords, performed the operation, and devoted themſelves to the goddeſs.

Miſcellaneous matters.

THE religious cuſtoms, and laws, and traditions of this place, were as extraordinary as any thing elſe we have hitherto ſeen. Twice a year a man went up to the top of one of the *priaps*, as we have ſaid, and there remained ſeven days. His manner of getting up was thus. He ſurrounded the *priap* and himſelf with a chain, and aſcended by the help of that and certain pegs or pins, which ſtuck out of the ſides of the *priap* for that purpoſe, lifting the chain up after him at every ſtep he mounted. Here we cannot but obſerve, that our author ſays, That thoſe who had ſeen them climb up the palm trees in *Egypt* and *Arabia*, might readily underſtand him; whence we gather theſe *phalli*, or *priaps*, ſo monſtrouſly high as he ſays, were ſo ſlender that a man might graſp them. Whether we reckon the height he gives them, at three hundred fathom, which is monſtrous, or even at three hundred cubits, which is ſomewhat more credible, they were about as high as our * monument. How ſo ſlender a body could be reared to ſuch a height, we leave to thoſe who are better ſkilled in ſuch matters than ourſelves, and proceed. When the perſon had got up, he let down a chain, wherewith he drew up all manner of neceſſaries for himſelf, and therewith made him a commodious ſeat, a kind of a neſt. It was given out, that, during the ſeven days, he had a more intimate intercourſe with the great goddeſs; and alſo that this was done in memory of *Deucalion*'s flood, when the men clomb up the trees to ſave themſelves from periſhing. During theſe ſeven days, the perſon never ſlept, and if at any time he happened to doſe, a ſacred ſcorpion, ſaid they, went up and awakened him. Our author rather thinks, that the fear of falling kept him from ſleeping.

EVERY day many people ſwam to the altar in the midſt of the lake, there to perform their devotions.

THEY ſacrificed oxen, ſheep, and the like, but ſwine they held to be unclean.

* The monument on *Fiſh-Hill* near *London* Bridge, 202 foot high, erected in memory of the great fire in the year 1666.

But the ſacrifice was not performed at the temple. The victim was only preſented at the altar. The reſt was done at home.

Fish and doves, or pigeons, were accounted holy, the former to *Derceto*, the latter to *Semiramis*; in memory of their different transformations.

They fed many doves in and about their houſes[f], and if a man had touched one of them, he was unclean all the reſt of that day, as holy as they eſteemed them.

As ſoon as any man had commenced *Gallus*, or eunuch prieſt, by diſmembring himſelf, he ran about the city with the part in his hand, till at length, throwing it into ſome houſe, he thence received a woman's attire, and from that time forward wholly addicted himſelf to a feminine way of life.

The eunuch prieſts, notwithſtanding, entertained a flame for the women, and the women for them, which, far from being thought ſcandalous or portentous, was eſteemed pure and holy.

It was unlawful for any *Gallus*, or eunuch prieſt, to enter into the temple.

Whosoever took on him the pilgrimage to *Hierapolis*, this holy city, firſt ſhaved his head and eye-brows, then offered up a ſheep in the manner already mentioned. After which he might bathe in nothing but cold water, or drink of any thing elſe, or lie upon ought but the cold ground, till he had reached the city.

The pilgrims being arrived were entertained at the public charge, and lodged with people of their reſpective countries, here called inſtructors or maſters, who were paid by the public for informing them in the rites and ceremonies of the place.

The pilgrims were all branded with marks upon the neck and wriſts.

The young men and boys conſecrated the firſt fruits of their beards and heads of hair, which, being ſhaved or clipped in the temple, were depoſited in a gold or ſilver box, or other veſſel, with the name of the perſon it belonged to inſcribed, and kept in the temple.

When any of the *Galli* died, their funeral was not after the ordinary manner. Their companions carried their dead bodies into the ſuburbs, where ſetting them down, they hurled ſtones at them, and left them lying upon the bier; where they lay the ſpace of ſeven days, and then were con-

[f] See before, p. 194.

veyed

veyed into the temple; but to have done it before had been prophane.

HE that had ſeen a dead perſon, might not enter into the temple that day; but on the morrow he was abſolved from his uncleanneſs, if he purified himſelf.

ALL the family of any one deceaſed were to keep from the temple thirty days, and ſhave their heads.

THUS much we have thought neceſſary to ſay, concerning the great *Syrian Goddeſs* and her worſhip, all which is very unhappily diſguiſed in a *Greek* dreſs. We cannot doubt, but that here we have great remains both of the doctrines and practices of the antient *Syrians*, though blended and confounded with many additional ſuperſtitions.

FOR the preſent we ſhall add no more concerning the religions of *Syria*. The ſuperſtitions at *Antioch*, under the *Seleucidæ*, we ſhall enlarge on in the hiſtory of thoſe princes. We are not ſure, that *Plutarch* means this *Syrian* goodeſs; for hereafter you will ſee, that ſhe was not the only idol that ſeems to have born the title; when he ſays that ſhe puniſhed thoſe, who eat of two certain ſorts of fiſh, with ulcers and boils all over their bodies, with ſore ſhins, and with a diſſolution of the liver [g]. They are ſaid to have expiated this crime, by putting themſelves in a ſack, and rolling themſelves in the dirt [h]. But, as we have obſerved, we are not certain, that what is here ſaid refers to this goddeſs; though it is likely it may.

Their Temper.

WE learn from *Plutarch*, that the *Syrians*, of his time at leaſt, were an effeminate people, prone to tears, and very remarkable for their way of mourning for their deceaſed, hiding themſelves from the light of the ſun, in caves or other obſcure places, many days together. This mournful, tender, effeminate temper of mind, may have always been one of the characteriſtics of the *Syrians*, as it ſtill is.

Their Learning and Arts.

WE can ſay nothing particular touching the cuſtoms of the antient *Syrians*, their civil concerns, or of their arts and learning. They were by ſome * antiently joined with the *Phœnicians*, as the firſt inventers of letters; but however true or falſe this may have been, certain it is, that they ſubmitted to no nation that flouriſhed with them, in degree of human knowledge and ſkill in the fine arts. They were ſo happily ſituated, that they may, almoſt, be ſaid to have been in the centre of the old world; and as in the ſunſhine of

[g] Περὶ δεισιδαιμονίας p. 170. [h] MENAND. apud PORPHYR. Περὶ ἀποχῆς ἐμψύχων Παραμυθητικὸς πρὸς Ἀπολλ. p. 113. * CLEM. ALEXANDR. Strom. l. 1. p. 307.

their

their empire they were enriched by the ſpoils, and tribute, and commerce of the nations far and near, they certainly aroſe to a great pitch of ſplendor and magnificence, thoſe great encouragers of ingenuity and induſtry. The altar at *Damaſcus*, which ſo raviſhed *Ahaz* king of *Judah* [i], may ſerve as a noble ſpecimen of the ſkill of their artificers.

Their Language.

THEIR language is one of thoſe kindred dialects we commonly call the *Oriental* tongues, and is pretended to have been the mother of them all; concerning which, and for our thoughts thereon, we muſt refer the readers to what we have already ſaid [k]. It became a diſtinct tongue ſo early as the days of *Jacob*, for what his father-in-law and uncle, *Laban* of *Padan-aram*, or *Meſopotamia*, calls *Jegar-ſahadutha*, is by *Jacob* himſelf called *Galeed* [l]. The *Syriac* was not only the language of *Syria*, but alſo of *Meſopotamia*, *Chaldæa*, (for there is no more difference between the *Chaldee* and *Syriac*, than between the *Engliſh* and *Scotch*;) *Aſſyria*, and, after the *Babyloniſh* captivity, of *Paleſtine*.

THERE are three dialects of the *Syrian* tongue. 1. The *Aramæan*, or *Syriac* properly ſo called, which is the moſt elegant of all, and uſed in *Meſopotamia*, and by the inhabitants of *Roha*, or *Edeſſa*, and *Haran*, and the outer *Syria*. 2. The dialect of *Paleſtine*, ſpoken by the inhabitants of *Damaſcus*, mount *Libanus*, and the inner *Syria*. 3. The *Chaldee* or *Nabathæan* dialect, the moſt rude and unpoliſhed of the three, and current in the mountainous parts of *Aſſyria*, and in the villages of *Irâk*, or *Babylonia* [m].

THE *Syriac* character is very antient, and ſuppoſed by ſome to have been in uſe above three hundred years before the birth of Chriſt [n]. There are two ſorts of this character, the *Eſtrangelo* (G), which is the more antient and rude, and chiefly found in the titles of books, as capitals with us; and that called the *Fſhito*, the ſimple or common character,

[i] 2 Kings xvi. 10. [k] See Vol. I. p. 336. [l] See Geneſ. xxxi. 47. [m] ABU'LFARAG. Hiſt. Dynaſt. p. 11. [n] BERNARD. Tab. Alph.

(G) This name is generally derived from the *Greek* word στρόγγυλος, *round*, as if it was a round character, whereas it is rather ſquare; wherefore, if it muſt be derived from that word, we ſhould rather chooſe to take it in *Theophraſtus*'s ſenſe, who uſes στρόγγυλα ξύλα (17), for rough unhewn timber, by reaſon of its rude and unpoliſhed form.

(17) *De Plantis.*

which

The SYRIAC ALPHABET.

Power.	The Common Character. Figure. Joined both to the following and preceding.	Joined to the following Letter only.	Joined to the preceding Letter only.	Single.	Names.	The Estrangelo. Figure.
The Support of a Vowel.	ܐ	ܐ	ܐ	ܐ	*Olaf.*	ܐ
B.	ܒ	ܒ	ܒ	ܒ	*Beth.*	ܒ
G.	ܓ	ܓ	ܓ	ܓ	*Gomal.*	ܓ
D.		ܕ		ܕ	*Dolath.*	ܕ
H.		ܗ		ܗ	*He.*	ܗ
W.		ܘ		ܘ	*Waw.*	ܘ
Z.		ܙ		ܙ	*Zain.*	ܙ
Hb.	ܚ	ܚ	ܚ	ܚ	*Hbeth.*	ܚ
T.	ܛ	ܛ	ܛ	ܛ	*Teth.*	ܛ
Y.	ܝ	ܝ	ܝ	ܝ	*Yud.*	ܝ
C or *Kb.*	ܟ	ܟ	ܟ	ܟ	*Cof.*	ܟ
L.	ܠ	ܠ	ܠ	ܠ	*Lomad.*	ܠ
M.	ܡ	ܡ	ܡ	ܡ	*Mim.*	ܡ
N.	ܢ	ܢ	ܢ	ܢ	*Nun.*	ܢ
S.	ܣ	ܣ	ܣ	ܣ	*Semcath*	ܣ
The Support of a Vowel, but a Guttural.	ܥ	ܥ	ܥ	ܥ	*E.*	ܥ
F. or *P.*	ܦ	ܦ	ܦ	ܦ	*Pe.*	ܦ
S grosly pron.		ܨ		ܨ	*Sode.*	ܨ
K.	ܩ	ܩ	ܩ	ܩ	*Kof.*	ܩ
R.		ܪ		ܪ	*Risb.*	ܪ
Sb.	ܫ	ܫ	ܫ	ܫ	*Shin.*	ܫ
T. or *Th.*		ܬ		ܬ	*Tau.*	ܬ

which is much more expeditious and beautiful. There was a project ſet on foot, by *Paul* of *Antioch*, for adding the letters that are wanting in the *Syriac* alphabet, as the *Greeks* had done; which he recommended to the thoughts of *James* of *Edeſſa*, who declined it, becauſe he feared, that the books, wrote in the imperfect character or alphabet, might, by ſuch an innovation, come to be loſt [o]. *(See the Plate.)*

THE *Syriac* writing, like that of the other eaſtern tongues, was deſtitute of vowels, till towards the latter end of the eighth century; when they were introduced, as is generally ſuppoſed, by *Theophilus* of *Edeſſa*, chief aſtrologer to the *Khalif al Mohdi*, who borrowed them from the *Greek* alphabet, and firſt made uſe of them to diſtinguiſh the *Greek* pronunciation of the names and *Patronymics*, in his *Syriac* tranſlation of the works of *Homer* [p]. The marks to expreſs theſe vowels are ſtill nearly in the form of five of the *Greek* vowels; for they reject the *Epſilon* and the *Omicron*, there being no ſhort vowels in their tongue. But *James* of *Edeſſa*, who flouriſhed about a century before *Theophilus*, invented ſeven new characters for all the *Greek* vowels; which he did, at the deſire of *Paul* of *Antioch*, to whom he ſent them. They are ſtill extant [q].

THE *Syriac* is ſaid to have much degenerated, till *James* of *Edeſſa* reſtored it to its antient purity. He was the firſt that wrote a grammar in *Syriac* [r]. It is an eaſy and elegant, but not a very copious tongue, and has a great number of *Greek* words, which were incorporated with it, in the times of the *Seleucidæ*. There is a number of books in the *Syriac*, very little known to the *Europeans*, of which a late writer [s] has given an ample account; but what this tongue is moſt to be valued for, are the excellent tranſlations therein of the old and new teſtament; which equal, if they do not ſurpaſs, thoſe in any other language.

PERHAPS no nation, of equal antiquity, had a more conſiderable trade than the antient *Syrians*. We cannot doubt, but they had ſhips on the *Mediterranean*, as ſoon as any of their neighbours; and, by the vicinity of the river *Euphrates*, it is paſt diſpute, that they traded with the eaſtern regions upon that river very early. They had many valuable commodities of their own to carry into other parts. The eaſy and ſafe navigation of the *Euphrates*, when compared *Their trade.*

[o] ASSEMAN. Biblioth. Orient. Tom. I. p. 479. [p] ABU'L-PARAG. ubi ſupr. p. 147. ECHELLENSIS in not. ad Catal. Ebedjeſw. p. 180. ASSEMAN. ubi ſupr. p. 522. [q] Apud BAR HEBR. (vel ABU'LFARAG.) in Libr. ſplendor. Vide ASSEMAN. ubi ſupr. p. 479. [r] Idem ibid. [s] Idem ibid.

with

with that of the ſea, would tempt one to conſider them as older merchants than the *Phœnicians*, or even the *Edomites*; who muſt have made very early attempts upon the *Arabian* gulph, in compariſon of which the *Mediterranean* was a main ocean. We the rather inſiſt on the trade of this antient people, becauſe we do not know, that it has yet been fully handled, or profeſſedly, by any body. *Herodotus* [t] indeed reports, that the *Phœnicians* were much older navigators than either the antient *Syrians* or *Egyptians*; ſaying, that they carried on the commerce of *Aſſyria* and *Egypt* by their ſhipping. Here, by the way, is a further proof than we have hitherto given, that *Syria* and *Aſſyria* were confounded together by the antients. For how ſhould the *Phœnicians* have ſailed to the coaſts of the proper *Aſſyria*, an inland country; a country they could not poſſibly have reached, but by doubling the cape of *Good-hope*, and entering the *Perſian* gulph? A voyage which could have anſwered no end, ſeeing they might have ſupplied that country, and have been ſupplied from thence, at an infinitely cheaper rate, by means of their next neighbours the *Syrians*, who navigated the *Euphrates*; and who, it cannot well be diſputed, were the firſt that brought the *Perſian* and *Indian* commodities into the weſt of *Aſia*. *Syria* was therefore the moſt antient magazine for ſuch commodities, and chiefly ſupplied all the weſtern parts; nor can we think otherwiſe, than that the *Midianitiſh* merchants [u], who bought *Joſeph*, had loaded their camels in *Syria*, with the aromatics and other precious things they were carrying into *Egypt*. Among which it is no unlikely matter that they had commodities of other countries beſides thoſe of *Syria*. Till interpreters can agree upon the genuine explication of the text, we have liberty to think as largely this way as we pleaſe.

Now becauſe the *Syrians* engroſſed this lucrative commerce, they may have been in great meaſure negligent of the *Mediterranean* navigation, chiefly intent upon their eaſtern trade, which drew merchants from all the weſtern parts to traffic in their country, as well for their own growth as for foreign productions; and particularly the *Phœnicians*, their next and moſt induſtrious neighbours. So that *Herodotus* [w] may be much in the right, when he talks of the trade they antiently carried on for *Aſſyria* [*Syria*] and *Egypt*. We might draw ſome natural parallels of this caſe, ſo as to leave it almoſt indubitable. The *Spaniards* and *Portugueze*, who have

[t] l. 1. c. 1. [u] See before, p. 114. [w] Ubi ſupr.

engroſſed

engroſſed all the wealth, as it were, of the *Weſt-Indies*, make little or no uſe of ſhipping, if compared with the two trading nations, *England* and *Holland*, who may be ſaid to drive on the commerce of the whole world in their bottoms. The *Syrians* then, it is likely, neglected ſea affairs, and therein fell much ſhort of the *Phœnicians*.

THIS was the ſtate of the antient *Syrian* trade and navigation, which we may ſafely ſuppoſe encreaſed from time to time, till their king *Hazael*, as you will ſee in his reign, graſped at the whole trade of both eaſt and ſouth, by ſeizing on the famous emporium, *Elath*, on the *Red-ſea*. The *Syrians* now had a commodious outlet to the ſouthermoſt parts of *Arabia*, *Æthiopia* and the more ſouthern ſhores of *Afric*, not to mention *Egypt*, who could not be very fond of her new neighbours, and may have been ſhy of them, and that, upon very juſt grounds. But this *Syrian* monopoly was of ſhort duration. They had ſcarce ſettled themſelves on the ſhores of the *Arabian* gulph, but their king *Hazael* died, and they loſt *Elath*: which, however, they recovered again under their laſt king *Rezin*; but their empire was ſoon after extinguiſhed, together with his life; and therefore, though the *Syrian* colony remained afterwards at *Elath*, we ſhall purſue their commerce no farther, it being foreign to our preſent purpoſe; but we ſhall endeavour to confirm what we have here advanced, when we are to treat of the *Phœnician* affairs. In the mean time let any one conſider the ſtate of trade in the *Levant* and *Mediterranean*, before the diſcovery, or re-diſcovery as ſome * would have it, of the cape of *Good-hope*, and, poſſibly, he will be pretty much of our opinion. *Diodorus Siculus* numbers the *Syrians* among the mariners employed by *Semiramis* in her *Indian* expedition; but, as we are not diſpoſed to give much credit to his author *Cteſias*, we ſhall make no uſe of his hint, thinking it of no ſervice to us.

SECT. III.

Of the Chronology of the antient Syrians.

BEFORE we proceed to the little we can ſay upon this obſcure ſubject, we will exhibit a ſeries of the races of the antient kings of *Syria*, according to different writers.

* V. HUET Hiſtoir. du Com. et de la Navigat. des Anc. Chap. 8.

The

The Kings of *Zobah*, or *Sophene*.

According to Scripture.	According to *Josephus*.	Contemporary with
Rehob - - - - -	*Arach* - -	*Saul.*
Hadadezer, or *Hadarezer* (A)	*Adrazar* - -	*David.*

The Kings of *Damascus*.

According to Scripture.	According to *Nic. Damasc.*	According to *Josephus*.	Contemporary with
* * *	*Adad* I. - -	*Adad* - -	*David*
Rezon - -	*Adad* II. -	Uncertain -	*Solomon*
Hezion - -	*Adad* III.	* * * * *	*Rehoboam*
Tabrimon -	*Adad* IV.	* * * *	*Abijam.*
Ben-hadad I.	*Adad* V.	* * * * *	*Asa.*
Ben-hadad II.	*Adad* VI. -	*Adad* - -	*Jehoshaphat* and *Jehoram.*
Hazael - -	*Adad* VII.	* * * * *	*Ahaziah* and *Jehoash.*
Ben-hadad III.	*Adad* VIII.	* * * *	*Amaziah.*
* * *	*Adad* IX.	* * * * *	*Uzziah.*
Rezin - -	*Adad* X. -	*Rases*, or *Arases*.	*Jotham* and *Ahaz.*

The Kings of *Hamath*.

According to Scripture.	According to *Josephus*.	Contemporary with
Toi * * * * * *	*Thœnus* * *	*David.*
Joram, or *Hadoram* - -	*Joram* * * * * *	
* * * * * *		

The Kings of *Geshur*.

According to Scripture.	
Ammihud - -	Contemporary with - - - *Saul.*
Talmai - - - - - - -	*David.*
* * * *	

(A) The difference between the *Hebrew* ד *D* and the *Hebrew* ר *R*, is so little, that it is no wonder we find this king's name spelt these two ways.

We have not minded the ſeniority of theſe Kingdoms, by placing them either in an exact collateral, or ſucceſſive order; but have given the ſecond place to *Damaſcus*, becauſe it roſe upon the ruins of *Zobah*, though *Hamath* and *Geſhur* were kingdoms before it (B).

WE have no poſitive aſſurance, that *Zobah* coaleſced under one king in the days of *Saul*, or, conſequently, that *Rehob* was their firſt king; we only build upon what we apprehend to have been the caſe. Their kings had been beaten by *Saul*[x], and they thereupon may have come to the reſolution of ſetting up one ſupreme, perceiving the *Iſraelites* to proſper ſo under their new monarchy. The *Philiſtines* ſeem to have done the like [y], at the ſame time, and for the ſame reaſon. If this be granted, none is ſo likely to have been their firſt king as *Rehob*, the father of the great *Hadadezer*, who in the days of *David* was ſo firmly ſeated in the newly-erected throne of *Zobah*, that he aſpired at the univerſal monarchy of *Syria*, and, in effect, was become a very great and mighty prince, as you will ſee in the hiſtory of his reign; as alſo that if he was not the ſecond, he was certainly the laſt king of *Zobah*; for we hear no more of the kingdom.

THE kingdom of *Damaſcus* roſe upon the ruins of the kingdom of *Zobah*. It was founded by *Rezon* in the latter part of *Solomon*'s reign [z]. That *Rezon* ſeized on *Damaſcus*, while *David* was alive, or during the beſt days of *Solomon*, cannot be reconciled with ſcripture, as you will ſee in the hiſtory of thoſe two kings; and that he deferred it till the reign of *Rehoboam* is very improbable; it may be doubted whether he lived ſo long: for, ſuppoſing him to have been but thirty years of age, which is the leaſt we well can, when he ſerved under *Hadadezer* of *Zobah* againſt *David*, he muſt have been about one hundred years of age when *Reho-*

[x] 1 Sam. xiv. 47. [y] See before, p. 222. [z] See 1 Kings xi. 24.

(B) Not that we imagine it had never been a kingdom before. *Nicolas* of *Damaſcus* (1) writes, that *Abraham* was king there, which we may conſider in the life of that patriarch. And from the ſame author, we ſuppoſe, *Trogus* borrowed the kings of *Damaſcus* he mentions to have reigned there, both before, and after, *Abraham*; as *Damaſcus*, *Azelus*, and *Adores* before him, and *Iſrahel* after him, as well as all the reſt of his miſtaken hiſtory of the *Jews*, who, according to him, are originally of *Damaſcus*.

(1) *In excerpt.* VALES.

boam

boam began to reign. It is moſt likely then, that *Rezon* erected the kingdom of *Damaſcus*, while *Solomon* was taken up with his vanities, and had forgot both himſelf and his people.

Josephus, as may be obſerved in the table, makes one *Adad* king of *Damaſcus* contemporary with *David*, in which he is a ſtrict follower of *Nicolas* of *Damaſcus*, whom in the next reign he drops. *Joſephus* [a], inſtead of allowing *Rezon* to have made himſelf king at *Damaſcus*, ſeems to inſinuate, that he made *Hadad*, the *Edomite*, king there or ſome where elſe in *Syria*. We know there are thoſe who in this matter think along with him. Perhaps the beſt argument that can be brought in proof that the fugitive king of *Edom* was eſtabliſhed on the throne of *Syria* [b], may be, that his ſucceſſors poſſeſſed themſelves of part of the *Edomitiſh* dominions, and particularly *Elath* upon the *Arabian* gulph: but this argument will have but little weight with thoſe, who conſider that ambition and avarice may have had as large a ſhare in that acquiſition, as any conviction of an inherent right. But we forget, that our intention was only to prove, that the kingdom of *Damaſcus* commenced in the latter part of *Solomon*'s reign.

Nicolas of *Damaſcus* ſeems to agree well enough with the ſcripture accounts of the *Damaſcene* kings, and particularly, if we ſuppoſe his firſt *Adad* to have been *Hadadezer* of *Zobah*; and that he was ſo, is pretty plain: nor is it any wonder, that he ſhould have made the city of his birth the ſeat of a kingdom, only one reign longer than he ought to have made it. Beſides he may not be altogether miſtaken, in calling his firſt *Adad* king of *Damaſcus*; for, as may be obſerved hereafter, he certainly was king or chief over that province, though he did not there reſide. By calling his firſt *Adad* the *Hadadezer* of *Zobah*, we bring him to quadrate very well with the ſcripture.

It is impoſſible to determine the exact number of years each king reigned, wherefore we have only placed them over-againſt the princes of *David*'s line, or the kings of *Judah*.

We have on purpoſe avoided a dry diſcuſſion of this point; for there is no certainty to be expected in what concerns the ſucceſſion of theſe kings, and the length of their reigns.

The kingdom of *Hamath* roſe together with that of *Zobah*, as appears pretty plain by the wars between them. But

[a] Antiq. l. 8. c. 2. [b] See before, p. 144.

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THE kingdom of *Geſhur* ſeems to have riſen together with *Zobah* and *Hamath*. We are not ſure, that *Ammihud* preceded his ſon *Talmai* in the kingdom; but it is very likely he did.

SECT. IV.

The Reigns of the Kings of the antient Syrians.

The KINGS of ZOBAH.

Rehob. REHOB we ſuppoſe to have been the firſt ſole king of *Zobah*, and to have laid the foundations of his ſon's grandeur.

Hadadezer HADADEZER, or *Haderezer*, the ſon of *Rehob*, was a great and ambitious prince, and remarkable for his unfortunate wars with king *David*. He had warred with advantage againſt the king of *Hamath*; aiming at the univerſal monarchy of *Syria*, we imagine; but when he oppoſed *David*'s progreſs towards the reduction of the land, which had been promiſed to *Abraham* and his ſeed, quite to the *Euphrates* [a], his good fortune left him. In the firſt battle he fought with *David* he loſt one thouſand chariots, ſeven thouſand horſe, and twenty thouſand foot. The *Syrians* of *Damaſcus* then ſent their army to reinforce him. In the ſecond battle *Hadadezer* loſt two and twenty thouſand men. Thus beaten out of the field, the conqueror poſſeſſed himſelf of a good part of *Syria*, and particularly *Damaſcene*. *Hadadezer* now loſt his golden ſhields, for ſuch he had in his treaſury, we ſuppoſe; his two cities *Betah* and *Berothai*, exceedingly rich in braſs, were plundered [b], and his dominion was conſiderably diminiſhed and impoveriſhed. But it is likely nothing perplexed him more than the defection of *Rezon*, afterwards king of *Damaſcus*, who, leading the forces ſent him from that province, or *Hadadezer*'s own, uncertain which, deſerted him in the midſt of his adverſe fortune, and, gathering a band of men about him, lived an out-law, and upon the ſpoil [c].

Year of the Flood, 1955. Year before Chriſt 1044.

IT is not expreſſed, that *Hadadezer* became tributary to king *David*, nor indeed is it likely that he did, by what follows. For he furniſhed *Hanun* king of *Ammon* with twen-

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ty thouſand men againſt *David*; but they, with the other auxiliaries of that war, were put to a ſhameful flight by *Joab* [d]. Though he was paid for theſe twenty thouſand men, and was by no means a principal in this war, yet the next year he ſeems to have made himſelf ſo [e]. He called in all the petty kings, that owed him homage, on the other ſide of the *Euphrates*; and every where elſe, as far as his power extended, he levied forces. By which means he got together a very conſiderable army, which he committed to the conduct of *Shobach* his General, to aſſiſt *Hanun* again *David* a ſecond time; or rather to make a deſperate effort to retrieve his own honour and dominion, or to humble *David*, if poſſible. But this great hoſt alſo miſcarried, being routed with the loſs of many thouſands, and *Shobach* himſelf was ſlain on the ſpot. The battle was fought at a place called *Helam*; about forty thouſand of the *Syrians* were ſlain, and among the reſt *Shobach*, as we have ſaid. The petty princes, that ſerved *Hadadezer* in this fatal warfare, made their peace with *David*, and became his tributaries [f], as *Hadadezer* himſelf did, as is very likely; concerning whom, or the kingdom of *Zobah*, we find no further account.

The KINGS *of* DAMASCUS.

Rezon. The kingdom of *Zobah* being undone, that of *Damaſcus* roſe upon the ruins of it. Rezon was the firſt king, the ſame who deſerted from *Hadadezer* king of *Zobah*. He ſeized on *Damaſcus*, and was the founder of this noble kingdom, and he abhorred *Iſrael*, to whom he was a very troubleſome, inveterate enemy, taking advantage of *Solomon*'s neglect [g].

Hezion. Hezion ſucceeded *Rezon*; but whether he was his ſon, or any otherwiſe related to him, we know not (A). He lived at peace and amity with the kings of *Judah* and *Iſrael* [h].

[d] See before, p. 107. [e] See before, p. 106, (F). [f] 2 Sam. x. 15—19. [g] 1 Kings xi. 23---25. [h] Ibid. xv. 18.

(A) It is the joint opinion, of Sir *John Marſham* (1), Sir *Iſaac Newton* (2), and archbiſhop *Uſher* (3), that *Rezon* and *Hezion* are different names for the ſame king. It is impoſſible for us to declare ourſelves, either for or againſt it.

(1) *Canon. Chronic. Secul.* 13. (2) *Chronol. of ant. Kingd. amended, p.* 221. (3) *Annal.*

Tabrimon

TABRIMON (B) the ſon of *Hezion*. He, as well as his father, had no miſunderſtandings with the kings of *Judah* and *Iſrael* [i].

BEN-HADAD the ſon of *Tabrimon*. Ambaſſadors came to him with large gifts from *Aſa* king of *Judah*, by whom he was tempted to make war upon *Baaſha* king of *Iſrael*; from whom his army took *Ijon*, *Dan*, *Abel-beth-maachah*, all *Cinneroth*, and all the land of *Naphtali* [k], and, in the end, extended his power to the city of *Samaria* itſelf, as we ſhall ſee anon. *Ben-hadad* I. Year of the Flood, 2059. Year before Chriſt, 940.

BEN-HADAD the ſon of *Ben-hadad*. He vigorouſly proſecuted the enmity his father had ſo ſucceſsfully begun againſt *Iſrael*, but therein was twice very remarkably baffled by the interpoſition of heaven. When he firſt marched againſt *Iſrael*, we underſtand it to have been with mighty parade, he having no leſs than thirty two kings over his chariots [l], and a vaſt army of both horſe and foot. He proceeded, and ſat down before *Samaria*, and ſtrait ſummoned *Ahab* the king to ſurrender himſelf as his vaſſal; to acknowledge himſelf to be his creature; and that all belonging to him was at his ſervice and diſpoſal. To this he received as ſubmiſſive an anſwer as he could wiſh for. But his arrogance ſwelled to that pitch, that a bare verbal ſubmiſſion would not ſerve his turn. He ſent into *Samaria*, therefore, to admoniſh *Ahab*, that he intended the next day to ſend ſome officers to ſearch his palace and the city, for all the riches, women, and fine children (C), that they might ſeize on them, and bring them away. The king of *Iſrael* boldly refuſed to ſubmit to ſo unparalleled an indignity, which *Ben-hadad* little expecting, was highly exaſperated. He ſent a third time to *Ahab*, to try whether he could not threaten him into ſo baſe a compliance, wiſhing himſelf in a worſe condition than *Ahab*, if he did not bring ſuch an army before *Samaria*, that every ſoldier taking but a handful *Ben-hadad* II. Year of the Flood, 2098. Year before Chriſt 901.

[i] 1 Kings xv. 18. [k] Ibid. v. 20. [l] Compare ibid. xx. 1. with ibid. xxii. 31.

(B) Sir *Iſaac Newton* (4) reckons him to have been ſubject to the *Egyptians*, who under *Seſac*, or *Shiſhak*, conquered *Syria* (5), in this king's reign according to his hypotheſis; and that his ſon *Ben-hadad* ſhook off the yoke.

(C) This laſt particular is aggravated by ſome (6) into a great piece of inſolence and brutality; as if he ſent to *Ahab* for his moſt beautiful male children, to ſin againſt nature with them.

(4) *Ubi ſupr.* (5) *See before in the Notes, p.* 9. (6) *Vide* Cleric. *in* 1 *Reg. xx.* 3.

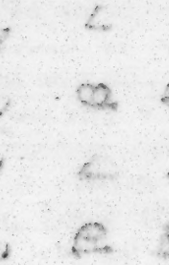
of it (D), there ſhould be no ſigns of it left. He received a ſtubborn reply to this vain menace, *Ahab* adviſing him to wait the event of things before he reckoned upon them.

The *Syrian* army, which had hitherto been in looſe array, was now ordered to inveſt the city of *Samaria* in form, and get all ready for the aſſault. While this was doing, *Ben-hadad*, who ſeems to have been a very voluptuous prince, and much given to drink, betook himſelf to his pleaſure, fearleſs of all danger, for he could apprehend none. As he was in the midſt of his ſecurity and carouſals, he was told, that a party was drawing near from the city, which at firſt cauſed a ſmall alarm in the camp, and diſturbed *Ben-hadad* himſelf. But when he underſtood what the matter was, he commanded, that they ſhould be brought before him alive, whether their deſigns were for peace or for war, and then returned to his cups. The party which was coming out of the city was, in fact, *Ahab* and a choice company with him; who, though it was noon-day, were encouraged to fall upon the great hoſt of the *Syrians*. The *Syrians* on the other hand, dreaming of nothing leſs than an aſſault, thought they ſhould have nothing to do, but to conduct them to their king. But when *Ahab* and his followers were come up, and all at once laid about them furiouſly, the *Syrians* fled, and a panic fear ſpread itſelf all over the camp, ſo that there was no one that thought of any thing elſe but ſaving himſelf; and particularly *Ben-hadad* mounted a horſe, and rode away with the reſt as faſt as he could, inſtead of rallying and confirming his people. They all fled, and the *Iſraelites* purſued them with a very great ſlaughter.

(D) This proud meſſage is very variouſly interpreted. The words of the text itſelf are: *The gods do ſo unto me, and more alſo, if the duſt of Samaria ſhall ſuffice for handfuls, for all the people that follow me* (7): or as it is in the margin, are *at my feet*. This according to *Joſephus* (8), means no more, than that he had ſo numberleſs a multitude with him, that each taking but a handful of ſoil, could encompaſs *Samaria* with works that ſhould over-top the wall of the city. Others (9) take it much as we do; that if each man in his army took but a handful of the ruins of *Samaria*, they might carry the whole place away with them. Others (10) again ſuppoſe his meaning to have been, that he would return with ſuch an army, that if each ſoldier took but a handful of his country, nothing of it ſhould be left remaining. Take it which way you will, it was a high vaunt, and paſſionately ſpoken to ſet off the greatneſs of his kingdom.

(7) 1 *Kings xx.* 10. (8) *Antiq. l.* 8. *c.* 8. (9) Cleric. *in* 1 *Reg. ubi ſupr.* (10) Patrick *upon* 1 *Kings xx.* 10.

The



The SYRIAC ALPHABET.

Power.	Joined both to the following and preceding.	Joined to the following Letter only.	Joined to the preceding Letter only.	Single.	Names.	The Estrangelo.
The Support of a Vowel.	ـا	ـا	ا	ا	*Olaf.*	ܐ
B.	ـبـ	ـب	ـب	ب	*Beth.*	ܒ ܒ
G.	ـگـ	ـگ	ـگ	گ	*Gomal.*	ܓ ܓ
D.		ـد		د	*Dolath.*	ܕ ܕ
H.		ـه		ه	*He.*	ܗ ܗ
W.		ـو		و	*Waw.*	ܘ ܘ
Z.		ـز		ز	*Zain.*	ܙ ܙ
Hb.	ـحـ	ـح	ـح	ح	*Hbeth.*	ܚ ܚ
T.	ـطـ	ـط	ـط	ط	*Teth.*	ܛ ܛ
Y.	ـيـ	ـي	ـي	ي	*Yud.*	ܝ ܝ
C or *Kb.*	ـكـ	ـك	ـك	ك	*Cof.*	ܟ ܟ
L.	ـلـ	ـل	ـل	ل	*Lomad.*	ܠ ܠ
M.	ـمـ	ـم	ـم	م	*Mim.*	ܡ ܡ
N.	ـنـ	ـن	ـن	ن	*Nun.*	ܢ ܢ
S.	ـسـ	ـس	ـس	س	*Semcath*	ܣ ܣ
The Support of a Vowel, but a Guttural.	ـعـ	ـع	ـع	ع	*E.*	ܥ ܥ
F. or *P.*	ـفـ	ـف	ـف	ف	*Pe.*	ܦ ܦ
S {grosly pron.		ـص		ص	*Sode.*	ܨ ܨ
K.	ـقـ	ـق	ـق	ق	*Kof.*	ܩ ܩ
R.		ـر		ر	*Riſh.*	ܪ ܪ
Sh.	ـشـ	ـش	ـش	ش	*Shin.*	ܫ ܫ
T. or *Th.*		ـت		ت	*Tau.*	ܬ ܬ

The *Syrians* were covered with ſhame at ſo inglorious a flight, and would gladly have found out ſome excuſe to palliate it. They pretended, that the gods of the *Iſraelites* being the gods of the hills, it was no wonder, that ſuch a misfortune had befallen them; and, to comfort their king, aſſured him, that if he could but draw out the *Iſraelites* upon a plain, his gods would prevail in their turn, as they preſided over the plains (E). They moreover laid ſome blame upon the two and thirty kings, as not hearty in his cauſe, or ſubmiſſive enough to diſcipline, and deſired, that truſty ſkilful officers might be ſubſtituted inſtead of them. They then adviſed their king to levy juſt ſuch an army as the former, chariot for chariot, horſe for horſe, and never doubt of ſucceſs.

BEN-HADAD hearkened to all this, and bore his diſhonour as uneaſily, we may ſuppoſe, as any of his ſubjects could for him. And when the ſeaſon of the year came about, he marched towards the king of *Iſrael* with ſuch an army, as if he meant to make good what he had boaſted towards the city of *Samaria*. He pitched in *Aphek*, in a plain we may be ſure, to be within the reach of his own gods, and *filled the country*, as it is expreſſed. Seven days he lay here incamped, over-againſt the deſpicable numbers of the *Iſraelites* (F). Upon the ſeventh day it came to a battle between them, and that day the *Syrians* loſt of foot only one hundred thouſand. This ſlaughter ſo confounded them, that they gave ground, and retreated with precipitation to the city of *Aphek* itſelf, which was near, where twenty ſeven thouſand of them were cruſhed to death by the city wall, which fell on them (G).

Year of the Flood, 2099. Year before Chriſt 900.

BEN-HADAD

(E) So early was the notion of topical deities, and of the gods fighting together with the men who worſhipped them. However, they muſt have known, that the *Jewiſh* law was delivered on a hill; that the temple of *Jeruſalem* ſtood on a hill. They could not but know, that the enemy's country was very hilly, and that the *Iſraelites* were particularly fond of ſacrificing and worſhipping *in high places*. Knowing all this, it is no wonder, that the *Syrians*, conſidering the theology of the times, ſhould talk after ſo wild a rate.

(F) It may be very well asked, why the *Syrians*, ſeeing the advantage of numbers ſo greatly on their ſide, lay idle ſo long? But it may be anſwered, that the *Iſraelites* were incamped on a hill, and therefore they would not venture to attack them, chooſing to ſtay till they ſhould ſhift their quarters.

(G) This is ſo extraordinary a caſualty, that it may be well asked how it came to paſs? It is ſuppoſed they ranged themſelves round the walls of the city to make a defence; and that the walls were

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H.		ܗ		ܗ	*He.*	ܗ
W.		ܘ		ܘ	*Waw.*	ܘ
Z.		ܙ		ܙ	*Zain.*	ܙ
Hb.	ܚ	ܚ	ܚ	ܚ	*Hbeth.*	ܚ
T.	ܛ	ܛ	ܛ	ܛ	*Teth.*	ܛ
Y.	ܝ	ܝ	ܝ	ܝ	*Yud.*	ܝ
C or *Kb.*	ܟ	ܟ	ܟ	ܟ	*Cof.*	ܟ
L.	ܠ	ܠ	ܠ	ܠ	*Lomad.*	ܠ
M.	ܡ	ܡ	ܡ	ܡ	*Mim.*	ܡ
N.	ܢ	ܢ	ܢ	ܢ	*Nun.*	ܢ
S.	ܣ	ܣ	ܣ	ܣ	*Semcath*	ܣ
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F. or *P.*	ܦ	ܦ	ܦ	ܦ	*Pe.*	ܦ
S {grosly pron.		ܨ		ܨ	*Sode.*	ܨ
K.	ܩ	ܩ	ܩ	ܩ	*Kof.*	ܩ
R.		ܪ		ܪ	*Riſh.*	ܪ
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Ben-hadad now gave all over for loſt, and was not a little ſurprized, perhaps, that his gods had failed him. In deſpair therefore he concealed himſelf in the city of *Aphek*; but his officers reminding him, that the kings of *Iſrael* had been generous enemies, adviſed him to throw himſelf upon *Ahab*'s mercy, and offered themſelves to prepare the conqueror to receive him kindly, with ſackcloth on their loins, and ropes about their necks. In this humble diſguiſe they accordingly went and accoſted *Ahab*, intreating him in behalf of their king. *Ahab*, overjoyed at his victory, was in admirable temper to receive them, and in a kind of tranſport called *Ben-hadad* his *brother*, and declared he was glad to hear he was living. The artful *Syrians* caught at the word *brother*, and made the beſt uſe of it they could for the ſervice of their diſconſolate king. *Ben-hadad* then was brought to *Ahab*, who deſired him to ſtep up into his chariot. While he was thus in the chariot with *Ahab*, he made many proteſtations and promiſes to him. He promiſed to deliver up all his father had wreſted from *Iſrael*, and not only that, but to allow *Ahab* great authority in his capital *Damaſcus*, even the ſame his own father had enjoyed in *Samaria* (H). By theſe fair ſpeeches

beaten down upon them by the *Iſraelites*, or ſhook down by an earthquake (11) In a word, that God was immediately concerned in this deſtruction (12). It need not be ſuppoſed they were all deſtroyed, but partly killed, and partly wounded or diſperſed.

(H) What privilege or authority *Ben-hadad* promiſes to *Ahab* is very doubtful. What privilege or authority *Ben hadad*'s father enjoyed in *Samaria*, is a queſtion we ſhould be glad to clear up, were it poſſible. *Joſephus* (13) has it, that *Ahab* ſhould have as free liberty in *Damaſcus* as his father had had in the city of *Samaria*, which was built but a few years before by *Omri* king of *Iſrael*. It is moſt likely, according to the *LXX* and the *Vulgate*, that he promiſes *Ahab*, the *Iſraelites* ſhould live free in *Damaſcus*, with all the liberties they enjoyed at home; that they ſhould have free ingreſs and egreſs [Ἔξοδος], according to the former, or build them ſtreets to live together, by their own country laws, according to the latter; and the ſame, it ſeems, had been enjoyed by the *Syrians* in *Samaria*: this is the apparent ſenſe of our own verſion of this paſſage, and the moſt ſtrictly agreeable with the original. "Some think by "*ſtreets*, he means market places where commodities were ſold, "the toll of which ſhould belong to *Ahab*. Others think he means "*courts of judgment*, where he ſhould maintain a juriſdiction over

(11) Patrick *upon* 1 *Kings* xx 30. (12) Cleric. *in* 1 *Reg*, xx. 30. (13) *Antiq. ubi ſupr.*

"*Ben hadad*'s

ſpeeches he ſo wrought upon the mind of *Ahab*, that he was immediately reſtored to his liberty, and a peace was concluded [m].

How ſtrictly ſoever *Ben-hadad* adhered to his word with *Ahab* in other reſpects, he kept poſſeſſion of *Ramoth-gilead*, which was the ſubject of a freſh war, wherein he was invaded by *Ahab*, who alſo prevailed on *Jehoſhaphat*, king of *Judah*, to be his confederate. The two kings led their forces againſt *Ramoth-gilead*; where they found the *Syrians* prepared to receive them; but *Ahab*, having ſufficient reaſon to fear that the enemy would mark him out for deſtruction, diſguiſed himſelf before the battle, while the king of *Judah* put on his royal robes. The apprehenſions of *Ahab* were not without foundation; for the king of *Syria* commanded his two and thirty captains, who had rule over his chariots, to direct their arms only againſt the king of *Iſrael*. This had like to have proved fatal to *Jehoſhaphat*, who had inevitably been ſlain, had not the officers ceaſed their purſuit of him, when they diſcovered that he was not the perſon they had in commiſſion to deſtroy. But *Ahab*'s precautions could not ſave him from the fate he endeavoured to evade; for one of the *Syrians* (I) drew a bow at a venture, and ſmote him between the Joints of his harneſs: upon which he ordered his charioteer to carry him out of the field of battle, and died in the evening. But whether the *Syrian* chiefs had any knowledge of this accident,

[m] 1 Kings xx.

" *Ben-hadad*'s ſubjects: others, that we now call a piazza, of which " *Ahab* ſhould receive the rents. But commonly interpreters think " he means *fortifications*, whereby he might bridle the chief city " of the kingdom of *Syria*; that they might not make irruptions " into the land of *Iſrael*. Citadels, as we now ſpeak, to keep " them in awe, and to be a check to them, if they attempted any " thing againſt the *Iſraelites*: yet, after all, *Gotf. Vallandus* hath " ſaid a great deal to prove, that the *Hebrew* word ſignifies *Pa-* " *laces*; which he being allowed to build, was a great token of ſub- " jection (13)". We muſt here obſerve, that we read of no cities *Ben-hadad*'s father took from *Ahab*. What he took was from *Baaſha*. However, he may have made other incroachments upon the kingdom of *Iſrael*, which are omitted.

(I) The *Syrian* who drew this bow is, by *Joſephus*, called *Aman*. According to the ſame hiſtorian, *Ben-hadad* was in this battle himſelf; to us it ſeems, that he did not command in perſon, but committed the conduct of this war to *Naaman*.

(13) Patrick *upon* 1 *Kings xx.* 34.

and, giving over their ſearch, joined in the aſſault, we cannot pretend to ſay; but it appears, that the battle was fierce and obſtinate, and that it laſted till night; under the covert of which each ſide drew off, with equal loſs and doubtful victory [n].

The ſtory of Naaman's *leproſy.*

Now the general, who commanded the *Syrians* in the laſt battle, was called *Naaman*; and, for his behaviour and conduct upon that day, his maſter beheld him as the deliverer of his country, and received him into higheſt favour as ſuch: and indeed he ſeems to have been a very excellent perſon; but unfortunately he was a leper, which drew him to *Samaria*, hoping there to be cleanſed, as he was. For the *Syrians*, it ſeems, continuing at enmity with *Iſrael*, made frequent inroads into their country, and, at times, carried off great booty, and numbers of captives. It happened that a captive among the reſt, a *little maid*, as ſhe is called, ſerved in the houſe of *Naaman*; and obſerving her maſter to be a leper, would wiſh him at *Samaria*, where was a prophet who could relieve him. Thus was ſhe wont to expreſs herſelf to her miſtreſs; and at laſt it was reported to *Naaman* himſelf, that ſhe had ſaid ſo and ſo. *Naaman* then told it to *Ben-hadad*, who was for embracing any opportunity to procure him relief, and with that intent wrote a letter to the king of *Iſrael*, to recommend *Naaman* to him, and to entreat, that he would cure him of his leproſy. With this letter *Naaman* departed, taking with him ten talents of ſilver, ſix thouſand pieces of gold, and ten changes of raiment, that he might reward the perſon who ſhould cleanſe him, in proportion to his own elevated rank, and in proportion to the value of ſo great a bleſſing. He mounted his chariot, and went attended by a number of horſemen, and delivered his letter to the king of *Iſrael*. *Jehoram* miſtook *Ben-hadad*'s meaning, and thought he wanted him in perſon to cure *Naaman*, an impoſſibility for him to do, and fancied, that he only ſought thereby an opportunity to wage open war with him. *Naaman* in this comfortleſs dilemma, received a meſſage from *Eliſha*, who promiſed to help him. He therefore went to the prophet's houſe, and ſtopped at the door with all his train. Here he waited ſome time, and at laſt a ſervant came out to him from the prophet, with orders, that he ſhould waſh himſelf ſeven times in the river *Jordan* (K). This direction, after ſo patient an attendance,

[n] 1 Kings xxii. 3, —35.

(K) It is obſerved, that by the laws of *Moſes* lepers were ſprinkled

dance, provoked him to diſdain. He thought he was derided. He expected the prophet to have appeared in perſon, in a formal manner, to call upon the name of GOD, and apply his hands to the afflicted parts. If waſhing could be of any avail, he thought the ſtreams of *Abana* and *Pharpar* at *Damaſcus*, far beyond any waters of *Iſrael:* in ſhort, thus diſappointed, as he thought, he gave vent to the keeneſt reſentment. But his attendants, much grieved to obſerve him in ſuch diſorder, begged him, in the moſt diſcreet and affectionate terms, to conſider how eaſy a matter it was to follow the prophet's directions, whether any good came of it or not; and he, being a man of ſenſe, hearkened to them, and drove to the river, and dipping himſelf ſeven times therein, was perfectly changed *.

HE returned to the prophet with inexpreſſible joy, renounced all idolatry, and would gladly have forced a preſent upon him; but his endeavours this way were to no purpoſe. He entreated the prophet to grant him two mule-loads of earth, it being his deſign to worſhip or ſacrifice to none other but GOD. He then conſulted *Eliſha*, whether or no it might be lawful for him to attend on his king in the temple of *Rimmon*, his office requiring him to ſupport his prince at his devotions, ſo that he could not avoid bowing down when he did. As for the earth, it is not ſaid that the prophet granted him any (L); and

ſprinkled ſeven times (14). It is ſuppoſed, that there was ſomething peculiarly efficacious in a ſevenfold repetition, as the Almighty went through the great and beneficent work of creation within ſeven days (15); that accordingly it was enjoined in honour of GOD, and being performed had its proper effects.

* This, ſays biſhop *Patrick* (16), was the only cure of a leproſy we read of, till CHRIST, the great prophet came into the world. It was, and ſtill is, in thoſe parts, as loathſome a diſeaſe, as it is inveterate. It differs much from the leproſy which is ſeen among us. It defiles the whole ſurface of the body with a foul ſcurf, deforms the joints, particularly at the wriſts and ankles, which ſwell out with a gouty ſcrophulous ſubſtance, very loathſome to look on; the legs of thoſe afflicted with it look like thoſe of old battered horſes: in ſhort, it may paſs for the utmoſt corruption of the human body on this ſide the grave (17).

(L) It is not ſaid, in the text, that *Eliſha* granted this his requeſt; but our tranſlators, in their argument to the chapter, where this whole ſtory is found, imagine that he did. From the words which

(14) *Levit. xiv.* 7. (15) *Cleric. in* 2 *Reg. v.* (16) *Upon* 2 *Kings v.* 14. (17) *Maundrell's Journey from Aleppo to Jeruſ. in the Append. Letter II.*

follow,

and as for his ſcruple of conſcience we have not the prophet's deciſion thereon; he left it, perhaps, undecided, as a matter of indifference in *Naaman*'s caſe, and diſmiſſed him in peace.

Naaman, thus purified both in body and mind, departed; but, being on the road, was circumvented by *Gehazi* the prophet's ſervant, who accoſted him with a forgery in the prophet's name, whereby he got from him one talent of ſilver, and two changes of raiment; wherefore his leproſy became entailed upon *Gehazi* and his poſterity o; which is ſaid to have given this generous *Syrian* an opportunity of diſplaying a noble inſtance of his generoſity, the good effects of which are ſaid to ſubſiſt at this very day (M).

Soon after *Naaman*'s return to *Damaſcus*, *Ben-hadad* began to execute ſome private deſigns againſt *Jehoram* king of *Iſrael*; whence it is naturally enough gathered, that *Naaman* either died, or reſigned, or was diſcarded, very ſoon after his return home (N). It was not an open war that *Ben-hadad* meditated againſt the king of *Iſrael*, but all was ſecret, and myſterious, and ſtratagem (O). But *Ben-hadad* was continually

o 2 Kings v.

follow, it appears that he wanted this earth to raiſe an altar with it, a pious motive, though miſtaken.

(M) This is ſaid by a mere tradition, no doubt, but we do not know how to paſs it over. At *Damaſcus*, juſt by the city walls, is an hoſpital richly endowed for the reception of lepers; ſaid to be the ſame built by *Naaman* for *Gehazi*, ſervant to *Eliſha* (18).

(N) A late writer (19) tells us, without heſitation, that *Naaman* loſt his great office of general for refuſing to worſhip *Rimmon*; but the argument he builds on, which is the next thing we ſhall conſider, ſeems to be but weak.

(O) The words of the text (20) itſelf are; *Then the king of* Syria *warred againſt* Iſrael, *and took counſel with his ſervants, ſaying in ſuch and ſuch a place* ſhall be *my camp*; and by what follows, he enjoined them ſtrict ſecreſy. From hence the late writer (21), we juſt now touched on, affirms that *Naaman* was diſplaced; for which reaſon the king of *Syria* now commanded his army in perſon, and being not uſed to ſuch exerciſes, he on all occaſions conſulted his general officers. Did not *Ben-hadad* command his army twice in perſon before; once at *Samaria*, and once in the fatal day of *Aphek*? why then ſhould he not command it a third time? and why muſt he

(18) *Thevenot's Travels into the Levant, Par. II. Book I. cap iv.*
(19) *Bedford's Script. Chron. p.* 627. (20) 2 *Kings vi.* 8.
(21) *Bedford ubi ſupr.*

he

nually fruſtrated in all his aims, and began to ſuſpect the fidelity of ſome about him. To remove ſo dangerous a ſuſpicion from his breaſt, he was told, that it muſt certainly be *Eliſha* who diſconcerted all his meaſures, he being indued with ſuch a degree of omniſcience that nothing could be concealed from him, though tranſacted in the greateſt privacy imaginable. *Ben-hadad* had heard enough concerning that prophet, from *Naaman*, to incline him to believe as much; and therefore, by a ſtrange abſence of thought, reſolved to lay hands on him in the firſt place; and to that purpoſe, detached a ſtrong party to *Dothan*, where he underſtood him then to be. They came to that city in the night, and the next morning were, by the prophet, ſmitten with ſuch a deception of ſight, that they ſuffered him to guide them into the very heart of the city of *Samaria*, where their right ſenſe returned to them, that they might behold their ſituation. Here, inſtead of being made priſoners of war, they were hoſpitably entertained, and generouſly diſmiſſed; and making their report to *Ben-hadad* of all that had happened, the prophet's power, and the king's humanity, a ſtop was put to the war (P).

THIS peaceable diſpoſition ſubſiſted not long, and in the concluſion *Ben-hadad* marched againſt *Samaria* [P] once more. This city he beſieged with his whole force, reduced it to the greateſt ſtraits, and was on the point of taking it by famine; ſo that either the ſiege was long and obſtinate, or elſe the place was poorly ſtored. He, as we have ſaid, was on the point of taking the city, when he was alarmed in the night, by a noiſe like that of a great army ruſhing in upon him; and preſently it came into his head, that *Joram* had hired the kings of the *Hittites* (Q) and *Egypt* to come to his

[P] 2 Kings vi. 8—29.

be ſo ignorant in military affairs? if he committed his army for once to the conduct of another, muſt it be thought he did it always? Finally, what wiſe king was there ever who did not on all occaſions conſult his general officers? It is certainly wrong in an hiſtorian to be poſitive in matters of palpable darkneſs, to be fond of an hypotheſis, that is, to write by the ſpirit.

(P) According to *Joſephus* (22), upon the report they made to their king, he gave over his private deſigns, and ſtrait reſolved, in ſtead thereof, to wage open war with *Joram*.

(Q) Who theſe kings of the *Hittites* were is very uncertain. *Joſephus* (23) calls them the kings of the iſlands. That any

(22) *Antiq. l.* 9. *c.* 2. (23) *Ubi ſupr.*

remnant

his relief; the apprehenſion of which ſo terrified him, that he raiſed the ſiege with unſpeakable precipitation. His army would not ſo much as take time to mount, but left every thing ſtanding in the camp juſt as it was, when they took the alarm, and dropped every thing that was in the leaſt cumberſome to them as they went along. They might have tracked them by the cloaths and veſſels they threw away from them in their haſte [q].

Ben-hadad muſt at this time have been well advanced in years, and whether he had contracted ſome illneſs by the fatigue of his flight, and violence of his ſurprize, or whether his ſpirits were broken by ſo repeated a ſhame, he took to his bed. As he lay ſick it was told him, the prophet *Eliſha* was coming to *Damaſcus* (R); whereupon he ſent *Hazael*, with forty camels load of the choiceſt productions (S) of *Damaſcus*, to conſult the prophet concerning his indiſpoſition. *Hazael* then went to the prophet, whom he accoſted in the moſt reſpectful manner on the behalf of *Ben-hadad*. The anſwer he received was, that *Ben-hadad* might recover, but would not. The prophet having expreſſed himſelf in this dark manner, fixed his eyes upon *Hazael*, till he put the man out of countenance (T), and ſuddenly burſt into tears. *Hazael*, amazed at this, and humbly deſiring to know what might be the cauſe of it, was told, That he was to ſucceed *Ben-hadad*, and to be a cruel and mercileſs perſecutor of the children of *Iſrael*; that he would ſet their ſtrong holds on

[q] Ibid. vii. 6, 7.

remnant of the *Canaaniti∫h Hittites* ſhould at this time be formidable in any of theſe parts, is paſt our underſtanding, though ſome think that way (24). We are told, the remnant of them was reduced to the moſt abject degree of ſervitude by *Solomon* (25).

(R) By *Joſephus* (26) the prophet was not yet arrived at *Damaſcus*, and *Hazael* was ſent out to meet him. Some (27) ſuppoſe he was juſt coming into the city.

(S) By the largeneſs of this preſent, it is thought *Eliſha* was accompanied by many of the ſons of the prophets, or that even four camels load had been ſufficient (28).

(T) This ſeems to be the moſt natural explication of the text. *Hazael* beheld the prophet with an eye of veneration, and as one infinitely his ſuperior, and therefore was abaſhed when *Eliſha* fixed his eyes ſo ſtedfaſtly upon him.

(24) *Patrick upon* 1 *Kings* x. 29. *Cleric. in* 2 *Reg.* vii. 6. (25) *See before* 188. (26) *Ubi ſupr.* (27) *Patrick upon* 2 *Kings* viii. 7. (28) *Cleric. in* 2 *Reg.* viii. 9.

fire,

fire, ſlay their young men with the ſword, daſh their children, and rip up their women with child. *Hazael* profeſſed to underſtand not what the prophet meant, nor could conceive how ſo mean a perſon as himſelf could ever have it in his power to commit ſuch outrages (U): whereupon he received a further confirmation, a confirmation from GOD himſelf, that he was to be king of *Syria*. With this he returns to his maſter, who, by this ſolicitous meſſage to the prophet, unknowingly ſhortened the term of his days. *Hazael* flattered him with hopes of recovery, but the next day ſtifled him with a thick cloth dipped in water [r]. So ended the reign of the great *Ben-hadad*, who having adorned *Damaſcus* with fine ſtructures, as is ſaid, and added to the glory of *Syria*, was advanced to be a god (X) [s]. *Hazael.*

HAZAEL, having thus murdered his ſick lord, aſcended his throne. He had, by the wiſe providence of GOD, been nominated to the diadem of *Syria* ſome years before, and the prophet *Elijah* had orders to anoint him [t]. He was a ſcourge

[r] Ibid. viii. 7. 15. [s] JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 9. c. 2. [t] 1 Kings xix. 15.

(U) The text runs; *But what is thy ſervant a dog, that he ſhould do this great thing?* Whereby moſt have underſtood, that he diſclaimed ſuch barbarity as the prophet foretold of him; but the real meaning of this paſſage is, *but what is thy ſervant, a dog?* alluding to his mean condition, which would never allow him to commit what only a great prince had power to do (29). This is confirmed by the prophet's anſwer, that he was to be king of *Syria*; which comes in very naturally.

(X) We are almoſt tempted to think, that *Hazael* may have been the chief promoter of this deification, to cover his own guilt. He ſeems to have been afraid it ſhould be known he was the murderer of his maſter, by his manner of diſpatching him. *Joſephus* calls this *Ben-hadad*, by the names of *Adad*, *Adar*, and *Ader*; which difference ariſes from the near ſimilitude of the *Hebrew R* and *D*, as we have already (30) noted. According to Sir *Iſaac Newton* (31), the *Damaſcus* and *Arathes* we formerly mentioned (32), were this *Ben-hadad* and his queen, who were worſhipped in their ſepulchres, or temples. But by this ſuppoſition it ſhould ſeem, that idolatry was yet in its nonage among the *Syrians*, whereas *Joſephus* (33) talks of ſtately temples erected by *Ben-hadad* in his life-time (34).

(29) *See Patrick upon 2 Kings viii. 13. Vid. etiam Cleric. in 2 Reg. viii. 13. & Joſeph. Antiq. ubi ſupr.* (30) *See before in the notes, p. 270, (A).* (31) *Short Chronol. p. 32.* (32) *See before in the notes, p 255, (E).* (33) *Ubi ſupr.* (34) *See Sir Iſaac Newton's Chron. of ant. kingd. apud p. 222.*

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in the hand of God, to chaſtiſe the kingdoms of *Judah* and *Iſrael*, and under him the *Syrian* monarchy aroſe to its meridian. However, he ſeems to have ſat very quietly on his throne, till he was provoked by *Joram* king of *Iſrael*, and *Ahaziah* king of *Judah*, who leagued againſt him to wreſt *Ramoth-gilead* out of his hands, in imitation of what their fathers had attempted in the reign of *Ben-hadad*; and ſo it happened, that *Hazael* either could not, or would not prevent them from poſſeſſing themſelves of that city, as we apprehend, though *Joram* was dangerouſly wounded in the attempt. But *Hazael* made himſellf ample amends, by invading both the kingdoms of *Judah* and *Iſrael*, and purſuing them almoſt to deſtruction. He began with *Jehu* king of *Iſrael*, and ſubdued to his dominion, all in general that belonged to the kingdom of *Iſrael*, on the other ſide *Jordan*, the countries of *Gilead* and *Baſhan*, the two tribes *Reuben* and *Gad*, and the half tribe of *Manaſſeh* [u]. In the proſecution of this conqueſt he, no doubt, punctually fulfilled, by his cruel rage, all the things the mournful prophet had foretold of him, in the remarkable converſation they had together (Y).

Year of the Flood, 2115. Year before Chriſt 884.

With the ſame fury and ſucceſs he waged war upon *Jehoahaz*, the ſon of *Jehu*, till he had left him but fifty horſe, ten chariots, and ten thouſand foot; for the reſt had periſhed in battle againſt *Hazael*, who, as it is ſtrongly expreſſed, *made them like the duſt by threſhing*; and, to conclude, he oppreſſed *Iſrael* all his days [x].

Year of the Flood, 2159. Year before Chriſt 840.

Hazael, having thus chaſtiſed *Iſrael*, turned his arms againſt the kingdom of *Judah*, for they had both confederated againſt him; ſo that he had a fair pretence for infeſting them both. He croſſed the *Jordan* therefore; and, after ſeveral ſucceſsful attempts upon other places, as we may ſuppoſe, made himſelf maſter of the ſtrong and royal city of *Gath* [y], which had been the ſeat of the *Philiſtine* kings, but was now poſſeſſed by the houſe of *David* [z]. His next thought was to attempt *Jeruſalem* itſelf; but, as he was meditating this great enterprize, he was diverted therefrom by the rich gifts of the weak and apoſtate *Jehoaſh*, who then reigned at *Jeruſalem*; and who, dreading the *Syrian* power, ſent *Hazael* all

[u] 2 Kings x. 31---33. [x] Ibid. xiii. 3, 7, 22. [y] Ibid. xii. 17. [z] See before in the Notes, p. 226, 231.

(Y) *Joſephus* (35) aſſures us he did; that he neither ſpared man, woman, or child, where ever he came, but put all to fire and ſword.

(35) *Ubi ſupr. c.* 8.

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the treaſure and rich moveables that had been ſet apart, and dedicated by his father for ſacred, and other uſes. *Hazael* was pacified with ſo noble a preſent, and deſiſted from his deſigns againſt *Jeruſalem* [a] for a while.

BUT he was ſoon ſtirred up again to war upon *Jeruſalem*; he had not yet been the inſtrument of ſufficient judgment upon that diſtracted city. Wherefore towards the end of the ſame year, as we apprehend, he detached a party from his army to ſerve againſt that city, and to make good his firſt intentions on it. This party is expreſly remarked to have been very ſmall; but yet it prevailed againſt the great hoſt of *Jehoaſh* king of *Judah*, ſacked *Jeruſalem*, ſlew all the princes of the people there, and ſent their ſpoil to *Hazael* at *Damaſcus* (Z). And by this expedition did *Hazael* alſo make himſelf maſter of *Elath* on the *Red-ſea*, as appears, and as we ſhall endeavour to confirm hereafter, in the hiſtory of *Rezin*, the laſt king of *Syria*. *Hazael* having thus ſubdued, and tyrannized over the kingdoms of *Iſrael* and *Judah*, died, and was deified (A).

[a] 2 Kings xii. 17. 18.

(Z) *Joſephus* (36) makes but one expediton of theſe two. According to him, *Hazael*, having taken *Gath*, ſtrait beſieged *Jeruſalem*; whence he was prevailed on to depart, by the great bribes mentioned in ſcripture. But it is impoſſible, that what is ſaid of *Hazael*'s war with *Judah*, as it is repreſented in the ſecond book of *Kings* (37), and in the ſecond book of *Chronicles* (38), ſhould have been otherwiſe than we have repreſented. Nothing is plainer, than that thoſe two books ſpeak of two very widely different events.

(A) It is no wonder, conſidering the blindneſs of the times, that they deified ſo fortunate and ſo great a prince as *Hazael*. He, as well as his predeceſſor *Ben-hadad*, adorned *Damaſcus* with temples, and their ſtatues were carried about in proceſſion in the days of *Joſephus* (39), the *Syrians* boaſting their antiquity. From hence there is room to imagine theſe two to have been their primary deities, and that the temples they are famed for building, were no more than noble ſepulchres for themſelves (40); but we forbear, to expatiate hereon, and, having given the hint, ſubmit it to better judgments.

(36) *Ibid.* (37) *xii.* 17, 18. (38) *xxiv.* 23, 24. (39) *Ubi ſupr. c.* 2. (40) *See Sir* Iſaac Newton's *Chron. of ant. kingd. amend. p.* 222. *See before p.* 255.

HE

Ben-hadad III. Year of the Flood, 2163. Year before Chriſt 836.

He left behind him a ſon and ſucceſſor, called *Ben-hadad*, who ſuffered a total reverſe of his father's fortune, ere he had reigned long (B). Thrice was he defeated by *Jehoaſh*, the ſon of *Jehoahaz* king of *Iſrael*, whereby he loſt all that his father had wreſted from *Iſrael*. Nothing more is ſaid of this obſcure and unfortunate reign. However, nothing is more likely, than that this *Ben-hadad* was ſubdued to a tribute by *Jeroboam*, the ſon of *Jehoaſh*, king of *Iſrael*, who kept *Syria* in the ſtricteſt ſubjection, during all his long reign.

Rezin. Year of the Flood, 2257. Year before Chriſt, 742.

The *Syrians* recovered themſelves again, amidſt the diſorders which raged in the kingdom of *Iſrael* upon *Jeroboam*'s death; but not ſo perfectly as to be quite a free people; for we are apt to think they were under conſiderable acknowledgments to the newly-erected empire of *Aſſyria* (C). But not

(B) It is ſaid (41), *The anger of the lord was kindled againſt Iſrael, and he delivered them into the hand of Hazael king of Syria, and into the hand of Ben hadad the ſon of Hazael, all their days.* Whence it might be imagined, that *Ben hadad* kept *Iſrael* under as long as he lived. But the word *their* is not in the original, and by what follows (42), it is evident, that the text means no ſuch thing, referring only to the days of *Hazael* himſelf. To ſolve this matter, however, it is likely, that *Ben-hadad* was taken into the government by his father as his colleague; and that as long as they reigned together, they kept *Iſrael* under. St. *Jerom* (43) writes, that all the ſubſequent kings of *Syria* were called *Ben-hadad* from this prince, the third of the name according to ſcripture. This we take notice of, as it is apparently a great miſtake. This prince borrowed the name of *Ben-hadad* from the firſt race of the *Damaſcene* kings, to which his father was an alien. The names *Hadad* and *Ben-hadad* were affected, as it ſeems, by all the kings of *Syria*, from *Hadadezer* of *Zobah* downwards. *Ben-hadad* ſignifies only the ſon of *Hadad*. The father of the firſt prince of this name is called *Tabrimon*; but by his ſon's name it may to ſome appear, that he was alſo ſtiled *Hadad* (44). *Joſephus* calls him *Adad*, and we muſt deſire the reader to excuſe an omiſſion in the liſt of *Damaſcene* kings, according to that hiſtorian, and to write *Adad* under *Hazael*.

(C) This is a conjecture which we apprehend to have ſome tolerable foundation. The kingdom of *Damaſcus* had been broken and enervated by ſervitude under *Iſrael*; and when *Pul* king of *Aſſyria*, was ſtirred againſt *Menahem*, the third that bore the title of king in *Iſrael* after *Jeroboam*, we cannot conceive, but he muſt have

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not to dwell on this uncertainty, *Rezin* was their laſt king. Towards the latter end of his reign, he entered into a league with *Pekah* king of *Iſrael*, againſt *Ahaz* king of *Judah*. They were ſtirred up by heaven to puniſh *Ahaz*, and their deſign was to dethrone him, and make room for a ſtranger to *David*'s line called, *Tabeal* [b]. With this intent they beſieged *Ahaz* in *Jeruſalem*, but without effect. *Rezin*, however, that he might not be wholly a ſufferer by this diſappointment, marched his army into *Edom*, and, whatever elſe he did there, made himſelf maſter of *Elath* on the *Red-ſea*, which he annexed once more to the dominion of *Syria* (D), and there he planted a colony of his own (E), Year of the Flood, 2258. Year before Chriſt 741.

[b] Iſai. vii. 1—6.

marched through *Syria*, and have made himſelf maſter there in the firſt place. It is plain he was bent upon extending his dominion, and how he could think of reducing *Iſrael* before he had ſecured *Syria*, which lay between him and his projected conqueſt farther weſtward, is what we cannot conceive. It is likely, that *Syria*, invited him, ſubmitted to him, and joined him, and that it now firſt became a province of *Aſſyria*.

(D) Our verſion ſays, he *recovered* Elath *to* Syria; ſo, ſays the vulgate; *in tempore illo reſtituit Raſin rex Syriæ, Ailam Syriæ*. Whence we gather, it muſt have been conquered to *Syria* by *Hazael*, when he ſent a part of his army againſt *Jeruſalem* (45). *Benhadad* II. his predeceſſor, had no war that we read of with the king of *Judah*, and after *Hazael*'s death, *Syria* was unable to make her own cauſe good, and therefore but ill qualified to extend her dominion. *Azariah* king of *Judah* reſtored it to *Judah* (46), and drove out the *Syrians* (47), when they were ſubdued by *Jeroboam* king of *Iſrael*. *Le Clerc*, in his verſion, will have it, that he reſtored this noble emporium to the *Edomites*, taking on him, by a little too much preſumption, to alter the reading of the text from לארם *Laaram*, to לאדום *Leedom*. It had been but common juſtice in *Rezin* to have reſtored it to its natural lord; but we cannot enter into *le Clerc*'s notion that he did it, becauſe the place was too far out of his reach to keep. He was ſtronger than the king of *Judah*, and might upon that account have kept it long enough, had he lived.

(E) Both the LXX and the vulgate agree, that *Rezin* having ſubdued this place, the *Edomites* took poſſeſſion of it. But it is not to be imagined, that *Rezin* could ſo eaſily part with ſo fine an acquiſition. If any heed may be given to *Joſephus* (48), he agrees with our reading and tranſlation, ſaying, that *Rezin* planted a colony of *Syrians* in *Elath*.

(45) *See before*, p. 287. (46) 2 *Kings* xiv. 22, (47) *See* Patrick *upon* 2 *Kings* xvi. 6. (48) *Ubi ſupr. c.* 12.

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[b] Iſai. vii. 1—6.

marched through *Syria*, and have made himſelf maſter there in the firſt place. It is plain he was bent upon extending his dominion, and how he could think of reducing *Iſrael* before he had ſecured *Syria*, which lay between him and his projected conqueſt farther weſtward, is what we cannot conceive. It is likely, that *Syria*, invited him, ſubmitted to him, and joined him, and that it now firſt became a province of *Aſſyria*.

(D) Our verſion ſays, he *recovered* Elath *to* Syria; ſo, ſays the vulgate; *in tempore illo reſtituit Raſin rex Syriæ, Ailam Syriæ*. Whence we gather, it muſt have been conquered to *Syria* by *Hazael*, when he ſent a part of his army againſt *Jeruſalem* (45). *Benhadad* II. his predeceſſor, had no war that we read of with the king of *Judah*, and after *Hazael*'s death, *Syria* was unable to make her own cauſe good, and therefore but ill qualified to extend her dominion. *Azariah* king of *Judah* reſtored it to *Judah* (46), and drove out the *Syrians* (47), when they were ſubdued by *Jeroboam* king of *Iſrael*. *Le Clerc*, in his verſion, will have it, that he reſtored this noble emporium to the *Edomites*, taking on him, by a little too much preſumption, to alter the reading of the text from לארם *Laaram*, to לאדום *Leedom*. It had been but common juſtice in *Rezin* to have reſtored it to its natural lord; but we cannot enter into *le Clerc*'s notion that he did it, becauſe the place was too far out of his reach to keep. He was ſtronger than the king of *Judah*, and might upon that account have kept it long enough, had he lived.

(E) Both the LXX and the vulgate agree, that *Rezin* having ſubdued this place, the *Edomites* took poſſeſſion of it. But it is not to be imagined, that *Rezin* could ſo eaſily part with ſo fine an acquiſition. If any heed may be given to *Joſephus* (48), he agrees with our reading and tranſlation, ſaying, that *Rezin* planted a colony of *Syrians* in *Elath*.

(45) *See before, p.* 287. (46) 2 *Kings xiv.* 22, (47) *See* Patrick *upon* 2 *Kings xvi.* 6. (48) *Ubi ſupr. c.* 12.

which ſubſiſted many years after the ſubverſion of the kingdom itſelf of *Syria* [c].

The next year *Rezin* and *Pekah* proſecuted the war againſt *Ahaz*, and, to diſtract him the more, divided their power into three bodies, that they might invade him in three different places at once. *Rezin*, for his part, ſucceeded well by this diviſion; for he loaded his army with ſpoils, and led away multitudes of captives, wherewith his avarice being pretty well glutted, he returned to *Damaſcus* [d].

But this acquiſition proved fatal to *Rezin* and his kingdom: for *Ahaz*, grown deſperate, and bent upon revenge, ſent all he had to *Tiglath-pileſer*, king of *Aſſyria*, therewith to bribe him againſt *Rezin*. Hence it was (F), that *Rezin* was invaded by *Tiglath-pileſer*, who ſlew him, and carried *Damaſcus* (G) away captive to *Kir*, whither they were tranſplanted [e]. Thus was the empire of the antient *Syrians* abo-

Year of the Flood, 2259. Year before Chriſt 740.

liſhed according to the prophets; *Behold Damaſcus is taken away from* being *a city ----- and the kingdom* ſhall ceaſe *from Damaſcus, and the remnant of Syria* [f] *--- I will ſend a fire into the houſe of Hazael, which ſhall devour the palaces of Benhadad. I will ---- cut off ---- him that holdeth the ſceptre from the houſe of Eden: and the people of Syria ſhall go into captivity unto Kir, ſaith the* Lord [g].

The KINGS of HAMATH.

We have but a very ſhort, and imperfect account of theſe kings, whether as to their firſt ſetting up, or their continuance; and there is ſome doubt as to the ſituation of their

[c] 2 Kings xvi. 6. [d] Id. ib. xv. 37. [e] 2 Kings ubi ſupr. ver. 9. [f] Iſai. xvii. 1, 3. [g] Amos i. 4, 5.

(F) Not for this reaſon only; there may have been another. We apprehend, that *Rezin*, being a turbulent enterprizing prince, gave umbrage to *Tiglath-pileſer*, to whom he was certainly tributary, or under ſome other obligation. For *Tiglath-pileſer* had warred in theſe parts before, with great ſucceſs againſt the *Iſraelitiſh* dominions (49). He may have been prompted to deſtroy *Rezin*, as he looked on him with a jealous eye, as well as to earn *Ahaz*'s bribe, who promiſed to become his tributary into the bargain.

(G) *Joſephus* (50) makes but one action of this and the foregoing.

(49) *See* 2 *Kings xv.* 29. (50) *Ubi ſupr.*

city

city (H). They ſeem to have been raiſed by the *Syrians* of the *Canaanitiſh* blood (I); at the ſame time the *Syrians* of *Zobah*, who we think were *Aramites*, erected their kingdom. And this they did perhaps to defend themſelves againſt the ambitious views of that new monarchy, and to keep themſelves in one diſtinct and entire body. But however this was, for we are perfectly in the dark concerning it, thus far is certain, that *Toi* (K), their firſt king we read of, was engaged in an unequal war with *Hadadezer*, the great king of *Zobah*; the ground of which we can apprehend to have been nothing elſe, but his refuſal to ſubmit to the power of that ambitious prince. In all probability, he was on the verge of ſubjection, when *Hadadezer* bowed under the ſuperior might of *David*, who having humbled the pride of *Zobah*. *Toi* beheld him in a double light, as his preſent deliverer, and his future protector. *Toi* therefore, to ſecure his people in their rights, and himſelf on the throne, ſent his ſon *Joram* with a coſtly preſent in veſſels of gold, and ſilver, and braſs, there- Year of the Flood, 1955. Year before Chriſt 1044.

(H) This city was called *Hamath*, and ſometimes *Hamath the great* (51): whence ſome have conceived there were two *Hamaths*, or cities ſo diſtinguiſhed; but for the ſame reaſon they ought to think there were two *Sidons*, which was ſometimes called plain *Sidon*, and ſometimes *Sidon the Great* (52). *Joſephus* (53) places *Hamath* to the north of the land of *Canaan*, and *Abu'lfeda* (54), who reigned in *Hamath*, and, who being ſo learned a prince as he was, ſhould know at leaſt, as well as any body, places *Hamath* upon the *Orontes*, between *Hems* and *Apamea*, that river ſurrounding it on the eaſt and north. There was a country of *Hamath*, ſurnamed *Zobah*, which lay to the eaſtward of the land of *Canaan*, about *Palmyra* or *Tadmor* (55); ſo that here may have been another city of the name, whence, after all, may have been derived the diſtinction of *Hamath the Great*.

(I) We have already offered ſomething from the Orientals, in proof, that ſome of *Canaan*'s deſcendants did ſettle themſelves in *Syria* (56); to which we will now add from *Abu'lfeda* (57), that this whole country was called *Shâm*, becauſe many of the ſons of *Canaan* تياسّوا *Taſhâmu*, or travelled towards the left hand in migrating thither; for *Syria* lies to the left of the *Caaba* at *Mecca*. This is one way of accounting for the name of *Shâm*, there are others which may be remarked hereafter.

(K) *Joſephus* writes him *Thœnus*.

(51) *Amos vi* 2. (52) *Joſh xi*. 8. (53) *Antiq. l.* 9 *c.* 11. (54) *Vid.* Schult. *Comment. Georg. in vit.* Salad. *ad voces* Fluvius Orontes & Hamata. (55) *See* 2 *Chron. viii.* 3, 4. 1 *Kings ix.* 18. (56) *See before in the Notes, p.* 253. (57) *Vid.* Schult. *ubi ſupr. ad vocem* Syria.

with to conciliate the fortunate conqueror, and to congratulate him on his ſucceſſes, and return him thanks for the deliverance he owed him [h]. All this, to our apprehenſion, implies, that *Toi* became thereafter the creature of *David*, and tributary to his throne.

Whoever ſucceeded *Toi*, whether his ſon *Joram*, or *Hadoram*, or any other, it is likely he cultivated a good intelligence with the kings at *Jeruſalem*, till *Rezon*, the founder of the *Damaſcene* kingdom, aroſe. At this time it is likely the king of *Hamath* ſubmitted to a new maſter, or protector. To conclude; this kingdom was moſt certainly ſubject to the kings of *Damaſcus*, as was the reſt of *Syria*, till *Jeroboam* king of *Iſrael* prevailed againſt it [i], when he reduced *Damaſcus*. Upon the diſſolution and captivity of *Damaſcus* it may have lifted up its head a little [k]; but the *Hamathites* were in their turn conquered, and tranſplanted, by *Sennacherib* and *Eſarhaddon* [l], kings of *Aſſyria*. So ended the antient kingdom of *Hamath*.

The KINGS *of* GESHUR.

The kings of *Geſhur*, if compared with thoſe of *Zobah*, *Damaſcus*, and *Hamath*, were, it is likely, but petty princes (L). Perhaps they were far more conſiderable for the alliance *David* made with their family, than for the extent of their dominion. We take them to have been one of the royal families, which in antient times divided the whole country of *Syria* between them. The firſt of them we meet with is called Ammihud, who being the father of *Talmai* [m], who is expreſly ſaid to have been king of this part, we venture to give him the ſame title.

Year of the Flood, 1969. Year before Chriſt 1030.

Talmai. He had a daughter named *Maacah*, who was wife to *David* [n], and the mother of *Abſalom*, whom he ſheltered three years [o], when he fled to him for the murder of his brother *Amnon*. To conclude; we cannot doubt, but that *Geſhur* bore the *Damaſcene* yoke, till they finally changed it for the *Aſſyrian*, and were tranſplanted, as were all the other *Syrians*.

[h] 2 Sam. viii. 9, 10. [i] 2 Kings xiv. 28. [k] 2 Kings xviii. 34. xix. 11, 13. [l] Compare Ezra iv. 2. with 2 Kings xvii. 24. [m] 2 Sam. xiii. 37. [n] Ibid. iii. 3. [o] Ibid. xiii. 37, 38. xvi. 1.

(L) *Joſephus* (59) does not allow them to have been kings, but only a family of note and figure in the country where they dwelt.

CHAP.

(59) *Antiq. l.* 7. *c.* 8.

CHAP. VI.

The Hiſtory of the PHOENICIANS.

SECT. I.

The Deſcription of PHOENICE.

THE tract we commonly call *Phœnicia* is, more accurately, *Phœnice*; which being ſufficiently known to the learned, we ſhall not multiply words about it, but haſten to what is more material.

Name.

WHENCE it borrowed this name of *Phœnice* is not determined. Some [a] derive it from one *Phœnix*: others [b], from the *Greek* word *Phœnix*, ſignifying a *palm*, or *date*; as if that tree remarkably abounded here: ſome [c] again ſuppoſe that *Phœnice* is originally a tranſlation of the *Hebrew* word *Edom*, from the *Edomites* who fled hither [d] in the days of *David*. By the contraction of *Canaan*, (for it was a part of that land) it was alſo called *Chna* [e]. Antiently it was called *Rhabbothin* and *Colpitis* [f] (A). The *Jews* were wont to

[a] SYNCELL. p. 152. [b] Chron. Alex. p. 158. [c] Sir ISA. NEWT. Chron. of ant. Kingd. amend. [d] See before, p. 142. [e] See before, p. 267, & 268, (C). [f] STEPH. BYZAN. ad vocem. Φοινικὴ.

(A) This laſt name is a tranſlation of the firſt: רבהוצן, *Rabhotſen*, is in *Hebrew* a great gulph or bay. From *Rabhotſen*, by changing the *Hebrew* ץ *S* into the *Greek* Τ, comes *Rabhoten*, and with a little variation *Rhabbothin*. Κόλπος, *Colpos*, is *Greek* alſo for a bay or gulph; whence it appears, that *Colpitis*, or *Colpites*, is a tranſlation of *Rhabbothin*. *Bochart* (1) therefore is of opinion, that theſe names did not properly belong to the eaſtern *Phœnice*, or the country properly ſo called, but to the *Phœnician* colonies in *Africa*, whoſe principal cities ſtood upon great and deep gulphs or

(1) *Geogr. ſacr. l.* 2. *c.* 13. *col.* 746.

to call it *Canaan* [g], though some part of it at least they knew by the name of *Syrophœnice* [h] (B). These were the names peculiar to the small country before us, though of them *Phœnice* was sometimes extended to all the maritime countries of *Syria* and *Judæa*; and *Canaan* to the *Philistines* [i], and even the *Amalekites* (C). On the contrary, these two names, and the rest, were most generally swallowed up by those of *Palestine* [k] and *Syria* (D).

The proper *Phœnice*, as precisely as we can gather, lies between the thirty second and thirty fifth degrees of north

[g] Vid. Matt. xv. 22. [h] Vid. Mark vii. 26. [i] Zephan. ii. 5. [k] See before, p. 190, 232.

bays. However, he is not wholly unwilling to allow, that these names may have distinguished a part of the proper *Phœnice* near *Libanus*, as he expresses himself, because it had a deep gulph or bay, according to *Mela*. *Tripoli* stands in the deepest bay, at present, on this coast.

(B) *Bochart* (2) clears up this matter thus. He supposes, that the borderers, both upon the *Phœnician* and *Syrian* side, were called by the common name of *Syrophœnicians*, as partaking equally of both nations. Some (3) would have it, that the *Phœnicians* of *Asia* in general were called *Syrophœnicians* diacritically to distinguish them from the *African Phœnicians*. Others (4) take the *Syrophœnicians* and *Cœlesyrians* for the same people.

(C) Accordingly *Philo* (5) includes the *Amalekites* under the denomination of *Phœnicians*.

(D) Or rather *Phœnice*, *Palestine*, and *Syria*, were promiscuously used for each other, and particularly the two former. *Phœnice* and *Palestine*, says *Stephanus Byzantinus* (6), were the same. As for *Syria*, we have already observed, that in its largest extent (7), it sometimes comprehended *Phœnice* and *Cœlesyria*. *Herodotus* plainly confounds these three names, we mean, uses one for the other indifferently. First, he says, the *Phœnicians*, coming into *Syria* from the Red-sea, settled in the maritime parts of *Syria*, and that the *Phœnicians* dwelt in *Syria* (8). In the next place, he says, that *Phœnice* was a part of *Palestine*, which, according to him, stretched along the sea shore quite to *Pelusium* in *Egypt* (9). Thirdly, he places *Ashdod*, or *Azotus*, in *Syria* (10), and *Ascalon* in the *Palestine Syria*; but yet its inhabitants he calls *Phœnicians* (11). In a word, we could wish, that the geography since *Herodotus*'s time had been less indistinct than his in many cases.

(2) *Geogr. sacr. p.* 349. (3) *Apud* Bochart *ubi supr. p.* 350. (4) *Vid. eund. ibid.* (5) *l.* 1. *p.* 636. (6) *Ad vocem* Ιοππη. (7) *See before, p.* 232. (8) Polyhymnia, *c.* 89. (9) *Ibid* & Euterpe, *c.* 104. (10) *Ibid. c.* 157. (11) Clio. *c.* 105.

latitude.

latitude. It took up no great ſpace of longitude; but whether more or leſs we ſhall paſs it over, being quite in the dark as to that. This, as near as we can gather, was the extent of this kingdom, and its ſituation. In general we may ſay, it was bounded by *Syria* on the north and the eaſt; by *Judea* on the ſouth; and by the mediterranean on the weſt.

THIS country was divided into two parts, the maritime and the mediterranean, or the coaſt and the country [l].

AND theſe two general diviſions were ſubdivided into diſtricts depending upon the more remarkable towns and cities, and ſo on. We ſhall ſee hereafter, that this country was partitioned into ſeveral kingdoms.

ON the coaſt are the famous cities of *Sidon*, *Tyre*, *Aradus*, *Tripoli*, *Byblus*, and *Berytus*. *Sidon* we may properly enough call the metropolis of *Phœnice*, ſince it ſeems to have been the eldeſt city of this part, borrowing its name from *Sidon* the eldeſt ſon of *Canaan*, by whom they [m] pretend it to have been built, and it is not unlikely. But all are not agreed in the derivation of that name from *Sidon* (E).

THIS city was ſeated on the ſea-ſide, and is ſaid to have had a ſummer and a winter harbour [n] (F), or one much more land-

[l] See before, p. 233. [m] JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 1. c. 7. [n] ACHILL. TAT. apud RELAND. Palæſt. Illuſtr.

(E) *Trogus* (12) derives the name from a *Phœnician* word, as he calls it, *Sidon*, ſignifying a fiſh. And this *Bochart* (13) gives into; for *Seid*, the name of this city at preſent, is, as we may render it, a fiſhing-place. The ſame *Bochart* (14) ſeems to doubt, whether or no *Canaan*'s eldeſt ſon was called *Sidon*, as we read in the writings of *Moſes* (15), which he interprets to be meant of the city itſelf, which is uſed inſtead of the name of the father of the *Sidonians*, or the founder of that city, whatſoever his name was: but why the name of the eldeſt ſon ſhould be paſſed over, and the reſt ſpecified, is what we are not able to conceive. Others (16) again derive the name of this city from *Sida*, the daughter, as they pretend, of *Belus*.

(F) This we imagine, becauſe we find no mention made of a double harbour by any of the moſt accurate travellers and geographers; whereas, as we ſhall obſerve hereafter, there are ſtill viſible marks of this at *Tyre*. This city had a mole, till *Faccardine*, the *Emir* of the *Druſes*, demoliſhed it, to free himſelf from the viſits of the *Turkiſh* gallies; ſo that now the ſhipping have no other ſhelter,

(12) Juſt. *l.* 18. *c.* 3. (13) *Geogr. ſacr. p.* 302. (14) *Ibid.*
(15) *See before, p.* 157. (16) *Vid.* Sand. Trav. *p.* 210. 4. Ed.

land-locked or encloſed than the other, which we take to be a miſtake (G) in the relator, which how it came to paſs may be tolerably accounted for (H). It is now called *Seyde*.

Tyre. Tyre, antiently *Sor* (I), is commonly called the daughter of *Sidon*, and ſtood alſo upon the ſea, two hundred ſtades or furlongs to the ſouthward of *Sidon*. *Tyre* muſt be diſtinguiſhed into three different cities in order of time [q] : as *Tyre* on the continent, or *Palæ-Tyrus* [old *Tyre*], *Tyre* on the iſland, and *Tyre* on the peninſula, after the iſland was joined to the main land (K). It had two havens (L), the one looking

[q] Vid. Reland. Palæſt. Illuſtr. vol. 2. ad vocem Tyrus.

than a ſmall ledge of rocks, about a mile diſtant from the ſhore on the north ſide of the city (17).

(G) It is obſerved, that *Sidonian* and *Tyrian* were ſynonimouſly uſed (18). Whether or no the ſeeming miſtake here noted may not have ariſen from ſome ſuch uſage, we leave the reader to judge.

(H) It is, at this day, pretty well ſtocked with inhabitants, but much ſhrunk from its antient extent, and more from its ſplendor, as appears from the veſtiges of the antient city that are left (19).

(I) From hence this city came to be called *Sarra* by the *Latins*, and not from *Sar* a fiſh, as *Servius* upon *Virgil* intimates (20). From hence, alſo ſay they, is derived (21) *Tyre*, it being the *Syrian* way to convert the *T S*, or *S*, into *T*. So that the *Syrians* pronounced it *Tor*, *Tur*, *Tyr* ; and hence the *Greeks*, adding their termination, formed Τύρος, in *Latin Tyrus*. Some pretend, that this city gave name to the whole country of *Syria*, and that *Syria*, *Tyria*, and *Aſſyria*, were indifferently uſurped for each other (22) ; to which we cannot aſſent. This name ſignifies a rock (23) ; for it ſtood upon little better.

(K) There were four different places in *Phœnice*, which bore the celebrated name of *Tyre* (24).

(L) Theſe were formed by the *Iſthmus*, which joined the iſland to the main. Theſe harbours were called, the one *Open*, and the other *Cloſe*. The former looked towards *Egypt* ; it was the ſouthermoſt of the two ; and was accordingly called the *Egyptian* port (25). The *Sharif Edryſy* ſays, that one of theſe ports had an arch over the entrance of it, through which the ſhipping paſſed, and that it

(17) Maundr. *Journ. from Alep. to Jeruſ. p.* 45. (18) *Vid.* Rel. *Pal. Il. p.* 956. (19) Maund. *ubi ſupr.* (20) *Vid.* Bochart. *ubi ſupr. p.* 735. (21) *Vid.* Cell. *Geogr. Antiq. Tom.* 2. *l.* 3. *c.* 12. *p.* 277. (22) *See Sir* Iſaac Newton's *Chronol. of ant. kingd. amend.* (23) *Vid.* Bochart *ubi ſupr.* (24) *Vid.* Scyl. *Peripl. in minor. Hudſon, vol.* 2. (25) *Hiſt. Nat. l.* 5. *c.* 17.

was

looking towards *Sidon*, and the other towards *Egypt* [r]. This city, including *Palæ-Tyrus*, was 19000 paces in circumference (M); but the city itſelf was only twenty two furlongs about, or not quite three of our miles [s], which is allowing it conſiderably too much, if our modern accounts may be relied on (N). However, it appears, that this famous emporium

[r] STRAB. l. 16. p. 757. [s] PLIN. Hiſt. Natur. l. 5. c. 17.

was fortified with a chain which ran a-croſs it (26). Theſe bays, or ports, are ſtill pretty large, and in part defended from the ocean, each by a long ridge, reſembling a mole, ſtretching directly out on both ſides, from the head of the Iſland; but whether theſe ridges are walls, or rocks, is uncertain (27); it is moſt likely, however that they are walls.

(M) From hence it ſeems plain, that *Tyre* on the iſland, and old *Tyre* on the main, were conſidered as but one city, after the *Iſthmus* was thrown up between them; and poſſibly they may have had buildings contiguous to each other. If *Pliny*'s numbers are right, the old city muſt have been by much the moſt extenſive part of the whole, and eſpecially as the place appears at this Day. According to *Pliny* (28) the iſland was but ſeven hundred paces from the continent; according to *Strabo* (29), it was thirty ſtades, or ſomewhat better than three of our miles from *Palæ-Tyrus*; and according to the ſame geographer (30), *Tyre*, was wholly an iſland, after the ſame manner as *Aradus*, excepting the artificial *Iſthmus*, which formed it into a Peninſula. Not to loſe time upon ſo obſcure a ſubject. as whether *Tyre* and the old town were joined by buildings a-croſs the *Iſthmus*; we ſhall only repeat what we advanced at firſt, and which we ſhall endeavour, to make out in the next Note, that old *Tyre* was much larger, that is, ſtood upon more ground than the new, if *Pliny*'s circumference be allowed of.

(N) By them, it appears, that *Tyre* itſelf was but a ſmall city in extent, though it covered the whole iſland to the very waſh of the ſea; and the ſcantineſs of their ground was doubtleſs, what induced them to raiſe their buildings ſo high as they did; a method they would otherwiſe have avoided for fear of earthquakes, which had threatened them with deſtruction (31). At preſent the iſland appears to have been, in its natural ſtate, of a circular form, hardly containing forty acres of ground, and the foundations of the wall which ſurrounded it, are ſtill to be ſeen at the utmoſt margin of the land (32). If then it be true, that the whole circuit of the old and new *Tyre* was nineteen thouſand paces, or nine-

(26) *L.* 16. *p.* 758. (27) *Ibid p.* 756. (28) Strab. *ubi ſupr. p* 757. (29) *Vid.* Albert. Schult. *Ind. Geogr. in vit. Saladin. ad vocem Tyrus.* (30) Maund. *ubi ſupr.* (31) Strabo *ubi ſupr.* (32) Maund. *ubi ſupr. p.* 50.

teen

um was never of very great bigneſs. It could ſpread out its walls no farther than the margin of the iſland. For this reaſon it muſt have been, that they built their houſes very lofty, and with more ſtories, as we are told, than the houſes had at *Rome* [t]. The buildings of this city in general were ſpacious and magnificent, and above the reſt appeared the temples built by *Hiram* to *Jupiter*, *Hercules*, and *Aſtarte* [u]. Its walls were one hundred and fifty foot high, and proportionably broad, and firmly built of large blocks of ſtone bound together with white plaiſter [x]. It is now called *Sûr* (O).

Aradus. ARADUS (P) was not ſtrictly ſpeaking a city of *Phœnice*. It was an iſland city like *Tyre*, and ſtood oppoſite to the ſouthern limits of the ſea coaſt of *Syria* [y]. That the *Phœnicians*, however, reckoned this city as a part of themſelves, is plain

[t] Strabo ubi ſupr. [u] Menand. & Dius apud Joseph. Antiq. l. 8. c. 2. & apud eund. contra Ap. l. 2. [x] Arrian de Exped. Alex. Magn. l. 2. [y] Bochart. Phaleg. l. 4. c. 36. col. 305.

teen *Roman* miles (33); and that they were diſtant from each other but thirty ſtades, or three of the ſame miles and three quarters (34); it muſt be evident, that the old city ſtood upon much more ground than the new. A good part of the iſland was made ground (35), as we call it.

(O) It is now a mere *Babel* of broken walls, pillars, vaults, &c. there being no ſuch thing as one entire houſe left. Its preſent inhabitants are only a few poor wretches, who harbour themſelves in vaults, and ſubſiſt chiefly by fiſhing (36).

(P) *Bochart* (37) takes this, and that part of the continent oppoſite to it, to be the ſeat of the *Canaanitiſh* tribe, called *Arvadites* (38); and we are very much inclined to ſubſcribe to his judgment upon this head. The iſland of *Aradus* is about twenty ſtades, or two *Roman* miles and a half, from the ſhore, and about ſeven eighths of a *Roman* mile in circumference. The buildings were, like thoſe of *Tyre*, of many ſtories high (39). By the ſame pen we are told, as a very remarkable thing, that the *Aradians*, when beſieged, could by the help of long tubes, draw up freſh water from the bottom of the ſea (40).

(33) Plin. *Hiſt. Nat. l.* 5. *c.* 19. (34) Strabo *ubi ſupr. p.* 758. (35) Menand & Dius, *apud* Joſeph. *l.* 8. *c.* 2. (36) Maund. *ubi ſupr. p.* 48, 49. *De* Bruyn. *Voy. au. Lev. Tome* 2. *in* 4. *to p.* 341. (37) *Phaleg. l* 4 *c.* 36. *col.* 305. (38) *See before, p.* 157. *and in the Notes. p.* 152, (F). (39) Strabo *l.* 16. *p.* 753, 754, &c. (40) *Idem ibid. Vid. etiam* Plin. *Hiſt. Nat. l.* 2. *c.* 103. *l.* 5. *c.* 31.

by

by ſeveral good authors [x]. There are ſome remains of it extant (Q).

TRIPOLI, on the ſea-coaſt of the continent, derived its origin from the joint contribution of the three cities abovementioned, *Sidon*, *Tyre*, and *Aradus*. Accordingly it wasat firſt three diſtinct cities at a furlong diſtance from each other, inhabited by three different draughts, or colonies, but all within one common encloſure or wall [y]. It is ſtill a conſiderable place (R), and bears its old name. *Tripoli.*

BYBLUS is reported to have been the firſt city built in this country [z]; but whether we are here to underſtand the *Byblus* which ſtood on the ſea, or the old *Byblus*, [*Palæ-Byblus*] which was farther up within land, may be a needleſs enquiry (S). *Byblus.*

BERYTUS muſt not have been much inferior to *Byblus* in antiquity, ſince it is ſaid to have been ſtanding in the days of *Cronus* [a]. It is now called *Barût*, or *Beroot* (T). Theſe were the chief cities of the maritime *Phœnice* [b]. *Bery'us.*

WE will not take on us to mark out the bounds of the *midland Phœnice*. *Ptolemy* reckons in it the following towns: *Arca*, *Palæbyblus* [old *Byblus*], *Gabala*, and *Cæſarea Paneæ*. This province was conſiderably extended in the times of Chriſ- *Phœnice Mediterranea.*

[x] PLIN. Hiſt. Nat. l. 5. c. 17. POMP. MEL. l. 2. c. 7. STRAB. l. 16. p. 753. STEPH. BYZANT. ad vocem Ἀραδος. [y] DIOD. SIC. l. 16. c. 41. PLIN. ubi ſupra, &c. [z] See Vol. I. 300. [a] See Vol. I. p. 306. [b] See before, p. 295.

(Q) It ſeems to the eye to be not above two or three furlongs in length; and is wholly filledup with tall buildings, like caſtles. The *Turks* call it *Ru-ad* (41).

(R) And there are ſome remains of the antient city or cities, (which you will) ſtill to be ſeen, in the fields near the ſhore; many heaps of ruins and Pillars of granate (42).

(S) *Byblus* was the city and ſeat of the famous ſuperſtition, in memory of *Adonis*. It is pleaſantly ſituated; but at preſent it is but ſmall; though, ſmall as it is, its handful of inhabitants have room to ſpare (43).

(T) "At preſent it retains nothing of its antient felicity, except "the ſituation; and in that particular it is indeed very happy. It "is ſeated on the ſea-ſide, in a ſoil fertile and delightful, raiſed "only ſo high above the ſalt-water, as to be ſecure from its over-"flowings, and all other noxious and unwholſome effects of that "element. It has the benefit of good freſh ſprings, flowing down "to it from the adjacent hills (44).

(41) Maundr. *ubi ſupr p.* 19. (42) *Idem ibid. p* 31. (43) *Idem ibid p.* 38. (44) *Idem ibid.*

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tianity, when, being considered as a province of *Syria*, it included not only *Damascus* but *Palmyra* also [c].

Soil and Climate. The soil of this country is good, and productive of many excellent necessaries for food and cloathing. The air is wholesome. The climate is of the best. It is plentifully watered by small rivers, which running down from mount *Libanus*, are subject to swell to an immoderate degree, either encreased by the melting of the snows on that mountain, or by heavy rains. Upon these occasions they overflow the country, to the great danger and hindrance of the traveller, and damage of the country. Among these rivers is that of *Adonis*, which we shall have occasion to mention, upon another occasion, presently.

Natural Curiosities. The sea on this coast formerly abounded with such fish, as in an extraordinary manner redounded to the honour and profit of *Tyre* in particular. Therewith they died the choicest purple. And on the shore there was a sand, wherewith the first and best glass was made (U), a staple manufacture of this antient country. To these we shall add a remarkable property of the river *Adonis*. At certain seasons, and upon certain occasions, it appears bloody. Hence was continued, at least, that extraordinary superstition in memory of *Thammuz*, or *Adonis*, *yearly wounded*. The cause of this red face of the river was antiently known, and declared by those who were not so superstitious as the rest of their contemporaries and countrymen, and who attributed it only to a kind of *minium*, or red earth, which this river brought away when it swelled to unusual heights [d]. It is still subject to the same appearance in the time of floods (W).

Artificial Curiosities. There are still some few remains of the antient splendor of this now desolate land. *Thevenot* [e] tells us, there are fine antiquities to be beheld at *Tyre*, but does not specify them. *Sandys* [f] could discover nothing there but a heap of ruins. The

[c] Vide Reland Palæst. Illust. p. 217. [d] Vide Luc. de Dea Syr. [e] Travels into the Lev. Part I. Book ii. c. 60. [f] l. 3. p. 168.

(U) There antiently went a story, that this sand could be melted no where but at *Sidon* (45).

(W)... "We saw ..... the water [of the river *Adonis*] ... stained "to a surprizing redness; and ... observed ... *it* had discoloured the "sea a great way into a reddish hue (46).

(45) Strabo *ubi supr. p.* 758. (46) Maund. *ubi supra, p.* 34.

more

more modern travellers [g] are more particular. They take notice of the ruins of the metropolitan church there, near which is an extraordinary kind of a column, of unuſual dimenſions, which one [h] repreſents as a triple; another, [i] as a double column only, or two joined together. This laſt [k] informs us, that it is of granate, of one block only, and fourſcore foot long. Beſides this, there are many columns entire, and many broken [l]. But nothing in, and about, this ruined city demands our attention more deſervedly than a place the *Turks* call *Roſelayne*; where are ſeen, what are vulgarly called *Solomon*'s ciſterns, or wells. The current tradition is, that they are filled from a ſubterraneous river, which that wiſe king, by his great ſagacity, knew to run under ground here; and which made him undertake ſo admirable a work. The country people ſay, that nobody ever could reach the bottom of theſe wells, though the thing has been attempted with great lengths of line; and one of our travellers pretends to give a reaſon for the fruitleſneſs of theſe attempts, by ſuppoſing the current or ſpring to be ſo very ſtrong, at a certain depth, as to prevent the lead from taking the ground [m]. All this is rejected, and confuted by another traveller [n]; who ſuppoſes theſe wells cannot have been built before the days of *Alexander*; becauſe the aqueduct which conveys the water from them to *Tyre* is carried over the Iſthmus, formed by that conqueror, when he made himſelf maſter of *Tyre*: and, as theſe ciſterns cannot be ſuppoſed to be antienter than the aqueduct, ſo we may be ſure, ſays he, that the aqueduct is not older than the ground it ſtands upon. Of theſe ciſterns there are three entire at this day, one about a furlong and a half diſtant from the ſea, the other two a little farther up. The firſt is an Octagon in form, twenty yards in diameter. On the ſouth ſide it is elevated nine yards above the ground, and on the north but ſix: and, as unfathomable as it is reported to be, ten yards of line confuted the opinion. Its wall is only of gravel and pebbles, but ſo firmly conſolidated with a ſtrong cement, that it ſeems to be an entire veſſel of rock. Upon the brink there is a walk round it, eight foot in breadth: from whence, deſcending by one ſtep on the ſouth ſide, and by two on the north, you land on another walk, twenty one foot broad. All this ſtructure, though ſo very broad at top,

[g] DE BRUYN Voy. au Lev. Tom. II. 4to. p. 338,339, &c. De la ROQUE Voy. de Syr. et M. Lib. Tom. I. p. 17,18, &c. MAUNDRELL's Journ. from Aleppo to Jeruſ. p. 48, 49, &c. [h] DE BRUYN ubi ſupr. [i] De la ROQUE ubi ſupr. [k] Ibid. [l] DE BRUYN ubi ſupr. [m] Idem ibid. [n] MAUNDRELL ubi ſupr.

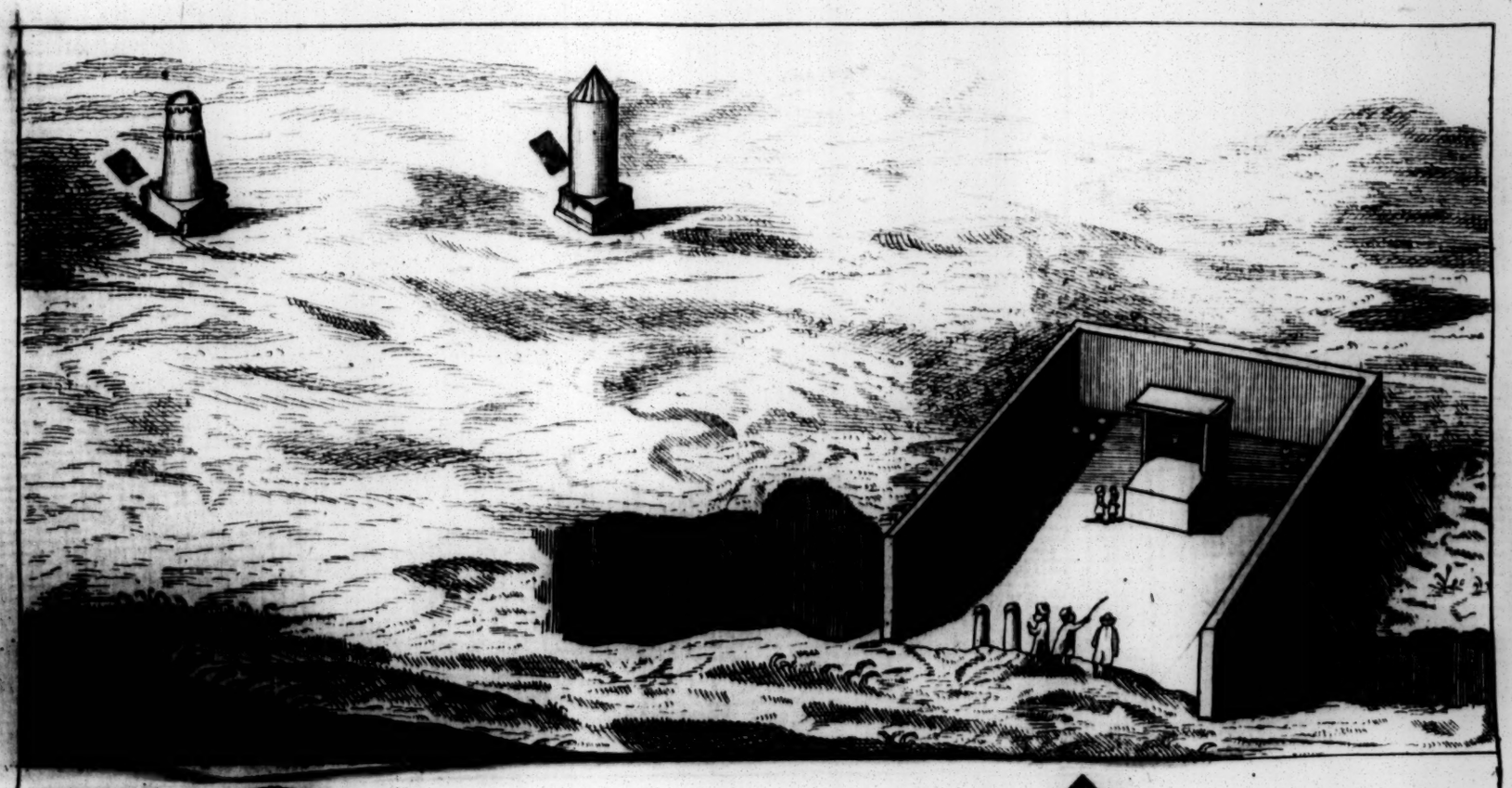
is hollow, ſo that the water comes in underneath the walks; nor could the extremity of the cavity be reached with a long rod. The whole veſſel contains a vaſt body of excellent water, and is ſo plentifully ſupplied, that, though there iſſues from it a brook which drives four mills, it is always brim-full. On the eaſt ſide of this ciſtern was the antient outlet of the water, by an aqueduct raiſed about ſix yards from the ground, and containing a channel one yard wide. This aqueduct (now dry) is carried eaſtward about one hundred and twenty paces, and then approaches the two other ciſterns, which are of a quadrilateral figure, the one twelve, the other twenty yards ſquare. Theſe have each of them a channel, which communicates with the aqueduct; and the water of theſe three noble ſprings being thus joined ran together to *Tyre*. The aqueduct is now gone to decay, but may eaſily be traced out. It goes about an hour northward, and then turning to the weſt, proceeds over the *Iſthmus* into the city.

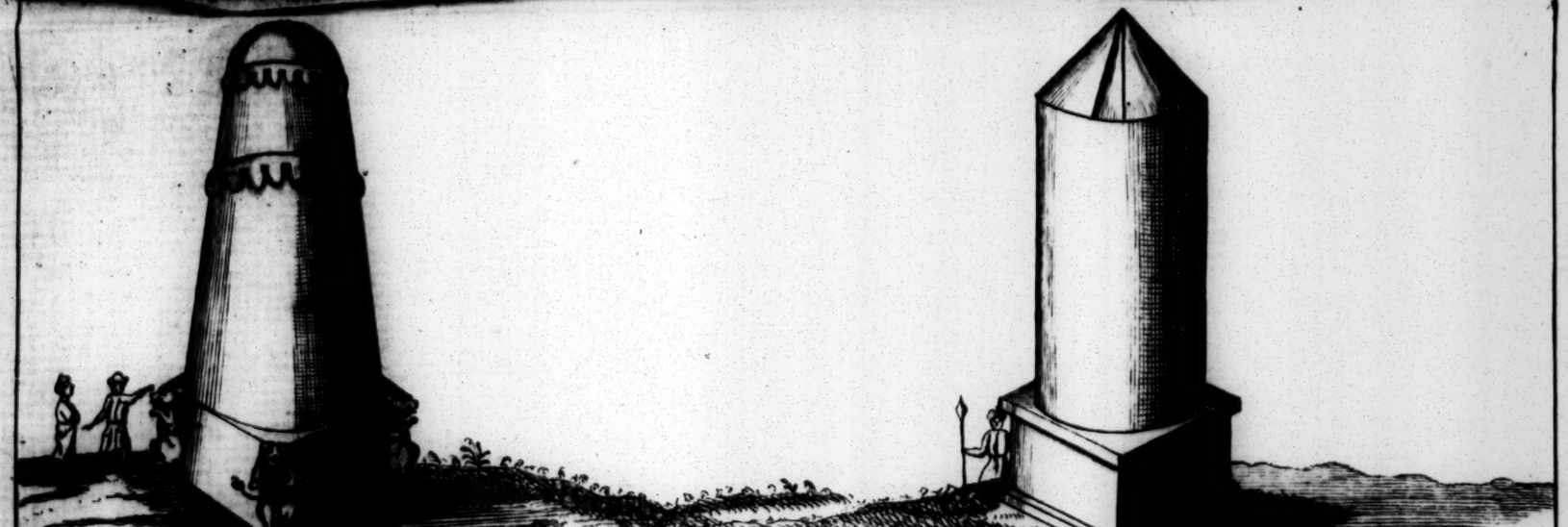
Some footſteps of what *Sidon* once was, are to be ſeen among the gardens without the walls of the preſent city [o]; ſuch as beautiful columns, and other fragments of that kind. Here they pretend to ſhew a monument of high antiquity, no leſs than the tomb of *Zebulun*. It ſtands within a ſmall chappel in a garden [p], and is deeply revered by the *Jews* [q]. This tomb is made of two ſtones only; the one ſuppoſed to be at the head, and the other at the feet of the deceaſed. Their diſtance is better than ten of our feet, which they give out to have been the ſtature of this patriarch [r].

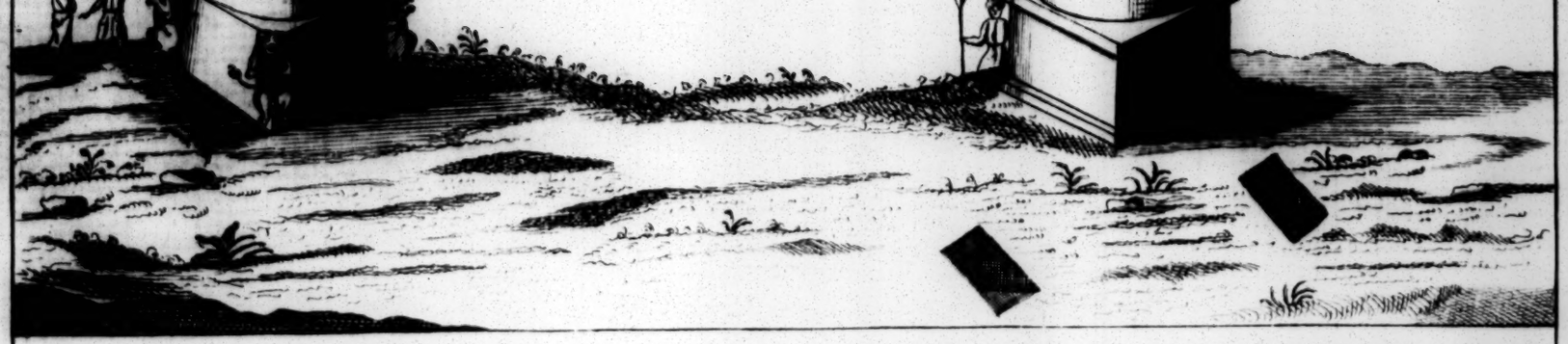
At *Byblus* alſo are many heaps of ruins and fine pillars ſcattered up and down in the gardens near the preſent towns [s]. Finally, on the continent, a little ſouthward of the iſle of *Aradus*, whereon the city of that name antiently ſtood, are ſeveral antiquities of a very extraordinary kind. The *firſt* is a dyke, thirty yards over at top, cut into the firm rock. Its ſides go ſloping down, with ſtairs cut out of the living rock, and deſcending gradually from top to bottom. This dyke ſtretches in a direct line, eaſt and weſt, more than a furlong, bearing continually the ſame figure of ſtairs running in right lines all along its ſides. It breaks off at laſt at a flat marſhy ground, extending about two furlongs between it and the ſea.

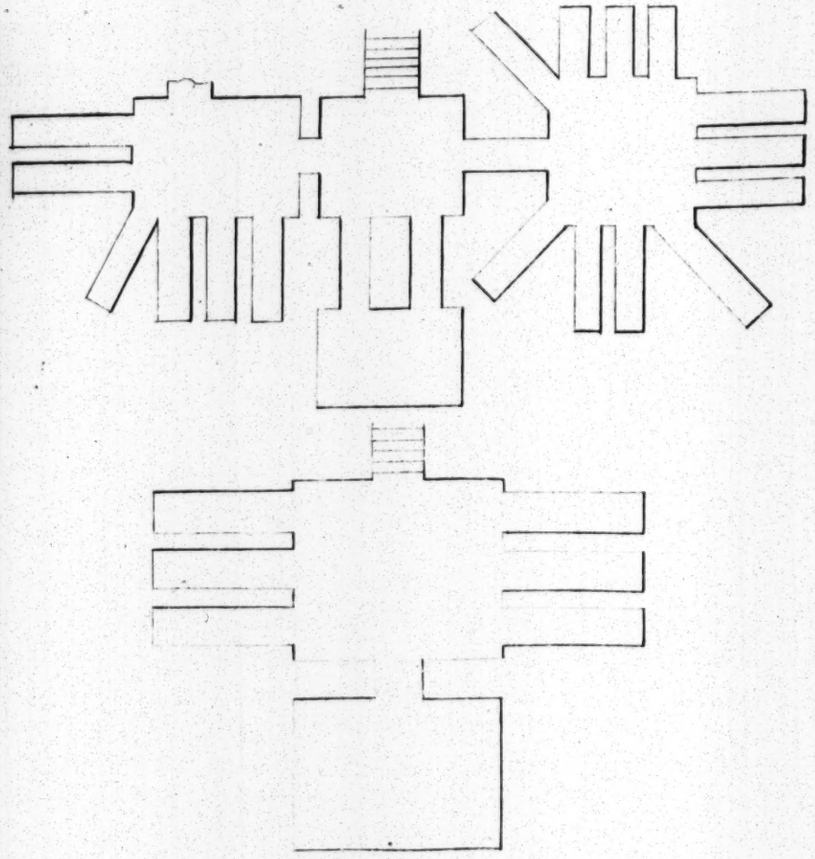
[o] Idem ibid. p. 44. Sandys Trav. l. 3. p. 164. [p] Idem ibid. Theven. Voy. au Lev. Part II. l. 1. c. 3. [q] Sandys ubi ſupr. [r] Theven. ubi ſupr. [s] Maund. ubi ſupr. p. 33.

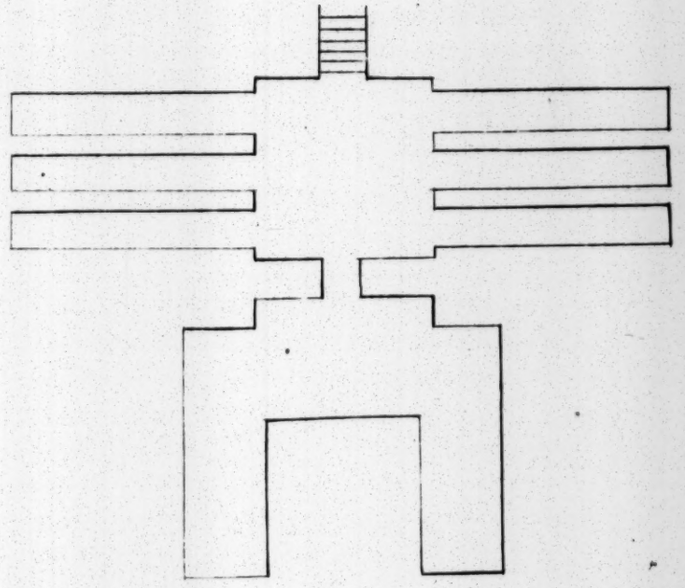
Our











D. Pomarede Sculp.

Our obſerver thinks it hard to imagine, that the water ever flowed up thus high; and harder, without ſuppoſing that, to deviſe why all this pains was taken in cutting the rock after ſuch a faſhion. *Secondly*, A little to the ſouthward of this dyke, there is a court of fifty five yards ſquare, cut alſo in the natural rock; the ſides of the rock ſtanding round it are about three yards high, and ſupply the place of walls. On three ſides it is thus encompaſſed; but to the northward it lies open. In the centre of this area, a ſquare part of the rock is left ſtanding, being three yards high and five yards and a half ſquare. This ſerves for a pedeſtal to a throne erected upon it. The throne is compoſed of four large ſtones, two at the ſides, one at the back, and one at the top, in the manner of a tribunal or canopy. This whole ſtructure is about twenty foot high, and faces towards the open ſide of the court. The ſtone that forms the canopy is five yards and three quarters ſquare, and adorned with a handſome corniſh. At the two innermoſt angles of the court, and likewiſe at the open ſide, are left pillars of the natural rock, three at each of the former, and two at the latter.

ABOUT half a mile to the ſouthward of this court, and this throne, there are in each two towers. They are ſepulchral monuments, and ſtand over an antient burying-place. They are about ten yards diſtant from each other. The one is in form, a cylinder, crowned by a multilateral pyramid, and is in all thirty three foot high, including the pedeſtal, which is ten foot high, and fifteen ſquare. The other is a long cone diſcontinued at about the third part of its height; and, inſtead of ending in a point, is wrought into a hemiſpherical form. This is its general conſtruction. It ſtands upon a pedeſtal ſix foot high, and ſixteen foot ſix inches ſquare, adorned at each angle with the figure of a lion in a ſitting poſture, pretty much defaced; though at beſt the ſculpture of them appears to have been but bad. This is all that is viſible of theſe ſepulchres, as well as of a third and others near, above ground. But under ground there are ſquare chambers of convenient height for a man, and long cells branching out therefrom, variouſly diſpoſed, and of different lengths, wherein the dead bodies were depoſited. Theſe ſubterraneous chambers and cells are all cut out of the hard rock [a]: but becauſe a bare deſcription of them would communicate but an imperfect idea of them to the mind, by reaſon of the variety and irregularity of their diſpoſition, we

[a] MAUNDR. Journey from Aleppo to Jeruſalem.

ſhall

ſhall inſiſt no farther on them; but refer you to the draught of them.

SECT. II.

Of the Antiquity, Government, Laws, Religion, Cuſtoms, Arts, Learning, and Trade of the antient Phœnicians.

Antiquity. IT is univerſally allowed, that the *Phœnicians* were *Canaanites* (A) by deſcent; nothing is plainer, or leſs conteſted; and therefore it were time loſt to go about to prove it. We ſhall only add, that their blood muſt have been mixed with that of foreigners in proceſs of time, as happens in all trading places; and that many ſtrange families muſt have ſettled among them, who could conſequently lay no claim to this remote origin in this part, how much ſoever they may have been called *Phœnicians*, and reckoned of the ſame deſcent with the antient proprietors.

The *Phœnicians* were governed by kings, and their territory, as ſmall a ſlip as it was, included ſeveral kingdoms, as thoſe of *Sidon*, *Tyre*, *Aradus*, *Berytus*, and *Byblus*. In this they imitated, and adhered to the primitive government of their fore-fathers, who like the other *Canaanites*, were under many petty princes, to whom they allowed the ſovereign dignity, reſerving to themſelves the natural rights and liberties of mankind [a]. It may appear plain by their hiſtory, that even the kings of *Sidon* and *Tyre*, when in their zenith, were far from uncontrolable by the ſubject.

[a] See before, p. 165.

(A) *Bochart* (1) inſinuates, that the *Canaanites* were aſhamed of their name, on account of the curſe denounced on their progenitor, and terrified by the wars ſo vigorouſly, and ſucceſsfully waged on them by the *Iſraelites*, purely becauſe they were *Canaanites*; and that therefore to avoid the ignominy of the one, and the danger of the other, they abjured their old name, and changed it for *Phœnicians*, *Syrians*, *Syrophœnicians*, and *Aſſyrians*. *Heidegger* (2) conjectures alſo, that they were aſhamed of their anceſtor *Canaan*. We can think no ſuch thing. It ſeems unnatural. It may be combated by many ſolid Objections; but, becauſe they would draw us into too great a length, we forbear to make them.

(1) *Phaleg. l.* 4. *c.* 34. *col.* 301. (2) *Hiſt. Patriarch Exerc.* 23. § 2. *p.* 491.

We

WE have no particular ſyſtem of their civil laws, and ſhall therefore paſs to their religion.

Religion.

THE *Phœnicians*, being originally *Canaanites*, muſt once, as well as the reſt of their kindred, have had a knowledge of the true GOD, whom they, as is moſt likely, called *Baal*, or lord [b]. But by degrees degenerating to the deification, tranſlation, and worſhip of ſuch, as, by their own confeſſion, were once mortals like themſelves, they became perverſe and blind idolaters. The chief of their deities, in order as we find them in their own records, are theſe. *Beelſamen*, which, in *Phœnician*, is *Lord of heaven*, thereby meaning the ſun [c]: *Cronus*, or *Baal* [d], who is likely to have been the *Baal-berith*, or the *Cronus* antiently worſhipped at *Berytus* [e]: *Aſtarte* [f], *Cronus*, or *Baal* the ſecond, *Zeus Belus*, or *Baal* (B), *Apollo*, *Melicarthus*, *Melcartus*, or *Hercules* [g]. Theſe are the gods of this people we ſhall chiefly take notice of here, the reſt we have treated of amply enough, in the antiquities and mythology of this people [h]. We will only add one obſervation; which is, That it is almoſt certain the *Phœnician* idolatry and ſuperſtition is not all their own; and that their ſubjection to the *Aſſyrians*, *Babylonians*, *Perſians*, and *Greeks*, made great alterations in the whole ſyſtem of what was taught and practiſed among them in a religious way. We need only look back to what happened in *Syria* *, upon its being ſubdued, to be fully convinced of this.

How far they retained, or how far they loſt, a due ſenſe and notion of the true GOD in this their multifarious idolatry; and whether or no they might not, through theſe low diſguiſes and their frantic adoration, point intentionally at GOD himſelf, is hard to ſay. It is reported of the *Egyptians*, that, amidſt all their endleſs polytheiſm, they ſtill acknowledged one ſupreme GOD [i]: and ſince, as we ſhall ſee, the religion of the old *Phœnicians* was in ſubſtance hardly differ-

[b] Vide SELD. de Di. Syr. Syntag. 2. c. 7. [c] See Vol. I. p. 176. [d] See Vol. I. in the Notes, p. 298. [e] Ibid. [f] See Vol. I. p. 301. [g] See Vol. I. p. 304. [h] See Vol. I. p. 174,—181 294—308. * See before, p. 255. [i] See Vol. I. p. 445.

(B) Here we have no leſs than three *Baals*, who are ſaid to have been once mortal men; which might fairly induce one to think, that the learned are miſtaken in ſuppoſing the *Phœnician* God *Baal*, of every ſort and denomination, was erected in honour of, and to repreſent, the ſun (3).

(3) *Vide* Seld. *de Di. Syr. Syntag.* 2. *c.* & Bochart. *Geogr. Sacr.*

shall refer no further to them; but refer you to the description of them.

SECT. II.

Of the Antiquity, Government, Laws, Religion, Customs, Arts, Learning, and Trade of the ancient Phœnicians.

Antiquity. IT is universally allowed, that the *Phœnicians* were *Canaanites* (A) by descent; nothing is plainer, or less contested; and therefore it were time lost to go about to prove it. We shall only add, that their blood must have been mixed with that of foreigners in process of time, as happens in all trading places; and that many strange families must have settled among them, who could consequently lay no claim to this remote original in this part, how much soever they may have been called *Phœnicians*, and reckoned of the same descent with the ancient proprietors.

The *Phœnicians* were governed by kings, and their territory, as small a slip as it was, included several kingdoms, as those of *Sidon*, *Tyre*, *Aradus*, *Berytus*, and *Byblus*. In this they imitated, and adhered to the primitive government of their fore-fathers, who like the other *Canaanites*, were under many petty princes, to whom they allowed the sovereign dignity, reserving to themselves the natural rights and liberties of mankind [a]. It may appear plain by their history, that even the kings of *Sidon* and *Tyre*, when in their zenith, were far from uncontrollable by the subject.

[a] See before, p. 165.

(A) *Bochart* (1) insinuates, that the *Canaanites* were ashamed of their name, on account of the curse denounced on their progenitor, and terrified by the wars so vigorously, and successfully waged on them by the *Israelites*, purely because they were *Canaanites*; and that therefore to avoid the ignominy of the one, and the danger of the other, they abjured their old name, and changed it for *Phœnicians*, *Syrians*, *Syrophœnicians*, and *Assyrians*. *Heidegger* (2) conjectures also, that they were ashamed of their ancestor *Canaan*. We can think no such thing. It seems unnatural. It may be confuted by many solid objections; but, because they would draw us into too great a length, we forbear to make them.

(1) *Phaleg. l.* 4. *c.* 34. *col.* 301. (2) *Hist. Patriarch Exerc.* 23. § 2. *p.* 491.

We

2

WE have no particular ſyſtem of their civil laws, and ſhall therefore paſs to their religion.

Religion.

THE *Phœnicians*, being originally *Canaanites*, muſt once, as well as the reſt of their kindred, have had a knowledge of the true GOD, whom they, as is moſt likely, called *Baal*, or lord [b]. But by degrees degenerating to the deification, tranſlation, and worſhip of ſuch, as, by their own confeſſion, were once mortals like themſelves, they became perverſe and blind idolaters. The chief of their deities, in order as we find them in their own records, are theſe. *Beelſamen*, which, in *Phœnician*, is *Lord of heaven*, thereby meaning the ſun [c]: *Cronus*, or *Baal* [d], who is likely to have been the *Baal-berith*, or the *Cronus* antiently worſhipped at *Berytus* [e]: *Aſtarte* [f], *Cronus*, or *Baal* the ſecond, *Zeus Belus*, or *Baal* (B), *Apollo*, *Melicarthus*, *Melcartus*, or *Hercules* [g]. Theſe are the gods of this people we ſhall chiefly take notice of here, the reſt we have treated of amply enough, in the antiquities and mythology of this people [h]. We will only add one obſervation; which is, That it is almoſt certain the *Phœnician* idolatry and ſuperſtition is not all their own; and that their ſubjection to the *Aſſyrians*, *Babylonians*, *Perſians*, and *Greeks*, made great alterations in the whole ſyſtem of what was taught and practiſed among them in a religious way. We need only look back to what happened in *Syria* *, upon its being ſubdued, to be fully convinced of this.

How far they retained, or how far they loſt, a due ſenſe and notion of the true GOD in this their multifarious idolatry; and whether or no they might not, through theſe low diſguiſes and their frantic adoration, point intentionally at GOD himſelf, is hard to ſay. It is reported of the *Egyptians*, that, amidſt all their endleſs polytheiſm, they ſtill acknowledged one ſupreme GOD [i]: and ſince, as we ſhall ſee, the religion of the old *Phœnicians* was in ſubſtance hardly differ-

[b] Vide SELD. de Di. Syr. Syntag. 2. c. 7. [c] See Vol. I. p. 176. [d] See Vol. I. in the Notes, p. 298. [e] Ibid. [f] See Vol. I. p. 301. [g] See Vol. I. p. 304. [h] See Vol. I. p. 174,—181 294—308. * See before, p. 255. [i] See Vol. I. p. 445.

(B) Here we have no leſs than three *Baals*, who are ſaid to have been once mortal men; which might fairly induce one to think, that the learned are miſtaken in ſuppoſing the *Phœnician* God *Baal*, of every ſort and denomination, was erected in honour of, and to repreſent, the ſun (3).

(3) *Vide* Seld. *de Di. Syr. Syntag.* 2. *c.* & Bochart. *Geogr. Sacr.*

ent from that of the *Egyptians* (C), as has been formerly obſerved [k]; it is very probable that their theory and doctrine agreed together, as well as their practice and traditions.

How they pictured *Beelſamen* we no where find; but we apprehend, that they did not repreſent him at all: for, meaning by him, in a more eſpecial manner the ſun, whom they had ſo daily before their eyes in all his glory, it is likely, they made their addreſſes immediately to him, according to the antient rite [l]. There were many *Baals* [m]. The *Baal* of *Sidon* was called *Thalaſſius*, or the Sea *Baal* [n]. There was *Baal-berith* (D), and others, each repreſented under proper attributes

[k] See Vol. I. in the Notes, p. 180. [l] See Vol. I. p. 176.
[m] 1 Cor. viii. 5. [n] Hesych.

(C) Biſhop *Cumberland* (4) draws the following parallel between them, to ſhew how nearly they were related. "1. *Plutarch* (5) "makes *Oſiris* the ſon of *Rhea*, a wife of *Cronus*: ſo our author "[*Sanchoniatho*] owns *Rhea* married to *Cronus*. 2. *Plutarch* makes "*Iſis* to find, at *Byblus*, a king called *Melcander*, and that name "is plainly derived from the *Hebrew Melec*, or *Moloch*; which "title, *the Biſhop thinks*, was appropriated eminently to *Cronus*, "or *Ham*, in old times. 3. The Queen whom *Iſis* found at *By*-"*blus*, *Plutarch* tells us, is by ſome called *Aſtarte*, [or *Aſparte*, "as it is in the *Greek*] which is the name of one of *Cronus*'s wives "in *Sanchoniatho*. 4. *Plutarch* makes *Typhon* a contemporary with "*Cronus* and his children; ſo doth *Sanchoniatho*." When the the whole is weighed on each ſide, it muſt be allowed, that the antient mythology of both was derived from the ſame ſource; but that the gods of the *Phœnicians* were ſo antient as they made them, and as we commonly take them to be, is what we ſhall occaſionally diſpute hereafter.

(D) This is a further proof with us, that all the *Baals* of the *Phœnicians* were not intended for the ſun: we here ſee one denominated from the ſea. A Lord of the ſea, as well as a Lord of heaven; which ſeems to diſtinguiſh them into two very widely different deities. We cannot help thinking, that they had different genealogies for, and traditions of, all their *Baals*. This appears from what we have obſerved in the note above the laſt. We ſee they were procreated ſucceſſively from father to ſon; and it is hard to ſuppoſe, that they had the ſame ſtories of, and the ſame dependance on, them all: however, we will not anſwer for all the inconſiſtencies that may have crept into the minds of the idolatrous *Phœnicians*, nor examine into the pretences, that the partiſans of each idol may have broached in favour of its antiquity, or pre-

(4) *On Sanch. p.* 107. (5) *See, Vol. I. p.* 513.

eminence.

attributes, we may ſuppoſe; but we know nothing particular (E) of their idols. *Baal* is called ſometimes a god, and ſometimes a goddeſs; and reverſly, *Aſtarte* is ſometimes termed a goddeſs, and ſometimes a god (F): but by the *Phœnician* mythology ſhe was wholly a goddeſs; for there we find her mentioned as the mother of many children °. She is particularly called the goddeſs of the *Sidonians*, and in *Hebrew*

° See Vol. I. p. 302.

eminence. After all, they may have each laid claim to the firſt honour, and conſequently they might have each tranſlated their *Baal* into the ſun, or bright GOD of heaven; ſo that all their ſuperſtition may indeed have centred in him. We are very much inclined to think, the ſun and moon were the two great objects of their worſhip; and theſe we take moſt generally to have been ſtiled *Baal* and *Aſtarte*; and that they ſometimes addreſſed themſelves immediately to thoſe great luminaries and rulers of the night and day, and ſometimes obliquely, by repairing to the images of their own fancy. For though they had tranſlated them into thoſe lights, yet they remembered, perhaps, that they were once mortals and benefactors, and therefore may have adored them under their human form, as well as in their celeſtial dignity, being taught, perhaps, or taking it into their heads, that their worſhip would be imperfect if they did not thus divide it.

(E) *Fuller* (6) ventures to picture *Baal* in general as a royal hero, with armour and a mantle on his body, a diadem on his head, and a ſword in his hand; in act to ſtrike.

(F) The *Hebrews* knew no diſtinction of ſex in the gods; whence this aroſe. There are many inſtances to prove this; but we ſhall only produce one, where in one verſe only, with reference to *Baal*, he is both maſculine and feminine. Καὶ καταλείψω ἐν Ἰσραὴλ ἑπτὰ χιλιάδας ἀνδρῶν, πάντα γόνατα ἃ οὐκ ἔκαμψαν γόνυ τῇ Βαὰλ, καὶ πᾶν στόμα ὃ οὐ προσκύνησεν αὐτῷ (7). In other copies however it is τῷ Βάαλ: but the ſame do in other places make him feminine, as well as here maſculine. *Bochart* (8) will have *Baal-berith* to have been a goddeſs, becauſe *berith* in *Hebrew* is feminine; but, as it is moſt likely, that thereby is meant no more than the *Baal* of *Berytus* (9), we do not ſee how this conjecture will ſtand. *Aſtarte* was called a god by the *Hebrews*, they having no name in their tongue for a goddeſs (10).

(6) *Piſgah-ſight. l.* 2. *c.* 17. *col.* 775.
(7) *Reg. xix.* 18.
(8) *Canaan*
(9) *Vide Cumberland on Sanchon. p.* 151.
(10) *Vide Boch. ubi ſupra.*

brew Aſhtaroth (G). Some [p] will have it, ſhe was ſo called becauſe ſhe was repreſented in the form of ſheep. But this is rejected as a mere notion. She was certainly repreſented as *Iſis* was [q], with cows horns on her head [r] (H), and for the ſame

[p] R. Cimch. apud Seld. de Di. Syr. Syntag. 2. c. 2. [q] See Vol. I. p. 305. [r] See Vol. I. p. 447.

(G) *Aſhtaroth*, which ſignifies flocks of ſheep or goats. It is conjectured, that men in antient times being chiefly addicted to a paſtoral life, and delighting chiefly therein, drew their moſt favourite ſimiles of beauty from thence. This is ſuppoſed to have been the reaſon why *Aſteroth*, or *Aſtarte*, was ſo called (11). It was firſt ſtarted by Biſhop *Cumberland* (12), that her firſt name was *Naamah*. His lordſhip tells us, that he could not think of *Plutarch*'s *Nemanus*, *Cronus*'s wife, but *Naamah* came into his mind. A late author (13) has taken up this, and puſhed it as far as it can poſſibly go. He finds, that *Naamah* ſignifies the *fair one*. He finds alſo, that ſhe was the wife of *Ham*. That he carrying her about with him, "changed her "name to one that in another language had the ſame ſignification, "and called her *Aſtarte*, as it is in the *Greek*, or *Aſhtaroth* in the "*Hebrew*; which word ſignifies in *Hebrew* flocks of cattle, "ſheep or goats." According to theſe interpretations we do not perceive the exact ſimilitude of theſe two names, *Naamah* and *Aſtarte*. There is an alluſive one, if you will. A fair woman was a beauty, ſo was a *flock of cattle* in antient days; *ergo Naamah* and *Aſtarte* are tranſlations of each other. However, our author brings us back again to his *fair one*; for *Lucian*, in his moſt inaccurate and unſatisfactory account of the *Syrian* goddeſs, happening to ſay a prieſt aſſured him, that *Aſtarte* was *Europa*, the ſiſter of *Cadmus*, it is ſufficient for our author to believe they really were but one; and ſo he comes round to *Naamah* his *fair-faced one* again: for *Bochart* ſearching after the etymology of *Europa*, finds, that חור אפא *Ur appa*, in the *Phœnician* tongue is, in *Greek*, λευκοπρόσωπον, which may be aptly enough rendered *fair of face*; wherefore our author calls *Bochart* in to his aid, and diſcovers ſelf-evidently, that *Europa* is *Aſtarte*, and *Aſtarte Naamah*. *Q E D*. The inconnection and preſumption in all this, are too glaring for us to animadvert upon them. Nor ſhould we have taken any notice at all of this paſſage, had it not been delivered as from the Tripos. Nor ſhould we have taken notice of this one, had it been the only piece of the kind in the work. As ſome of the *Jews* abſurdly derive her name from being repreſented under the form of ſheep (14): others (15) derive it from the numbers of victims offered up to her; as if they ſacrificed to her by whole flocks at a time.

(H) *Aſtarte*, we are told (16), put on a bull's head, as the mark of her ſovereignty; but *Mercury* claps on a bull's or ox's head upon

(11) *Vide Bedford's Script. Chron. p* 234. (12) *Ubi ſupr.* (13) *Beaford's Script. Chron. ubi ſupr.* (14) *Vide Seld. de Di. Syr. Syntag. 2. c. 2.* (15) *Scalig. apud eund.* (16) *See Vol. I. p.* 305.

Iſis

ſame reaſon; that is, to repreſent the moon's increaſe and decreaſe; for ſhe was undoubtedly conſecrated into that planet[f], and adored under the ſtile of *Queen of heaven* (I). She was alſo the *Phœnician Aphrodite*, or *Venus* (K).

As

[f] See before, ibid.

Iſis to ſupply the place of her diadem, which the enraged *Orus* had torn off (17). We may ſee by both theſe ſtories, that the ox's head was eſteemed an enſign of ſupreme dignity; and that *Aſtarte* and *Iſis* were names for one perſon. *Bochart* (18) obſerves, that the word *Aſhtaroth* may be extended to herds in general, and is not confined to the ſmaller cattle only; and inſinuates, that ſhe may be the *Grecian Io* turned into a cow. It is alſo held that ſhe was the great *Juno*, as we ſhall ſee anon. Whence, by the way, we may ſeemingly account for the epithet *Homer* ſo often beſtows upon *Juno*, Βοῶπις Ἥρη, the *ox-eyed Juno*. Doctor *Clarke* in his notes upon *Homer* (19) thinks that nothing particular is alluded to thereby; that this epithet is uſed only to expreſs the majeſty of her countenance, and cites *Libanius*, who ſays as much, Ὅμηρος ἐνδείξασθαι βουλόμενος, ὡς εἶησαν ὀφθαλμοὶ τῇ Ἥρᾳ καλοί τε μεγαλοί τε, "βοῶπιν" αὐτὴν ἐκάλεσε· which is, that *Homer* only underſtood ſhe had a large fine eye.

(I) There is all the reaſon in the world to believe this. It appears ſufficiently from her horned front. *Lucian* (20) took her for the moon. *Herodianus* (21), miſtaken in her name, calling her *Aſtroarche*, ſays, that the *Phœnicians* would have her to be the moon. *Selden* (22) thinks it indubitable, that ſhe was the *Baliſama*, corrupted from *Baleth-Samain*, the *Queen of heaven*, as alſo *Baaltis*. Some (23) ſay on the contrary, that ſhe was worſhipped in the ſtar called *Lucifer*; but the ſame conſider her under the name of *Aphrodite*, or *Venus*, which alſo ſhe bore; ſo that her attribute may have been altered or varied in this caſe, as well as her name. We ſhall have occaſion to reſume this again a little farther.

(K) *Cicero* (24) is very explicit upon this. Enumerating the ſeveral *Venus's*, the fourth, ſays he, was a *Syrian* of *Tyre* called *Aſtarte*; who, as the tradition goes, married *Adonis*. That ſhe was a *Venus* we underſtand from ſeveral other writers; but for the preſent ſhall content ourſelves with this one very plain teſtimony; upon which we beg leave to animadvert a little. *Cicero* places her the fourth in order, which we apprehend he does, as ſuppoſing the three, that precede her in his account, to be older than ſhe. Again ſhe marries *Adonis*, who is univerſally allowed to be an *Aſ-*

(17) *See Vol. I. p.* 251. (18) *Canaan l.* 2. *c.* 2. *col.* 709. (19) *Il. ix. ver.* 451. (20) *De Dea Syr.* (21) *Apud Seld. ae Di. Syr. Syntag.* 2. *c.* 2. (22) *Ibid.* (23) *Theoph. apud Cyrald. Hiſt. Deor. Syntag.* 13. (24) *De Nat. Deor. l.* 3.

As there were many *Baals*, ſo alſo there were many *Aſtartes* (L). She went under different names, and was doubtleſs very variouſly repreſented (M). She is ſaid to have conſecrated

Syrian by deſcent. What are we to conclude from hence? Why, it ſeems apparent enough, that the ſuperſtition in honour of *Adonis* was introduced by the *Aſſyrians* when they conquered *Phœnice*, and that *Aſtarte* was his contemporary. This ſeems to take off conſiderably from her great antiquity. Sir *Iſaac Newton* (25) reckons that the *Baalim* and *Aſhtaroth* came originally from the banks of the *Tygris*, whence they migrated into *Phœnice*. Hence he derives all the ſuperſtition and idolatry of the *Phœnicians* and *Syrians*: the *Tyrian*, *Syrian*, and *Aſſyrian Belus*, ſays he *, were all one. If we might be allowed to declare our ſentiment on this head, we would add, that the greateſt part of what we know of the *Phœnician* religion is of *Aſſyrian* origin, and that it was impoſed on them together with the *Aſſyrian* yoke. This will bring down the antiquity of theſe fabulous deities very low. We know how the *Syrians* boaſted the antiquity of their great *Adod*, or *Adad*, the king of gods, as *Sanchoniatho* (26), in his *Phœnician* Antiquities, ſtiles him; we know alſo how vainly they did it, and how falſely (27). If then there be ſuch a flaw to be found in the pretended age of *Adad*, the ſame muſt affect *Cronus* and *Aſtarte*, his contemporaries and confederates (28). They are certainly of late date, in compariſon of what the learned have generally thought them.

(L) This we have ſufficiently inſinuated already. We have already ſeen her, *Venus*, *Juno*, and the *Moon*. The LXX more than once mention her in the plural number. A father of the church (29) obſerves, that *Juno* was undoubtedly the *Aſtarte* of the *Pæni*, and conſequently of the *Phœnicians*; and that ſhe was mentioned in the plural with regard had to the many ſtatues of her; and that as each ſtatue was called a *Juno*, thence came many *Juno*, or *Aſtartes*. To this we will add, that *Aſtarte* was poſitively the *Grecian Io* (30).

(M) We cannot doubt, but ſhe was pictured as variouſly as the characters ſhe bore, and the attributes beſtowed on her required. As much a *Venus* as ſhe was, it ſeems ſhe was pictured with arms, as the goddeſs of war (31). She was far otherwiſe repreſented in her temple, on mount *Libanus*, where ſhe was mourning her loſt *Adonis*: her head was muffled up in a veil; her left hand, which was under her mantle, ſupported her head; and floods of tears ſtreamed down her cheeks (32). It muſt have been, we think, an

(25) *Chronol. of ant. kingd. amended, p.* 161. * *Ibid. p.* 279.
(26) *See Vol I. p.* 304. (27) *See before in the Notes, p.* 255 (E).
(28) *See Vol. I. p.* 304. (29) Aug. *ad Jud. 2. queſt.* 67.
(30) Eurip. *apud* Seld. *ubi. ſupr.* (31) *Vide* Bochart. *Canaan. l. 1. c. 42. Col.* 664. (32) Macrob *Saturn. l. 1. c. 27.*

Aſtarte

ſecrated *Tyre*, by depoſiting a fallen ſtar there [t] (N). We have little or nothing to ſay of their *Apollo* (O). He is taken for the *Phut* of *Moſes*, and *Put* [u], whence the *Pythius* [w] of the *Greeks*; but as we have occaſionally conteſted the exorbitant antiquity of his kindred gods, we cannot allow his. *Hercules*, or *Melcartus* (P), was the great and antient god of *Tyre*. They antiently repreſented him in no form. His temple

[t] SUID ad vocem Ἀσ́ερ. [u] See Vol. I. in the Notes, p. 303 (R) [w] Vide BOCHART. Geogr. Sacr. l. 1. c. 3. col. 11.

Aſtarte that *Lucian* ſaw crowned with a tower, and with a ſiſtrum in her hand, and ſupported by lions; but we cannot pick out of him in what temple, or where, he ſaw this idol. It cannot be the *Syrian* goddeſs, as he calls her, of whom he gives a different deſcription (33). This laſt idol reſembles, in ſome particulars, certain images of *Iſis* (34); but to trace her out through all her forms is a taſk we are unequal to, for want of proper lights.

(N) Hence it was, we ſuppoſe, that ſhe was worſhipped as a ſtar (35); and hence the notion of the ſtar, or globe of light, which at certain times darted down from the top of mount *Libanus* near her temple at *Aphac*, and plunged itſelf into the river *Adonis* below, and was thought to be *Venus* (36). *Bochart* (37) knows not what to make of this fallen ſtar, which *Aſtarte* is ſaid to have carried to *Tyre*. Inſtead of ἔυρεν ἀεροπετῆ ἀσ́ερα, he would read ἔυρεν ἀερόπετη *vel* ἀέροπετῆ, ἀσ́ερίαν, *Ælian* acquainting us from *Ariſtotle*, that there was a kind of eagle called *Aſteria*; and therefore he would have it a bird inſtead of a ſtar. But, by what precedes, it is moſt likely, that it was really a ſtar they meant. The practice ſquares very nicely with the doctrine, as does alſo the ſtory of the ſtar that was wont to fall from the top of *Libanus* into the river below.

(O) We only know, that he was in great repute among them; and that the *Tyrians*, when beſieged by *Alexander*, were ſo much afraid that he ſhould leave them, as they ſuperſtitiouſly dreaded, and go over to the enemy, that they chained him with golden chains (38) to the altar of *Hercules* (39).

(P) So called from מלך קרתא *Melec-cartha*, *the king of the city*, which *Bochart* (40) ſuppoſes to be *Tyre*. Sir *Iſaac Newton* (41) rejects this notion, and rather derives his name from his having been the founder, or governour, or prince of the city of *Carteia* in *Spain*. *Heſychius* (42) ſays, that the *Amathuſians* called *Her-*

(33) *See before, p.* 257 (34) *See Vol. I. p.* 446. (35) *See before,* 309 *in note* (I). (36) *Vide* Bochart. *ubi ſupr. col.* 749. (37) *Ubi ſupr. col.* 709. (38) Diod. Sic. *l.* 17. *p.* 584. (39) Plutarch *in vit. Alex.* (40) *Canaan ubi ſupra col.* 709. (41) *Chronol. of ant. Kingd. amended, p.* 111, 112. (42) *Apud* Bochart. *ubi ſupr.*

temple had no images in it [x] (Q), a ſeeming undeniable inſtance of his high antiquity (R). However, that they deviated from this laudable cuſtom may, perhaps, appear, when we come to the ſiege of *Tyre* by *Alexander* [y]. Among their gods we may alſo place *Adonis*, *Thammuz*, or *Oſiris*, which

[x] See before in the Notes, ubi ſupr. [y] See ibid.

cules by the name of *Malic*. *Pliny* (43) calls him, corruptly, *Midacritus*. He was a great navigator, and was the firſt that brought lead from the *Caſſiterides*, or iſlands of *Britain*. According to others (44) he invented the ſhell purple, by an accidental remark of a dog's mouth ſtained therewith.

(Q) This is in part contradicted by *Philoſtratus*, in his life of *Apollonius* of *Tyana*, who particularly dwells on the temple of *Gadira*, or *Gades*, which is (45) ſaid to have had no images in it, and to have continued in that ſimple ſtate to the time of *Silius Italicus* (46). In *Philoſtratus* we find indeed, that there were no ſtatues erected either to the *Egyptian* or *Theban Hercules*; for both were worſhipped in this ſame temple, as he informs us: there were only two plain brazen altars erected to the *Egyptian Hercules*. But though the gods were unrepreſented, their temple was adorned with the twelve labours of *Hercules* (as they are commonly called) finely wrought; the *Hydra*, and *Diomede*'s horſe. In this temple were kept the golden belt of *Teucer*, and the golden olive of *Pygmalion*, bearing *Smaragdine* fruit, of wonderous workmanſhip (47). By this may be learned, that, at leaſt, the *Theban Hercules* was the *Tyrian Melcartus*; for we need not ſay, that *Pygmalion* was king of *Tyre*.

(R) We have already given his genealogy in the *Phœnician* Antiquities (48). The *Egyptians* reckoned their *Hercules* to be ſeventeen thouſand years older than their king *Amaſis* (49). The *Tyrians* were more modeſt, and only reckoned their *Hercules* to be as old as their city, which was two thouſand three hundred years *. The *Tyrians* paid as great a veneration to their hero as the *Egyptians* could do to theirs (50); but whether both their *Herculeſs* were in reality one and the ſame, is what we pretend not to decide. *Cicero* (51) reckons the *Tyrian Hercules* the fourth of thoſe he enumerates, and calls him the ſon of *Jupiter* and *Aſteria*, the ſiſter of *Latona*, and the father of *Carthage*. *Lucian* (52) ſays, that the *Tyrian Hercules* was not the *Hercules* celebrated by the *Greeks*, but another far more antient, who was a *Tyrian* hero.

(43) *l.* 7. *c.* 56. (44) *Incertus apud* Suid. *ad vocem.* (45) *Ibid.* (46) *See Vol. I. in the Notes, p.* 304. (47) Philoſt. *in vit.* Apoll. Tyan. *l.* 5. *c.* 1. *p.* 211. (48) *See Vol. I. p.* 303. *& ſeq.* (49) Herodot. *l.* 3. *c.* 43. * *Idem ibid.* (50) *Vide* Macrob. *Saturn. l.* 1. (51) *De Nat. Deor.* (52) *De Dea Syr.*

you

you will (S); nor muſt we forget the *Patæci* (T) they carried about in the prows of their ſhips [z]. Other deities they had

[z] HERODOT. l. 3. c. 37.

(S) They were certainly but one, or meant the ſame object. Whence the people of *Amathus*, an antient city of *Cyprus*, conflated their *Adonoſiris* (53), which is a compound of both the names, *Adonis* and *Oſiris*; for the *Phœnicians* and *Egyptians* laid equal claim to him (54) under different appellations, though he was certainly an *Egyptian* (55). So then the beautiful *Adonis*, begotten by *Cinyras* an *Aſſyrian* (56), is in reality the *Egyptian Oſiris*. It is a very labyrinth we are in, to conſider theſe things as they are told us; but take the following parallel (57), between the ſolemnities and ceremonies ſacred to them both: they had both of them their ἀφανισμὸς, *diſappearance* or death; they both had their ζήτησις, or their *ſearch after them* with mourning; and they both had their εὕρεσις, or *invention*, with joy and gladneſs. In reality they were but one. Both the nations in this caſe meant no other than the ſun; concerning whoſe approach and departure they framed ſuch fables as might beſt take with the people. The month of *June* was the ſeaſon when all this ſuperſtition was tranſacted both by the *Phœnicians* and *Egyptians* (58).

(T) They were ſmall ſtatues. *Herodotus* (59) likens them to pygmies. *Heſychius* (60) and *Suidas* will have them to have been placed in the poops of the ſhips. The faſhion was, for certain, changed in the great length of time between them and *Herodotus*. They were carried about for protection from diſaſters of the ſea. They were the tutelar gods of ſea-faring men (61). Thus the *Spaniards* at this day carry to ſea with them, little images of the ſaints, that they may ſtand their friends in diſtreſs. They will perform you a nine days devotion to St. *Francis Xavier* for a fair wind and favourable weather when at ſea; and if the miracle is not wrought as expected, vow never more to trouble the ſaints again. The next minute the captain will hang him up an image of our lady of *Bethlem*, and declare, that he will not take her down till ſhe gives him a fair wind. If ſhe will not do as he would have her, ſhe muſt give place to our lady of mount *Carmel*, who upon nonperformance is changed for our lady of the *Roſary*; and if ſhe prove deaf alſo, up goes our lady of *Solitude* inſtead of her; and ſhe not

(53) *Vide* Steph. Byzant *de Urb. & Popul. ad vocem* Ἀμαθῦς. (54) *Vid. eund. ibid.* (55) *Vid. eund. ibid* (56) *Vide* Apollod. *Bibliot. l* 3. *c.* 13. & Cyril. *in Iſ. l.* 2. *Tom. III p.* 274. (57) *Vide* Marſh. *Can. Chron. Secul.* 1. *p.* 31. (58) *Vide eund. ibid* (59) *l.* 3. *c.* 37. (60) *Ad vocem* Παταικοὺς. (61) *Vid.* Seld. *de Di. Syr. Syntagm.* 2. *c.* 16. Bochart. *Canaan l.* 2. *c.* 3 *col.* 712, 713.

hearing

had, which we know nothing of. The *Cabiri* will have their turn in the *Grecian* mythology. [a]

We do not read, that the *Phœnicians*, how nearly ſoever they may have agreed with the *Egyptians* in the main points of their ſuperſtition, ever extended their worſhip, like them, to the inanimate creation. But ſince there was ſuch a harmony between them in other reſpects, it is by no means unlikely, that they were tainted with ſome of the meaneſt, and moſt unaccountable ſuperſtitions of that fabulous and myſterious kingdom. But this is only a conjecture, which we leave to the readers determination.

Their prieſts, religious cuſtoms, &c.

Beelsamen we have underſtood to have been in an eſpecial manner the ſun himſelf [b]; and to him they addreſſed themſelves with ſtretched out arms, as we gather [c]. What elſe was practiſed, when they made their addreſſes to the ſun only, we no where find.

Baal had his prophets and his prieſts in great numbers. We read of four hundred and fifty of them which were fed *at* Jezebel's *table* only [d]. They were wont to offer burnt-offerings and ſacrifices to this their god or gods [e], and to dance and ſkip about the altar, with violent geſticulations (U); and having worked themſelves to the height of frenzy, by this exerciſe, and a violent ſtraining of their voices, they began to cut and laſh their bodies with knives and lancets: this done, they betook themſelves to propheſy [f], as it is called, or rather raved, as if poſſeſſed by ſome inviſible power [g]. Such was their barbarous way of worſhip (W); nor need we

[a] *See* Vol. I. in the Notes, p 297. [b] See before, p. 306.
[c] *See* Vol. I. p. 176. [d] 1 Kings xviii. 19. [e] 2 Kings x. 24.
[f] 1 Kings ubi ſupr. [g] Vide Patrick in loc.

hearing any more than the reſt, our lady of *Affliction* takes her turn (62), and ſo on *ad infinitum*. Theſe are Chriſtian *Patæci*. Why ſhould we wonder at the blind *Phœnicians?* This we thought worth the notice. It is a good parallel, and comes from a good *Roman* Catholick, who was an eye witneſs of this practice.

(U) It is uncertain whether they danced round the altar, or leaped upon it, or jumped over it, or how this was: "*Abarbinel* "thinks, this leaping or dancing was a rite uſed in the worſhip of "the ſun; which puts all things in motion (63).

(W) Though all this was practiſed upon a particular occaſion, or when they took on them to perform a miracle, we are perſuaded there is nothing new in it. They are ſaid to have wounded their bodies after their uſual manner (64).

(62) *See* Frezier's *Voyage to the South-ſea, p.* 143 *of the Eng. Tranſ. in* 4to. (63) Patrick *upon* 1 *Kings xviii.* 26. (64) 1 *Kings xviii.* 28.

wonder

wonder at it, conſidering their more barbarous cuſtom, in earlier days, of ſacrificing even ſuch perſons as were moſt dear to them, to appeaſe or reconcile their imaginary gods, when they laboured under any public calamities. This is charged very home upon them, not only by the teſtimony of others [h], but by their own confeſſion [i]. This alſo they had in common with the *Egyptians* [k]. This cruel practice, however, was diſcontinued here, as well as in *Egypt*, pretty early; but at what time, and upon what motives of perſuaſion, we have not to ſay.

MANY prieſts or prophets attended alſo on the rites of *Aſtarte*. *Jezebel* had no fewer than four hundred of them to her ſhare [l]. Our verſion calls them, *prophets of the groves*: but Mr. *Selden* has proved, by comparing many paſſages of ſcripture together [m], that *Aſtarte* is meant by them; and ſome [n], who know not how to conteſt this interpretation, believe ſhe was worſhipped in a grove, which is very likely, ſuch places being for the moſt part accounted ſacred to religious rites, in the firſt times [o]. We muſt not doubt, but ſhe was ſerved with much form, pomp, and myſtery; and women, particularly, are ſaid to have been employed to weave hangings, or tabernacles, for her [p]. When ſhe was adored as the *Queen of heaven*, or the moon itſelf, they offered up to her cakes, which were prepared for that ſervice with great ceremony: *The children gathered the wood, and the fathers kindled the fire, and the women kneaded the dough, to make cakes for the queen of heaven* [q]. They alſo burned incenſe to her, and poured out drink-offerings to her [r]. This *Aſtarte, Queen of heaven*, was, as we have ſaid, the moon itſelf [s]; for as they paid their homage immediately to the ſun, the ſame, we may ſafely ſuppoſe, they did to the moon. It was an antient cuſtom. Thoſe great lights were always conſidered together. The inimitable *Job* [t] ſays, If *I beheld the ſun when it ſhined, or the moon walking in brightneſs, and my heart hath been ſecretly enticed, or my mouth hath kiſſed my hand, this alſo were an iniquity to be puniſhed by the judges.* Some [u] fancy, upon what authority does not at preſent occur to us, that her cakes were ſtamped with a creſcent. At *Byblus* ſhe was worſhipped in a particular manner; for there

[h] PORPHYR. περὶ ἀποχῆς, l. 2. § 56, &c. [i] See Vol. I p. 305. [k] See before, p. 30. [l] 1 Kings ubi ſupr. v. 19. [m] PATRICK in loc. [n] CLERIC in loc. [o] See before, in the Notes, p. 101, (D). [p] 2 Kings xxiii. 7. [q] Jerem. vii. 18. [r] Idem xliv. 17, 18. [s] See before, p. 309. [t] Job xxxi. 26, 27, 28. [u] See FULLER's Piſgah-ſight.

ſhe

ſhe had a temple, as the *Venus* of *Adonis* [w]. And there, ſuch women as would not conform to the cuſtom of ſhaving their heads, at the annual time of lamenting *Adonis*, were bound to proſtitute their bodies for one entire day, to all ſtrangers, that would have them, for hire; and the money ſo got was preſented to the goddeſs [x]. Her temple at *Aphac* on mount *Libanus* was a perfect ſink of lewdneſs, a very ſchool of the moſt beaſtly luſt. The men there ſunk into the moſt degenerate effeminacy to comfort the mournful goddeſs [y]. The moſt ſhameful commerce between the ſexes was allowed within theſe prophane walls. And this was permitted and practiſed, as ſome [z] conjecture, becauſe in this place *Venus* firſt ruſhed herſelf into the arms of *Adonis*. Or, as others [a] ſay, becauſe this was either the firſt, or the laſt place where they enjoyed each other. Other temples ſhe doubtleſs had, and other rites, which it were in vain for us to attempt either to diſtinguiſh or enumerate. What elſe may be ſaid of her, or her worſhip, we may have occaſion to reſume hereafter. Though ſhe is called the goddeſs of the *Sidonians*, her principal temple ſeems to have been that at *Tyre*, built by *Hiram* [b].

After what manner they worſhipped their *Apollo* is uncertain; but to their *Hercules* they are ſaid to have paid great honour. His worſhip was performed with great ſolemnity: the aſſiſtants were all clad alike, in *Egyptian* linen all. They offered the incenſe to him with a looſe flowing garment; the prieſtly veſt was adorned with broad ſtreaks, or ſtripes of purple; their feet were bare; their heads were ſhaven; they were pure from any pollution, as it was thought, contracted from the other ſex; and the fire of the altar never went out. Women were not allowed to enter into the temple, and ſwine were carefully kept from approaching it [c]: ſuch were the ceremonies uſed, and cuſtoms obſerved, in the worſhip of the *Tyrian Hercules*. They paid him tythes. More might be ſaid concerning this *Hercules*'s temples, and the honours done him; which we ſhall defer till we come to treat of *Hercules* in general.

We ſhall now cloſe up this account of their religious practices, cuſtoms, and ceremonies, with what they were wont to do in commemoration of *Adonis*, or *Oſiris*, or *Adonoſiris*,

[w] Lucian de Dea Syr. [x] Idem ibid. [y] See before, in the Notes, p. 309 & ſeq. [z] Bochart. Canaan, l. 2. c. 14. col. 749. [a] Etymol. magn. apud eund. ibid. [b] Menand. & Dius apud Joseph. Antiq. l. 8. c. 2. [c] Silius Ital. l. 3.

or

or *Thammuz*; for, as we have already obſerved [d], all theſe names centred in one object. His father, they pretend, was one *Cinyras* an *Aſſyrian*, who founded the city of *Paphos* in the iſland of *Cyprus* [e]. Some ſay his name was *Gingris*, or *Gingras* [f] among the *Phœnicians*. But whatever his name was, it is agreed, he was a moſt beautiful youth. On the one hand [g] it is reported, that *Venus* was enamoured of him from his infancy, and committed the care of his education to *Proſerpine*; that when *Venus* came to demand him of her, ſhe refuſed to deliver him to her; and that hence a diſpute aroſe between them, which was decided by *Jupiter*, who decreed, that the youth ſhould be one third of the year with *Proſerpine*, another third with *Venus*, and that during the laſt third, he ſhould diſpoſe of himſelf as he beſt liked. That in conſequence of this, *Adonis*, ſmitten with the charms of *Venus*, ſpent two thirds of his time with that fond goddeſs; whereat *Diana* taking offence, ſent a wild boar to put a miſerable end to his life. On the other hand [h], it is reported, that *Adonis* was the offspring of an inceſtuous embrace. That he was begot by his father *Cinyras* on his own daughter *Myrrha*. That to hide the guilt of ſo unlawful a commerce from the eyes of the world, he was expoſed on the mountains, where he was nurſed by the nymphs, and became a great ſportſman. That *Venus*, ſeeing him at his manly ſport, fell in love with him, and received him into an intimacy with her: and that *Mars*, conceiving a violent jealouſy thereat, turned himſelf into the ſhape of a wild boar, and ſlew the beauteous youth. That *Venus*, being unſpeakably grieved at the ſad news, followed him to the ſhades to demand him; but that *Proſerpine*, at firſt refuſing to deliver him, was at length brought to this agreement. That he ſhould be half the year with her, and half the year with *Venus*, who returned with joy to the earth again, and acquainted her followers with the ſucceſs of her deſcent, and ordained a feſtival to be celebrated in commemoration thereof. Whoever compares this with what is related of *Iſis* and *Oſiris* [i], will find it to be the very ſame ſtory in a different dreſs. In conſequence of this myſterious tradition, there was great grief among the women, at *Byblus* eſpecially, for the death of *Adonis*, which was ſucceeded by as great joy for his recovery.

[d] See before, p. 312. [e] APOLLOD. Biblioth. ubi ſupr. [f] JUL. POL. l. 2. c. 4 l. 4. c. 14. [g] APOLLOD. Biblioth. ubi ſupra. [h] CYRIL. in Is. ubi ſupr. [i] See Vol. I. p. 519.

But the *Jewiſh* writers have among them another ſtory concerning the origin of the rites of *Thammuz* or *Adonis*. *Maimonides* [k] relates that the antient *Zabij* held *Thammuz* to have been an idolatrous prophet, who preaching up to a certain king the doctrine of worſhipping the ſeven planets and the twelve ſigns, the king ordered him to be put to a cruel death. That on the very night of his death, all the idols, from the uttermoſt parts of the earth, met together in the temple of the golden ſtatue, or the ſun, at *Babylon*; and that he acquainted them with the tragical end of *Thammuz*. That hereupon the images wept and lamented all night for *Thammuz*, and that as ſoon as morn appeared they all flew back to their places. Hence, ſays he, was derived the cuſtom of mourning over *Thammuz*. Finally, it is ſaid he was the ſon of a heathen king, whoſe image the *Jewiſh* women adored with tears, nor refrained from offering ſacrifices to it [l].

Whoever he was, and whatever they meant by him, the ſuperſtition of mourning over him was an univerſal cuſtom of the women in thoſe parts. They began their lamentations at a ſtated time. They ſet up their outcries as ſoon as they perceived the river *Adonis* to run with a bloody face [m]. as at certain times it did [n]. The lamentations of a mother for the loſs of her only ſon could not be more piercing or extraordinary [o]. They then proceeded to their ſacrifices of the dead, having firſt diſciplined themſelves with whipping; and on the morrow, pretending him to be revived, and aſcended through the air to the upper regions, they ſhaved their heads, as the *Egyptians* did for the loſs of *Apis*; and at *Byblus* at leaſt, thoſe who would not comply, were bound to proſtitute themſelves in the manner, and for the purpoſes above ſpecified [p]. Some [q] relate, that on a certain night, while this ſolemnity laſted, they laid an image in a bed, and, having gone through a bead-roll of lamentations over it, light was brought in, and the prieſt anointing the mouths of the aſſiſtants, whiſpered to them that ſalvation was come---- that deliverance was brought to paſs. Upon which their ſorrow was turned into joy, and the image taken as it were out of its ſepulchre. Or as others ſay [r]; the prieſts of *Oſiris* in *Egypt* wrote to the women of *Byblus*, ſignifying to them, That they had found that god. They ſent this letter in an earthen pot,

[k] In More Nebochim. [l] Philast. apud Seld. de Dei. Syr. Syntagm. 2. c. 11. [m] Lucian de Dea Syr. [n] See before, p. 300. [o] Amm. Marcell. l. 19. [p] See before, p. 316. [q] Jul. Firm. apud Purch. Pilgr. l. 2. c. 17. p. 90. [r] Procop. & Cyril. in Iſa. xviii.

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as ſome ſay, or in a ſmall ark, or head as it is called [r], made of the papyrus, which came by ſea of its own accord to *Byblus*. This voyage it performed in ſeven days [t], and it no ſooner appeared in the port, but the women danced, feaſted, and rejoiced as extravagantly as they had before wept, mourned, and lamented [u]. This cuſtom has made ſo laſting an impreſſion on the women of thoſe parts, that it is viſibly kept up by them of *Aleppo* to this day [w].

THERE are different ways of explaining away all this myſtery. *Adonis* was the ſun. The upper hemiſphere of the earth, or that which we think ſo, was antiently called *Venus*, the under, *Proſerpine*. Therefore when the ſun was in the ſix inferior ſigns, they ſaid he was with *Proſerpine*, when he was in the ſix ſuperior, with *Venus*. By the boar that ſlew *Adonis* they underſtood winter; for the boar they made, and not unaptly, the emblem of that rigid ſeaſon [x]. Or by *Adonis* they meant the fruits of the earth, which are for one while buried, but at length appear flouriſhing to the ſight. When therefore the ſeed was thrown into the ground, they ſaid *Adonis* was gone to *Proſerpine*; but when it ſprouted up, they ſaid, he had reviſited the light and *Venus*. And hence probably it was, that they ſowed corn, and made gardens for *Adonis*; for ſuch a cuſtom they alſo had [y]. We may ſafely ſuppoſe there was no ſmall variation among thoſe who received this piece of ſuperſtition, when they talked of what it meant, and why it was practiſed. Finally, *Plutarch* [z] takes *Adonis* to be *Bacchus*. *Oſiris* alſo, the ſun [a], as we have ſeen, was *Adonis* [b]. To be brief, it was contended, that *Oſiris* was buried at *Byblus* [c]. *Adonis* is lord, ſo is *Baal* [d].

PLUTARCH [e] alſo informs us, that *Iſis* had a temple at *Byblus*, where they worſhipped the heath which had concealed *Oſiris*'s coffin. This *Byblian Iſis* muſt certainly have been *Aſtarte*; ſo that we end with the *Baalim* and *Aſteroth* as we began.

HERODOTUS [f] mentions the *Phœnicians* to have been circumciſed: but *Joſephus* [g] aſſerts, that none of the nations, included under the vague names of *Paleſtine* and *Syria*, uſed that rite, the *Jews* excepted; ſo that if the *Phœnicians* had

[r] LUCIAN ubi ſupr. [t] Idem ibid. [u] PROCOP. & CYRIL. ubi ſupr. [w] See SELLER's Hiſtory of Palmyra in the Preface. [x] MACROB. Saturn. l. 1. c. 21. [y] Vide Vos. de Idololat. l. 2. c. 5. p. 167. [z] Sympoſ. l. 4. p. 671. [a] See Vol. I. p. 443, & ſeq. [b] See before, p. 313. [c] Luc. de Dea Syr. [d] See before, p. 999. [e] De Iſid. & Oſirid. [f] l. 2. c. 104. [g] Contr. Ap. l. 1.

antiently

antiently that cuſtom, they came in time to neglect it, and at length wholly laid it aſide. They abſtained from the fleſh of ſwine [h].

Their Arts and Learning.

Much is ſaid of the *Phœnicians*, their arts, ſciences, and manufactures. But as what we find concerning them is couched in general terms only, we have it not in our power to expatiate on particulars. The *Sidonians*, under which we comprehend all the *Phœnicians* in general, as was antiently a very uſual thing *, were of a moſt happy genius and frame of mind, capable of any thing [i]. Arithmetic and aſtronomy either took riſe among them [k], or were brought by them to their perfection, and applied to mercantile, nautical, architectonical, and fabrical uſes. From them thoſe excellent ſciences flowed into *Greece* [l], together with their letters [m]. They were from the beginning, as it were addicted to philoſophical exerciſes of the mind; inſomuch that a *Sidonian*, by name *Moſchus*, taught the doctrine of atoms before the *Trojan* war [n], and *Abdomenus* of *Tyre* * undertook to grapple even with *Solomon*, by the ſubtile propoſitions he offered to that wiſeſt of earthly kings. *Phœnice* continued to be one of the ſeats of learning, and both *Tyre* and *Sidon* [o] produced their philoſophers of later ages, *Boëthus* and *Diodatus* of *Sidon*, *Antipater* of *Tyre*, and *Apollonius* of the ſame place, who wrote of the writings and diſciples of *Zeno* [p]. Their doctrine concerning the origin of the world, and the formation of things, we have already mentioned [q].

Their Language.

Their language was at leaſt a dialect of the *Hebrew*. It was that of the antient *Canaanites*. Their letters or characters we take to have been the ſame with the *Samaritan*. But for our particular thoughts of both the one and the other, and for the conſtruction of both, we muſt crave the reader's patience till we come to treat of the *Hebrew* tongue.

Their Manufactures.

How great ſoever they were for the ſciences, and for their diſcoveries and improvements in the learned way; it is far from being improbable, that they excelled much more in the labours of the hand than in thoſe of the head [r]. The glaſs of *Sidon*, the purple of *Tyre*, and the exceeding fine linen they wove, were of their own growth, and their ſtaple manufactures. Theſe are ſaid to have been their own inventions [s].

[h] Herodian. l. 5. * Vide Bochart. Phaleg. l. 4. c. 37. col. 301. [i] Idem. ibid. col. 303. [k] Strab. l. 16. p. 757. [l] Idem ibid. [m] Herodot. l. 4. c. 6. [n] Posidonius apud Strabo, ubi ſupr. * Menand. & Dius apud Joseph. l. 8. c. 2. & contr. Ap. l. 1. [o] Strabo ubi ſupr. [p] Idem ibid. [q] See Vol I. p. 23. [r] Vide Bochart. Phaleg. l. 4. c. 35. col. 303 [s] Vide eund. ibid.

And for their extraordinary skill in working of metals, in hewing of timber and ſtone; in a word, for their perfect knowledge of what was ſolid, and great, and ornamental in architecture, we need not only put the reader in mind of the large ſhare they had in erecting, and decorating of the temple at *Jeruſalem* under their *Hiram*; than which nothing is more known, nothing more certain, nor is there any thing that can more redound to their honour, or inſinuate a clearer or greater idea of what their own buildings muſt have been. Their fame was ſuch for their juſt taſte, fine deſign, and luxuriant invention, that whatever was elegant, great, or pleaſing, whether in apparel, or veſſels, or toys, was called, by way of excellence, *Sidonian* workmanſhip or contrivance[t].

THUS far we have conſidered them as learned men and artificers, improving themſelves, and cultivating their minds ſedately at home. It remains, that we mention them as merchants, navigators, and planters of endleſs colonies in foreign parts. As they were merchants, they may be ſaid to have engroſſed all the commerce of the weſtern world at leaſt. As navigators, they were the boldeſt, the moſt experienced, and greateſt diſcoverers of the antient times; they had for many ages no rivals. And as they were planters of colonies, they did ſo much that way, that, when it is remembered, that their country was probably little more than the ſlip of ground between mount *Libanus* and the ſea, it is ſurprizing, how they could furniſh ſuch ſupplies of people, and not wholly depopulate their native ſeat. They were the moſt buſy, moſt enterprizing people, that can well be conceived. *Their Trade and Navigation.*

WE have ſtarted a conjecture, that the *Phœnicians* were not a little induced to become foreign dealers by their neighbourhood with the *Syrians*, whom we have conſidered as the moſt antient of thoſe who negotiated any thing conſiderably, and regularly, with the more eaſtern regions[u]. And we ſee no reaſon we have to depart from this poſition. For their own territory was but ſmall, and but little able to afford any conſiderable exports, if we except manufactures; but that their manufactures were any thing, to ſpeak of, till they began to turn all the channels of trade into their own country, is hard to believe. In *Syria*, which was a large country, they found ſtore of ſuperabundant productions of the natural growth of that country, and many choice, and precious, and uſeful commodities brought from the eaſt. Hereupon, having a ſafe coaſt and convenient harbours on the one ſide of them, and excellent materials for ſhip-building upon the mountains on the

[t] Vide eund. ibid. [u] See before, p. 267 & ſeq.

other, and perceiving by degrees how acceptable many commodities, that *Syria* furniſhed them with, would be in foreign parts; and being at the ſame time, perhaps, ſhewn the way by the *Syrians* themſelves, who may have navigated the *Mediterranean*; they turned all their thoughts to trade and navigation, and, by an uncommon application thereto, ſoon eclipſed the *Syrians* themſelves on the *Mediterranean* Sea. Nature herſelf pointed to them their advantages, and daily experience before their eyes, and a laudable ambition, may have prompted them to that, which brought them to be conſidered as the firſt of the earth for riches and ſplendor, if not for power.

It were in vain to talk of the *Edomites*, who fled hither in *David*'s time [w]; or to enquire whence *Herodotus* derives the *Phœnicians* from the *Red-ſea* [x]. Their origin we have already ſeen [y]. That ſome of the *Edomites* fled into this country in the days of *David* we have already ſhewn. And that the *Edomites* were a trading people we have elſewhere noted [z]. What Improvements they brought with them into *Phœnice* is hard to ſay. And by the way, it is as hard to ſpeak of their numbers, or to ſay, how it could be poſſible for a parcel of refugees to communicate their own name to the antient proprietors, as is pretended [a]. It ſeems to be plain, that they brought with them a knowledge of the *Red-ſea*, and of the ſouth parts of *Arabia*, *Egypt*, and *Æthiopia*; and that by their inſtructions and lights, they made the *Phœnicians* acquainted with thoſe coaſts, which before they knew nothing of, and enabled them to undertake the voyages they did in thoſe parts for *Solomon*, and for *Pharaoh Necho* king of *Egypt*. But we will dwell no longer on theſe particulars ſo hard to be aſcertained. We have only ſtarted them to exerciſe thoſe of our inquiſitive readers, who have leiſure and inclination to bend their thoughts this way; and ſhall only add, by way of ſummary, That it is our opinion, the *Phœnicians* were both younger merchants and navigators than the *Syrians*, and that they reaped conſiderable advantages by the acceſs of the fugitive *Edomites*, that ſought for ſhelter among them in *David*'s time.

Their whole thoughts were how to advance their trade. They affected no empire but that of the ſea. They ſought to enlarge no other dominion. They ſeem to have aimed at nothing but the peaceable enjoyment of their commerce.

[w] See before, p. 142. [x] See before p. 143, (U). [y] See before, p. 304. [z] See before, p. 134. [a] See before p. 225 & ſeq.

They

They traded to all the known parts they could reach, or knew the way to. The *Britiſh* iſles, commonly underſtood by the *Caſſiterides*, *Spain*, other places in the ocean, both to the north and ſouth of the *Straits* mouth, in general all the ports of the *Mediterranean*, the *Black-ſea*, and the lake *Mæotis* [b]; in all theſe parts they had ſettlements and correſpondents, from all which they drew what was uſeful to themſelves, or might be ſo to others reciprocally: and thus they exerciſed the three great branches of trade, as it is commonly divided, into importation, exportation, and tranſportation, in full latitude. Such was the extent of their ſea trade, as for their correſpondence by land in *Syria*, and by the way thereof, in *Meſopotamia*, *Aſſyria*, *Babylonia*, *Perſia*, *Arabia*, and even the *Indies*, not to carry the thing any farther; this may furniſh us with ſome adequate idea of what this people once was, how rich, and how unhyperbolically their merchants are mentioned in ſcripture as equal to princes [c]. Their country was at that time the great warehouſe where every thing, that might either adminiſter to the neceſſities or luxury of mankind, was to be found; which they diſtributed as they judged would be beſt for their own intereſt, which they muſt have had the art of cheriſhing, as much as we have in our days. It would be in vain for us to undertake a detail of what they brought by ſea, or of what was ſent them over land from each particular place, or of what they ſent to the ſeveral countries they dealt with. We ſhall have occaſion to ſpecify the particulars, when we come to mention the antient trade of each country. Their own principal commodities were the purple of *Tyre*, the glaſs of *Sidon*, and the exceeding fine linen made in this country [d]: theſe, and other fine pieces of art in metals and wood, ſeem to have been the chief, and almoſt only commodities of *Phœnice* itſelf. Their country was ſo ſmall, that it is not to be imagined they could afford to export any of the fruits thereof. It is more likely, that they rather wanted, than abounded with, the fruits of the earth.

HAVING thus ſpoken in general terms of their trade, we ſhall now juſt touch upon their ſhipping, and ſome things remarkable in their navigation. Their larger embarkations were of two ſorts. They divided them into round ſhips, or *Gauli*, and long ſhips, gallies, or *Triremes* [e]. When they drew up in line of battle, the *Gauli* were at a ſmall diſtance off each other in the wings, or in the van, and the rear, and a-

[b] Vide HUET. Hiſt. de la Comm. et de la Navig. des Anc. [c] Iſai. c. xxiii. v. 8. [d] See before, p. 320 [e] Vide BOCHART. Canaan. l. 2. c. 11. col. 739.

bout; their *Triremes* were contracted together in the centre [f]. If at any time their ſhips bound on a voyage obſerved, that a ſtranger kept them company, or followed them in their track, they were ſure to get rid of him if they could, or deceive him, if poſſible; in which they would go ſo far as to venture the loſs of their ſhips, and even their lives, ſo that they could but deſtroy, or diſappoint him [g]; ſo jealous were they of foreigners, and ſo tenaciouſly bent on keeping all to themſelves. And to add to the dangers of the ſeas, and to diſcourage other nations from truſting themſelves thereon, they affected piracy [h]; or to be at war with ſuch as they met when they thought themſelves ſtrongeſt. This was but a natural ſtroke of policy in a people who graſped at the whole commerce of the then known world. Talking of their navigation, we muſt not forget the famous fiſhery of *Tyre*, which ſo remarkably enriched the city of *Tyre* in particular. The fiſh they ſought after were thoſe wherewith they dyed purple, the richeſt dye in the world. They were always careful to take them alive. An antient author [i] attributes the diſſoluteneſs of *Tyre* to the number of the dyers there; from whence we may gather they were a rich and numerous body of people, proud and extravagant, vain and debauched. This fiſh is ſome how or other loſt (X), or thoſe on that coaſt at preſent know not how to catch it.

We might here ſpeak of the *Phœnician* voyages in the ſervice of *Solomon*, had we not a more proper place in our eye of expatiating thereon. The long voyage ſome of them undertook in the ſervice, and to ſatisfy the curioſity of *Necho* king of *Egypt*, round *Afric*, going out of the *Red-ſea*, and returning by the way of the *Straits* mouth, deſerves not to be paſſed over. They were three years about it (Y). The reader,

[f] Polyæn. l. 6. [g] Vide Strab. l. 3. p. 175. [h] Huet. ubi ſupr. c. 16. p. 70. [i] Strab. l. 16.

(X) We are aſſured by an eye-witneſs, who is too modeſt to allow us the uſe of his name, that they have a kind of fiſh on the rocks on the coaſt a little to the weſtward of *Panama*, with which the *Indians* dye a red purple. That they carry their yarn down to the ſea ſide, that they bring it back dyed: and that their hands are always diſcoloured, like thoſe of our dyers.

(Y) We ſee then the *Portugueſe* were only the Re-diſcoverers of the *Cape of Good-hope*. Here we will beg leave to animadvert a little upon a celebrated author (65), who will have it, the *Phœnici-*

(65) Huet. *Hiſtoire de Comm. & de la Navig. des Anc. chap.* 8.

ans

reader, we hope, will not be diſpleaſed that we have dwelt ſo long on this extraordinary people. He will perceive we might have ſaid ten times more; and that it was impoſſible for us to ſay leſs of them than we have ſaid, either to refreſh his memory, or give him information. Their colonies and ſettlements will be particularly remarked in the order they may occur.

ans made it a common practice to trade with *India*, by the way of the *Cape of Good-hope*, from the times of *Solomon*. This is incredible on many accounts. 1. The *Phœnicians* had no ſuch temptation to undertake ſo long and dangerous a voyage as we have: the voyage to them muſt have been much longer than it is at preſent to us, 2. They are not above half ſo far from *India* as we are. 3. It is incredible, that the ſtructure and rigging of their ſhips were rightly adapted for ſo unfavourable a navigation; nor is it likely that they could at once furniſh themſelves with ſtores and proviſions ſufficient for their uſe and neceſſities, and at the ſame time have any great cargoe of goods on board. 4. Theſe diſadvantages conſidered, it muſt appear, that they might have been ſupplied with all the eaſtern commodities in general, at a much cheaper rate, from the *Egyptians* and *Edomites* on the *Arabian* gulph, and from *Syria* on the *Euphrates*; and this certainly was a part of the trade they drove with *Syria* and *Egypt* (66). 5. It is not to be imagined, if the contrary practice had been uſual, that all memory of it would have been loſt; that the *Romans*, in *Ovid*'s time, would have talked of the torrid zone as uninhabitable; and that *Herodotus* would have reckoned it as ſo noble a tranſaction of *Necus*'s reign, that he ſent the moſt expert *Phœnicians* he could procure to explore the ſhores of *Afric* (67); or that the ſame, in other reſpects, moſt knowing hiſtorian, would have diſputed the credibility of what the ſailors reported on their return, that they had the ſun on the right hand of them (68); it being the antient cuſtom, as we have ſomewhere read in *Plutarch*, to ſet the face to the weſtward; in which poſture the ſun muſt be on the right hand of him who is to the ſouthward of its courſe, which they muſt have been, over and over again who doubled the *Cape of Good hope*. In ſhort, the *Indian* commerce by that rout could have anſwered no manner of end to the *Phœnicians*, nor could they have been tempted to frequent it, ſituated as they were between *Egypt* and *Syria*, the two great magazines of what ever the eaſt afforded.

(66) *See before, p.* 268. (67) *See before. p.* 46. (68) Melpomen. *c.* 42.

SECT. III.

The Chronology of the Phœnicians.

IT were labour in vain to dwell on this ſubject. In general we may ſay, that the hiſtory of the *Phœnicians* is no other than a continuation of that of *Canaan*; as is on all hands allowed (A). Their particular epochs it is impoſſible to diſcover. Their records, once ſo faithfully kept [a], are now no more. We will not therefore enter profeſſedly upon ſo dark a matter, but ſhall content ourſelves with touching thereon occaſionally hereafter. It is obſerved [b], that they boaſted an exceſſive antiquity, no leſs than thirty thouſand years; in which, however, they were far more reaſonable than ſome others, who certainly could claim very little, or nothing beyond them in that particular. To adhere to the method we have laid down, we ſhall ſubjoin a ſeries of the kings of the different kingdoms of this country, ſo far as we can collect them.

KINGS of SIDON.

* * * * * * * * *

Agenor,
Phœnix,
Phalis,

* * * * * * * * *

An anonymous king,

* * * * * * * * *

Tetramneſtus,

* * * * * * * * *

Tennes,
Strato,
Ballonymus, *Albdolominus*, *Abdolominus*, or *Alonymus*.

[a] Vid. Joseph. contr. Ap. l. 1. [b] African. apud Syncell. p. 17.

(A) We have already given ſeveral proofs to evince this. We ſhall add, that the compiler of the *Alexandrine Chronicle* (1), ſpeaking of the *Canaanites* driven out by *Joſhua*, calls them, in part, *Phœnicians*.

(1) P. 183, 1.

KINGS

KINGS and JUDGES of *Tyre*.	Reigned According to MENAND. EPHES.	According to THEOPHIL. ANTIOC.
* * * *		
Abibal, or *Abeimal*,		
Hiram, *Hierom*, *Hieromen*, *Irom*, *Chiram*, or *Suron*,		
Baleaſtartus, or *Bazor*,	7 Years - - -	- - - 17 Years
Abdaſtartus,	9 - - - - - -	- - - - 12
The eldeſt of the murderers of *Abdaſtartus*,	12 - - - - - -	- - - -
Aſtartus,	12 - - - - - -	- - - -
Aſtapimus, or *Atharymus*,	9 - - - - - -	- - - -
Phelles, or *Helles*,	8 Months - -	- - - -
Ethbal, *Ithobal* or *Juthobal*,	32 Years - - -	- - - - 12
Badezor, or *Bazor*,	6 - - - - - -	- - - - 7
Badezor's ſon, *Mettinus*,	9 - - - - - -	- - - - 29
Pygmalion,	40 - Years - -	- - - - -
* * * * *		
Elulæus,	36 - - - - - -	- - - -
* * * * *		
Ithobal,		
Baal,	10	
Judges: *Ecnibal*, - - -	2 Months -	- - - -
Chelbis, - - -	10 - - - - - -	- - - -
Abbar, the H. Prieſt,	3 - - - - - -	- - - -
Mytonus and *Geraſtus*,	6 - - - - - -	- - - -
Balator, - - -	1 - - - - - -	- - - -
Merbal, - - -	4 - - - - - -	- - - -

KINGS and JUDGES of *Tyre.*	Reigned Accord. to Menand. Ephes.	Accord. to Theophil.
Irom,	20	
† *Maſſen,*		
† *Strato,*		
* * * * *		
Azelmic,		
* * * * *		
Marion.		

The KINGS *of* ARAD, *or* ARADUS.

* * * * * * *

Arbal,
Narbal,

* * * * * * *

Geroſtratus

We need only refer the reader to the very unaccountable difference between *Menander* the *Epheſian*, and *Theophilus* of *Antioch*, in their reigns of the *Tyrian* princes, to judge of the impoſſibility of fixing on any thing certain in the chronology of even the beſt and cleareſt times of the *Phœnicians* in general.

SECT. IV.

The Phœnician *Kings from the antient fabulous Hiſtory of the* Greeks.

Agenor. Before we enter upon the hiſtory of the *Phœnician* kings, we are, in ſome manner, obliged to inſert the following dark and fabulous account of the family of *Agenor*, the firſt king of *Phœnice* mentioned by the *Greeks*.

Agenor and Belus were, according to *Apollodorus* [a], the ſons of *Neptune* by *Libya*, daughter of *Epaphus*, who was king of a part of *Egypt*. *Belus* reigned in *Egypt*, and married *Anchinæ*, daughter of *Nilus*, by whom he had *Ægyptus* and *Danaus*. *Agenor* paſſed from *Egypt* into *Phœnice*, where he ſettled, and became the father of a numerous race. He married *Telephaſſa* (*Stephanus* calls her *Telephe*) by whom

[a] l. 2.

he

he had *Europa*, *Cadmus*, *Phœnix*, *Cilix* [b], and, according to *Pausanias*, *Electra* [c], and *Thasus* [d]. *Pherecides*, as quoted by the scholiast of *Apollonius*, gives him two wives, the one named *Damno*, by whom he had *Phœnix*, *Isæa*, and *Melia*; the other called *Argiope*, who was mother to *Cadmus* and *Europa*. *Plutarch* mentions a fourth wife, called *Dioripppe*, who brought forth *Sipylus* [e]. *Antonius Liberalis* a fifth, named *Cassiopea*, who bore him a daughter, by name *Carina*. And *Cedrenus* a sixth, whom he calls *Tyrus*, pretending, that the city of *Tyre* borrowed its name from her. *Europa* (whom some writers will have to be the daughter of *Phœnix* and not of *Agenor*) was stolen by *Jupiter*, transformed into a bull, that is, in a ship named the bull; or bearing the figure of a bull in her stern, and carried into *Crete*. *Agenor*, being extremely grieved for the loss of his daughter, sent his son *Cadmus* with a great sum of money in quest of her: but he, not finding her, nor daring to return home without her, resolved to go and settle elsewhere. With this design having fitted out a small fleet, he put to sea, and landed in *Thrace*, where he had the good luck to discover a gold mine, in the mount *Pangæus*. Being enriched with that metal, and in a condition to pursue his design, he was advised by the oracle of *Delphos* to leave *Thrace*, and pass into *Bœotia*, which he did accordingly; and having driven out the *Hyantes*, who opposed him, and allowed the *Aones*, who voluntarily submitted to him, to live in the country mixed with his *Phœnicians*, he founded a new kingdom, and built a city; which in derivation from his own name, he called *Cadmea*. That city was afterwards embellished, and enlarged by *Amphion* and *Zethus*, the two sons of *Antiope* (for they invaded the throne, during the minority of *Laius*, the son of *Labdacus* *Cadmus*'s grand-son) and by them called *Thebes*, in honour of *Thebe* their aunt, by the mother's side [f] (A).

ISAEA

[b] Idem l. 3. [c] PAUSAN. in BOEOT. [d] Idem in ELIAC.
[e] PLUTARCH de Fluviis. [f] PAUSAN. in Bœot.

(A) We find such a disagreement among authors, in the accounts they give of *Agenor* and his descendants, that it is impossible to come at the truth of the matter; and therefore not worth our while to attempt the unravelling of so perplexed and intricate a subject. What most authors seem to agree upon, is; I. That *Agenor* was by birth an *Egyptian*; that from *Egypt*, he passed (on what occasion we know not) into *Phœnice*, where he settled and became the father of a numerous race. II. All the *Greek* writers agree him to have been the first king of *Phœnice*, and the founder of the cities of *Sidon* and *Tyre*.

But

Isaea and *Melia*, *Agenor*'s two daughters, married *Ægyptus* and *Danaus*, their cousin germans. *Cilix* is said, by *Apollodorus* [g], to have settled in *Cilicia*, and given his name to that

[g] Apollod. l. 3.

But in the succession of the kings, some of the *Latins* place *Belus* the elder before him; and most of the moderns, upon the authority of *Josephus* (1), make *Sidon* the eldest son of *Canaan*, founder of the city of *Sidon*, which was so called from him. And as to the city of *Tyre*, the same *Josephus* tells us, that it was founded 240 years before the building of *Solomon*'s temple: from whence it is plain, if we follow *Josephus* (whose authority, as to this particular, is far preferable to that of the *Greeks*) that these two cities were not built by one and the same person. *Tyre* was, without doubt, a colony of the *Sidonians*, it being called in scripture *the daughter of Sidon* (2). And *Justin* tells us, in express terms, that the city of *Tyre* was built before the taking of *Troy*, by the *Sidonians*, who being driven out of their own country, by the king of the *Ascalonians* were forced to seek new seats (3). III. It is agreed upon by most of the antients, that *Europa*, *Cadmus*, *Phœnix*, and *Cilix*, were the children of *Agenor*; and that with them a great many *Phœnicians* and *Syrians* went into *Asia Minor*, *Crete*, *Greece*, and *Libya*; and there introduced letters, music, poetry, and other arts, sciences, and customs of the *Phœnicians*. It is pretended that *Europa* being carried away by *Taurus* king of *Crete*, *Agenor* sent her brother in quest of her; who, on that occasion, as they were enjoined not to return without her, founded several *Phœnician* colonies in *Asia Minor*, *Greece* and *Libya*; which we shall have occasion to speak of hereafter. But Sir *Isaac Newton* is of opinion, that these *Phœnicians* went not to seek *Europa* but new seats, being driven out of *Sidon* by the *Edomites*, whom *David* had conquered and dispersed. For, according to his computation, the conquest of the land of *Edom* by *David*, the coming of *Cadmus* into *Greece*, and the founding of *Thebes* in *Bœotia*, and other *Phœnician* colonies in other parts, happened much about the same time. The *Edomites*, says he, not being able to withstand *David*, abandoned *Edom*, and fled, some into *Egypt* with their young king *Hadad*, others to the *Persian* gulph with their commander *Oannes*; and some from the *Red-sea* to the coast of the *Mediterranean*, where they fortified *Azoth* against *David*; and driving out the *Sidonians*, made themselves masters of their city, it being very convenient for the merchants, who fled from the *Red-sea*. The *Sidonians*, being thus expelled, went in great numbers under *Cadmus* and his brothers into *Cilicia*, *Asia Minor*, and *Greece*; while others fled under other leaders to seek new seats in *Libya*, where they built, as we are told by *Nonnus* (4), many walled towns. Their leader was also there called *Cadmus* (which imports, a man come from the east), and his wife *Sithonis* a *Sidonian*. Sir *Isaac* adds, that some of the *Sidonians*, who

(1) *Joseph. Antiq. l.* 2. *c.* 6. (2) *Isa. xxiii.* 12. (3) *Justin l.* 18. *c.* 3. (4) *Dionysiac. l.* 13. were

that country. He adds, that *Thasus* built the city of *Thasos* in *Thrace*, which is confirmed by *Pausanias*[h]. All we know of *Electra* is, that one of the gates of *Thebes* borrowed its name from her[l]. Of *Sipylus* we read in *Plutarch*[k], that mount *Sipylus* was so called from him. We shall have occasion to relate, more at length, what we read of *Cadmus* in the antient *Greek* writers, when we come to write the history of the *Theban* kings.

PHOENIX is supposed by the *Greeks* to have succeeded his father in the kingdom of *Phœnice*, or rather of *Sidon*; which city, as likewise that of *Tyre*, they pretend to have been built by *Agenor*, wherein they are followed, among the *Latins*, by *Q. Curtius*[l]. That country, according to them, borrowing its name from *Phœnix* was called *Phœnice*, and the inhabitants *Phœnicians*. *Eusebius* adds[m], that he was the first who found out the scarlet colour, which was therefore called at first *Phœnicius*, and afterwards, with a small alteration, *Puniceus color*. *Phœnix.*

THE next king of *Sidon* we meet with in history is PHALIS, who flourished in the time of the *Trojan* war. He *Phalis.*

[h] PAUSAN in Elia, de Fluviis. [l] Idem in Bœot. [l] Q. CURTIUS l. 4. [k] PLUTARCH. [m] Præpar. Evang.

were driven out by the *Edomites* flying from *David*, laid the first foundations of the cities of *Tyre* and *Arad*, and made *Abibalus*, their leader, king of *Tyre*. So that according to his computation, *Tyre* was built in the time of *David*, and about the 16th year of his reign (5). But this is plainly contradicted by *Josephus*, who tells us, that *Tyre* was built two hundred and forty years before the building of *Solomon*'s temple (6); which work *Solomon* undertook in the eleventh year of the reign of *Hiram*, son and successor to *Abibal* king of *Tyre*. It is therefore plain, both from *Josephus*, and the *Tyrian* annals, which he quotes, that *Abibal* was not the founder of *Tyre*, and that that city was built long before *David*'s time.

Neither was *Abibal* the first king of *Tyre*, though he is the first we find mentioned in history; as appears from the same *Josephus*, who, in speaking of *Menander*'s history, tells us, that *Menander*, after having given an account of the reigns of the other kings of *Phœnice*, comes at last to *Hiram*, who was assumed to the throne upon the death of his father *Abibal* (8). From which passage it is manifest (if we give credit to *Josephus* and *Menander*), that *Abibal* was preceded by several other kings, whose reigns and actions *Menander* had described.

(5) *Sir Isaac Newton Chronol. of ant. kingd. Amend.* (6) *Joseph. Antiq. l.* 8. *c.* 2. (7) *Idem ibid.* (8) *Joseph. contr. Apion. l.* 1.

proved

proved a faithful ally to the *Greeks*, and used his utmost endeavours, though in vain, to draw *Sarpedon*, king of *Lycia*, over to their side [n]. He is mentioned by *Homer* [o] and honoured with the title of *most illustrious*.

These are the kings of *Sidon* we find mentioned in the antient *Greek* writers; but as their accounts are no ways to be depended upon, being interwoven, and darkened with a thousand fables, we have thought fit to treat of them apart, lest we should seem to confound what is fabulous with what is truly historical.

SECT. V.

The Reigns of the Kings of Phoenice.

Phoenice, as we have said, was divided into several small kingdoms; for besides the kings of *Sidon*, and *Tyre* mentioned in scripture, we read in history of *Elbasus* king of *Berytus*, to whom *Sanchoniatho*, according to *Eusebius* [a], dedicated his history of *Erylus* king of *Byblus* [b], and of other *Phœnician* kings [c], whose dominions were confined within the narrow bounds of one city, and its territory. Of all the kings of *Phœnice*, those of *Sidon*, *Tyre*, and *Arad*, seem to have been the most powerful and wealthy, and make the best figure in history. But their successions, and the years of their respective reigns, are over-cast with such a mist, and interrupted with so many chasms, that it is no easy matter to give any tolerable account of them. However, we shall here produce what occurs in history relating thereto, and seems chiefly to be depended upon. We will begin with *Sidon*, the most antient city of *Phœnice*.

The KINGS of Sidon.

Sidon. Sidon, the eldest son of *Canaan*, was, according to *Josephus* [d], the founder, and very likely, the first king of this city, or at least, the father of the people. But as to his actions, or the years of his reign, we are left quite in the dark. Neither are we better acquainted with the kings who succeeded him; for though the *Sidonians* are mentioned in the histories of *Moses*, *Joshua*, and the *Judges*, yet we find not, in holy writ, express mention made of their kings, till

[n] Dictys. l. 1. [o] Odyss. 8. [a] Euseb. præparat. Evangel. l. 1. c. 6. [b] Arrian. l. 2. [c] Strabo l. 16. [d] Joseph. Antiq. l. 1. c 7.

the

the time of the prophet *Jeremiah*, who ſpeaks of ambaſſadors ſent, (on what occaſion we know not) by the king of *Sidon* to *Zedekiah*, king of *Judah* [e].

THE next king we find mentioned in hiſtory, is TETRAMNESTUS, who aſſiſted *Xerxes*, in his expedition againſt *Greece*, with three hundred gallies, and is counted by *Herodotus* [f] among the chief commanders of the *Perſian* navy. *Tetramneſtus.*

TENNES appears next: it is uncertain whom he ſucceeded. In his reign the *Sidonians*, and other *Phœnicians*, not being able to bear the haughty behaviour, and tyrannical proceedings of thoſe whom *Darius Ochus*, king of *Perſia*, had ſet over them, entered into a confederacy with *Nectanebes* king of *Egypt* [g], and roſe up in arms, with deſign to ſhake off the *Perſian* yoke, and recover their antient liberty. As the *Perſians* were then making vaſt preparations to reclaim *Egypt*, which they could not well approach, but by marching through *Phœnice*, this revolt happened very opportunely for *Nectanebes*. Therefore, to encourage the *Phœnicians* to ſtand out in it, he ſent a body of four thouſand *Greek* mercenaries, under the command of *Mentor* the *Rhodian*, to their aſſiſtance, hoping thereby to make *Phœnice* a kind of *Barrier* to *Egypt*, and carry on the war at a diſtance. On the other ſide, *Tennes* king of *Sidon* (which city then exceeeded all the others of *Phœnice* in wealth) having fitted out with great expedition a powerful fleet, and raiſed a conſiderable army in his own dominions, took the field; and, being ſtrengthened by the *Greek* auxiliaries, engaged, and routed the governors of *Syria* and *Cilicia*, whom *Ochus* had ſent to reduce him, and drove the *Perſians* quite out of *Phœnice*. The *Sidonians*, on their firſt taking up of arms, had laid waſte a delicious garden belonging to the kings of *Perſia*, cutting down all the trees wherein they took great delight; ſeized, and burnt all the forage which the *Perſian* governor had laid up for the ſubſiſtence of his cavalry; and what is ſtill worſe, puniſhed, with the utmoſt ſeverity ſuch of their *Perſian* oppreſſors as fell into their hands. *Ochus* was provoked to ſuch a degree at theſe proceedings of the *Sidonians*, eſpecially after news was brought him of his lieutenants being defeated, and the *Perſians* driven out of *Phœnice*; that now he breathed nothing but revenge, threatening total deſtruction not only to the *Sidonians* but to all the inhabitants of *Phœnice*. Being thus bent upon revenge, he drew together all the forces he could, and having muſtered them at *Babylon* marched from thence into *Phœnice*, at the head of an army of three hundred thouſand foot aud thirty *Tennes.*

[e] Jerem. c. xxvii. 3. [f] HERODOT. l. 7. [g] See before, p. 67.

thouſand

thouſand horſe. *Mentor*, who was then in *Sidon*, being terrified at the approach of ſo powerful an army, ſent privately a truſty ſervant of his own, called *Theſſalion* to the king of *Perſia*, offering not only to put him in poſſeſſion of *Sidon*, but likewiſe to aſſiſt him in the reducing of *Egypt*; where, as he was well acquainted with the country, he was capable of doing him good ſervice. *Ochus*, glad of this proffer, ſpared no promiſes to engage *Mentor* in his ſervice; who, having received ſuch aſſurances from the king of *Perſia* as he deſired, found means to draw *Tennes* king of *Sidon* into the ſame treaſon. In the mean time the *Sidonians*, not miſtruſting *Mentor*, and much leſs their own king, were preparing for a vigorous defence. The city was furniſhed with arms and proviſions of all ſorts to hold out a long ſiege, and the citizens had drawn a treble trench and a high wall round them. Beſides the mercenaries, the place was garriſoned with a brave body of tall, handſome, and ſtout *Sidonians*, all well exerciſed, and trained up in martial diſcipline; and the ſea-coaſt was guarded with a fleet of an hundred large gallies. But all was to no purpoſe; for *Tennes* no ſooner heard that the *Perſian* army was drawing near, but, feigning to go to the general aſſembly of the *Phœnicians*, he marched out with a body of five hundred men, and, taking along with him an hundred of the chief citizens to be created ſenators, as he pretended, went ſtrait to the enemy's camp, and delivered them up to *Ochus*, who received him as a friend, but cauſed all the citizens, as authors of the rebellion, to be immediately put to death. This ſeverity of *Ochus*, joined with the treachery of *Tennes*, ſtruck ſuch terror into the *Sidonians*, that five hundred more of the citizens, all men of rank, went out to throw themſelves at their enemy's feet, and implore his mercy with all the reſpect and ſubmiſſion imaginable. *Ochus*, on ſeeing them, aſked *Tennes*, whether it was in his power to put him in poſſeſſion of the city, for he was unwilling to take it upon treaty, being bent on the utter ruin of the *Sidonians*, in hopes, that ſuch an inſtance of ſeverity would make the other *Phœnicians* voluntarily ſubmit. *Tennes* aſſured him, he could deliver the city into his hands whenever he pleaſed: whereupon *Ochus* cauſed the five hundred citizens, though they were come out with olive branches in their hands, as badges of ſubmiſſion, to be ſhot with darts upon the ſpot. After this *Ochus* and *Tennes* marched at the head of the *Perſian* army towards the city, and were admitted, without the leaſt oppoſition, by *Mentor* and the *Greek* mercenaries, to whom *Tennes*, in leaving the city, had delivered up one of the gates for that end. The *Sidonians*, on the approach of *Ochus*'s army,

army, had deſignedly burnt all their ſhips, to prevent any one's withdrawing himſelf from the defence of his country: and therefore finding themſelves thus betrayed, and the enemy within the walls, without any means left them to make their eſcape either by ſea or land, they ſhut themſelves up with their wives and children in their houſes, and, ſetting fire to them conſumed themſelves, to the number of forty thouſand, and the moſt valuable things they had, in the flames. *Tennes* met with no better fate than his ſubjects; for *Ochus* ſeeing he could do him no further ſervice, and deteſting in his heart the treachery of the man, cauſed his throat to be cut, leſt he ſhould out-live the ruin which he himſelf had brought upon his country. As *Sidon* was at that time in a very flouriſhing condition, and the moſt wealthy city of *Phœnice*; a vaſt quantity of gold and ſilver was melted down by the flames, and found in the aſhes, which *Ochus* ſold for great ſums of money. The ruin and total deſtruction of *Sidon* terrified the other cities of *Phœnice* to ſuch a degree, that they all voluntarily ſubmitted to the conqueror, each of them making peace with the king upon the beſt terms they could. Neither was *Ochus* unwilling to compound with them, that he might be no longer retarded from putting in execution the deſign he had upon *Egypt*. And thus all *Phœnice* was again brought under the *Perſian* yoke [h], and the prophecies of *Iſaiah* [i], *Jeremiah* [k], *Ezekiel* [l], and *Zechariah* [m], touching the deſtruction of *Sidon*, fulfilled. Year of the Flood, 2648. Year before Chriſt 351.

AFTER *Tennes* reigned STRATO; for ſuch of the *Sidonians*, as by being abſent on traffic at ſea, or on other occaſions, had eſcaped the maſſacre, returning home after *Ochus* was gone back into *Perſia*, rebuilt the city; but ever afterwards bore an immortal averſion to the *Perſian* name. No wonder then if, a few years after, they ſo readily ſubmitted to *Alexander the Great*, and ſo greedily embraced that opportunity of ſhaking off the yoke they groaned under. For the *Sidonians* are counted among the firſt in thoſe parts, who ſent ambaſſadors to *Alexander*, as he marched through *Phœnice*, to make their ſubmiſſion to him. *Strato*, as it ſeems, did not approve of this reſolution, but could not prevent it, the citizens being obſtinately bent againſt the *Perſians*. For we are told, that *Alexander* deprived him of the crown, becauſe he ſubmitted at the inſtigation of the citizens, and not of his own accord [n]. *Theopompus*, as quoted by *Athæneus* [o], gives him *Strato*. Year of the Flood, 2667. Year before Chriſt 332.

[h] DIOD. SIC. l. 16. [i] Iſa. xxiii. [k] Jerem. xlvii. [l] Ezek. xxviii, and xxxii. [m] Zech. ix. [n] CURT. l. 4. & DIOD. SICUL. l. 17. [o] l. 12. c. 13.

the

the character of a moſt lewd and voluptuous prince, and tells us in particular, that in order to aſſemble the women, and have thereby an opportunity of chooſing the moſt beautiful for his own uſe, he inſtituted public ſports for them, conſiſting chiefly in dancing and ſinging, wherein ſuch as excelled the others were amply rewarded. *Ælian* [p] ſays, he died an unnatural death. Of one *Strato*, king of *Sidon*, S. *Jerom* [q] relates, that having adhered to the king of *Egypt* againſt the *Perſians*, and finding himſelf in danger of falling into the hands of an enemy, from whom he had no reaſon to expect any favour, he reſolved to prevent the impending calamity, by laying violent hands on himſelf; but fainting in the execution of his deſign, his wife, who was preſent, ſnatching, with a manly reſolution, the ſword out of his hand, freed him from that perplexity, by putting firſt him, and then herſelf, to death, without ſhewing the leaſt concern. But the circumſtances of this king's death, if true, plainly ſhew, that he was not the ſame perſon whom *Alexander the Great* ſtript of his dominions, on account of his attachment to the *Perſian* intereſt. This *Strato*, king of *Sidon*, is alſo mentioned by *Maximus Tyrius* [r].

Ballonymus.

Strato was ſucceeded by Ballonymus, of whoſe aſſumption to the throne we have the following account from *Diodorus* [s]. *Alexander*, having depoſed *Strato*, gave *Hephæſtion* power to beſtow the crown of *Sidon* upon which of his friends he pleaſed. Whereupon *Hephæſtion* named to the royal dignity one of the chief citizens, in whoſe houſe he then lodged, and was ſplendidly entertained; deſiring him to accept of it as a pledge of his friendſhip, and an acknowledgment of the many favours he had received in his houſe. The citizen, not at all dazled at the ſight of a crown, returned his generous gueſt a thouſand thanks, but at the ſame time earneſtly begged he would excuſe him from aſſuming a dignity, to which he had no title, as not being of the royal family. *Hephæſtion* was not a little ſurpriſed at this anſwer; but finding the *Sidonian* to be in earneſt, deſired he would name ſome one of the royal race to be inveſted with the dignity himſelf had refuſed. Upon this he named *Ballonymus*, a man of an unblemiſhed character, but ſo poor, that he was reduced to live in a very obſcure condition, and to maintain himſelf with his daily labour. However, his poverty and mean condition were no objection to *Hephæſtion*, who immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to him with the royal robes, and

[p] l. 7. c. 2. [q] Contra Jovian. l. 1. [r] Serm. 4.
[s] Ubi ſupr.

tidings

tidings of his elevation to the throne. The messenger found him all in rags, and working in a garden as a common labourer. He was actually employed in drawing water out of a well, when the messenger acquainted him with his assumption to the throne, and cloathed him with the royal robes. He accepted without more ado the new dignity, and proceeding, with the messenger, towards the city, was there received by *Hephæstion* with all the marks of distinction due to his character, and by him introduced into the *Forum*, where among the joyful shouts of the people who were extremely pleased with this election, he was proclaimed king of *Sidon* *. The same occurrence is related, with some small variations of circumstances, by *Plutarch* [t], *Curtius* [u], and *Justin* [x]. *Plutarch* makes this king *Alonymus*; *Curtius* calls him *Abdolominus*, and *Justin Abdolomius*. *Plutarch* makes him king of *Paphus*; and *Diodorus* both him and his predecessor kings of *Tyre*. But in this particular we have abandoned him to follow the current of most writers, who place both *Strato* and *Ballonymus* (as *Diodorus* calls him) among the kings of *Sidon*. All we know of his reign is, that to the last he proved faithful to the *Macedonians*, to whom he was indebted for his crown. And now that we have brought the kings of *Sidon* down to the conquest of *Phœnice* by the *Macedonians*, let us turn back to the kings of *Tyre*.

KINGS of TYRE.

WE are left quite in the dark as to the series of the kings who reigned at *Tyre* before *Abibal*, with whom *Josephus* and *Theophilus Antiochenus* begin the succession they have furnished us with from *Menander* the *Ephesian* and *Dius*, both authors, as *Josephus* calls them [y], of unquestionable credit. *Dius*, who was by birth a *Phœnician*, wrote the history of *Tyre* extracted from the public records, which were carefully preserved in that city. And *Menander* compiled the lives and actions of princes both *Greek* and *Barbarian*, as the same *Josephus* tells us [z], from the public archives of the places he treats of.

THE first king of *Tyre* mentioned by these historians, as quoted by *Josephus* and *Theophilus*, is ABIBAL, as *Josephus* calls him [a], or *Abeimal*, as he is named by *Theophilus* [b]. As *Abibal.*

* DIOD. SIC. ibid. [t] PLUTARCH. de fortuna Alexandri. [u] CURTIUS l. 4. [x] JUSTIN l. 11. [y] JOSEPH. contra APION. l. 1. [z] Idem ibid. [a] Idem ibid. [b] THEOPHIL. ANTIOCH. l. 3.

to his actions and years of his reign we are left quite in the dark. He was contemporary with *David*, and probably joined with the neighbouring nations againſt him, ſince *David* counts *the inhabitants of Tyre* among his enemies [c]. The *Tyrian* officers, who ſerved the *Philiſtines* againſt *Samuel*, as we are told by *Syracides* [d], might have been ſent by him. But theſe are, we own, bare conjectures, ſince neither *Joſephus*, nor *Theophilus*, make any mention of his friendſhip or enmity towards the *Jews*.

Hiram. Year of the Flood, 1987. Year before Chriſt 1012

ABIBAL was ſucceeded by his ſon HIRAM, whom *Theophilus* calls ſometimes *Hieromus*, and ſometimes *Hieromenus*, *Joſephus*, *Hiram* and *Irom*, *Tatian* and *Zonaras*, *Chiramus*. This prince maintained a ſtrict friendſhip with king *David*, to whom he ſent ambaſſadors, probably to congratulate him upon his victory over the *Jebuſites*, whom he had juſt then driven from the ſtrong hold of *Zion*, and to conclude an alliance with him. He preſented him with cedar-trees, and ſent ſkilful workmen to build him a palace in *Jeruſalem* [e]. And hence he is ſaid in ſcripture to have been ever a *lover of David* [f]; which ſhews, that he was not only a faithful ally, but a ſincere friend of *David*'s. Upon the death of *David* and the ſucceſſion of *Solomon* to the throne, the affection *Hiram* had ever maintained for the father, prompted him to ſend a gratulatory embaſſy to the ſon, upon the news of his acceſſion to the government, expreſſing great joy to ſee it continued in the family. Upon the return of theſe ambaſſadors, *Solomon* embraced the occaſion, and wrote a letter to *Hiram* in theſe terms.

King SOLOMON to King HIRAM, greeting.

Be it known to thee, O king, that my father David had it a long time in his mind to erect a temple to the Lord; but being perpetually in war, and under a neceſſity of clearing his hands of his enemies, and making them all his tributaries, before he could attend this great and holy work, he hath left it to me in time of peace, both to begin, and to finiſh it, according to the direction, as well as the prediction of Almighty God. Bleſſed be his great name for the preſent tranquillity of my dominions! and by his gracious aſſiſtance, I ſhall now dedicate the beſt improvements of this liberty and leiſure to his honour and worſhip. Wherefore I make it my requeſt, that you will let ſome of your people go along with ſome ſervants of mine to mount LIBANUS, *to aſſiſt them in cutting down materials towards this building;*

[c] Pſal. lxxxiii. 7. [d] Eccleſ. xlvi. [e] 2 Sam. v. 11. and 1 Chr. xiv. 1. [f] 1 Kings v. 1.

for

for the SIDONIANS *underſtand it much better than we do. As for the workmens reward, or wages, whatever you think reaſonable ſhall be punctually paid them.*

HIRAM was much pleaſed with *Solomon*'s letter, and returned him the following anſwer:

King HIRAM to King SOLOMON.

NOTHING *could have been more welcome to me, than to underſtand, that the government of your bleſſed father is devolved by God's providence into the hands of ſo excellent, ſo wiſe, and ſo virtuous a ſucceſſor; his holy name be praiſed for it! That which you write for, ſhall be done with all care and good will: for I will give order to cut down and export ſuch quantities of the faireſt Cedars and Cypreſs-trees, as you ſhall have occaſion for. My people ſhall bring them to the ſea-ſide for u, and from thence ſhip them away to what part you pleaſe, where they may lie ready for your own men to tranſport them to* Jeruſalem. *It would be a great obligation, after all this, to allow us ſuch a proviſion of corn in exchange, as may ſtand with your convenience; for that is the commodity we iſlanders want moſt* [g].

JOSEPHUS aſſures us, that the originals of theſe letters were extant in his time, both in the *Jewiſh* and *Tyrian* records (B) [h]. And they are entirely agreeable with what is delivered in ſcripture upon the ſame ſubject [i]. *Solomon* was highly pleaſed with *Hiram*'s anſwer, and, in return for his generous offers, ordered him a yearly preſent of twenty thouſand meaſures of wheat, and twenty meaſures of pure oil [k]. Beſides the cedar-wood, and other materials for the building of the temple, *Hiram* ſent to *Solomon* a man, who was very famous in *Tyre*, for working in gold, ſilver, and other metals, to aſſiſt and direct him in that great undertaking [l]. Nei-

[g] JOSEPH. l. 8. c. 2. [h] Idem ibid. [i] 1 Kings v. 2. & ſeq. [k] 1 Kings v. 11. [l] 2 Chron. ii. 13.

(B) But it is pretty odd, that *Euſebius* (1), who calls this king *Suron*, ſhould give us this letter with ſo much variation from *Joſephus* as he does. He therein ſpecifies, that he had ſent to *Solomon* eighty thouſand *Phœnicians* and *Tyrians* . . . That the architect he ſent him was a *Tyrian* by birth; but that by the mother's ſide he was deſcended of the tribe of *David*, and the like.

(1) *Præpar. Evang. l.* 9. *p.* 449

ther did *Hiram*'s friendſhip and kindneſs towards *Solomon* ſtop here; for he not only furniſhed him with the choiceſt wood from mount *Libanus*, and able architects and workmen, but moreover advanced him 120 talents of gold for the finiſhing of the fabric [m]. And *Solomon* was not behind-hand with him neither, in his acknowledgments and preſents; for, beſides the yearly ſupply of wheat and oil above-mentioned, he beſtowed upon him twenty cities in the land of *Galilee* [n], not far from *Tyre*; which *Hiram* upon a view of them (they not being much to his liking) fairly declined, with a reſpectful excuſe to *Solomon*, that he had no need of thoſe cities. From this refuſal, that part of the country was called *Cabul*, that is, *diſpleaſing* [o].

Hiram proved no leſs ſerviceable to *Solomon* in the building of his fleet, than in perfecting the grand work of the temple. For he no ſooner heard, that *Solomon* deſigned to build a fleet at *Eloth* and *Ezion-geber*, two ſeaport towns on the *Red-ſea*, in order to carry on a trade from thence to *Ophir*, but he generouſly furniſhed him with as many builders and ſhipwrights as he had occaſion for: and after having thus aſſiſted him in building, fitting, and rigging out of his navy, he ſent him expert pilots and ſkilful mariners, to conduct his fleets to the land of *Ophir*; the *Tyrians* being in thoſe days, and for many ages after, the moſt experienced of all men in ſea affairs [p].

Dius, as quoted by *Joſephus* [q], tells us, that the love of wiſdom was the chief inducement to that tenderneſs of friendſhip betwixt *Solomon* and *Hiram*; that they interchanged certain riddles to be unfolded, upon condition, that he who failed of the ſolution, ſhould incur a forfeiture; and that *Hiram*, finding the queſtion too hard for him, paid the penalty. But one *Abdemonus*, a *Tyrian*, reſolved the ſaid queſtion, and propoſed new ones to *Solomon*, upon the penalty of paying ſo much to *Hiram*, if he did not uncypher them.

The kingdom of *Tyre* was in a very flouriſhing condition under this prince. He repaired and improved divers cities in the eaſtern parts of his dominions; enlarged *Tyre*, and, by the help of a dam, joined it to the temple of the *Olympian Jupiter* ſtanding in an iſland. In this temple he dedicated a golden pillar to *Jupiter*. He built two temples, one to *Her-*

[m] 1 Kings ix. 14. [n] 1 Kings ix. 11. & Joseph. ubi ſupr,
[o] 1 Kings ix. 13. & Joseph. ubi ſupr. [p] 1 Kings ix. 27. and
2 Chron. viii. 18. & Joseph. ubi ſupr. [q] Joseph. ubi ſupr.
& l. 1. contra Apion.

cules,

cules, another to *Aſtarte*, and beautified them with rich donatives. To *Hercules* he alſo erected a ſtatue, and is ſaid to have repaired the temples of other gods, and to have enriched them with offerings to a very great value[r]. *Hiram*, it ſeems, was rather a religious, than a warlike prince; for the only military expedition we read of, during his reign, is that which he undertook againſt the *Lyceans*, who refuſed to pay him a certain tribute that was due to him, but were reduced in a very ſhort time.

IT is related by *Tatian*, from *Theodotus*, *Hyſicrates*, and *Mochus*, three *Phœnician* hiſtorians, that king *Hiram* gave his daughter in marriage to *Solomon*: he adds, that by her *Solomon* was induced to worſhip *Aſhtaroth*, the goddeſs of the *Sidonians*[s]. *Hiram* lived 53 years, and reigned 34[t].

HE was ſucceeded by his ſon BALEAZAR, BALEASTARTUS, or BAZOR, as *Theophilus* calls him, who reigned ſeven years according to *Joſephus*, and ſeventeen according to *Theophilus*, and died in the forty third year of his age[u]. *Baleazar.*

ABDASTARTUS, the ſon of *Baleazar*, ſucceeded his father, and died according to *Joſephus*, in the twentieth year of his life, and the ninth of his reign. *Theophilus* ſays, he died at the age of fifty four, after having reigned twelve years. This prince was murdered by his nurſe's four ſons, and the eldeſt of them uſurped the kingdom, and governed twelve years. *Abdaſtartus.*

ASTARTUS, the brother of *Abdaſtartus*, recovered the throne to his family, lived ſixty ſix years, and reigned twelve. *Aſtartus.*

AFTER him, came his brother ASTARIMUS, who lived, if we believe *Joſephus*, fifty four years, and reigned twelve. *Theophilus* calls him *Atharymus*, and ſays, that he lived fifty eight years. He was murdered by his brother *Phelles*, who took the government upon him in the fiftieth year of his age. *Aſtarimus.*

PHELLES, or, as *Theophilus* calls him, HELLES, did not long enjoy the throne he had wreſted to himſelf, by ſo baſe and wicked an act, being murdered in the eighth month of his reign by *Phelles.*

ITHOBAL, whom *Theophilus* names *Juthobal*, ſon to *Aſtarimus*, and chief prieſt of the goddeſs *Aſtarte*; which dignity was next to that of the king. *Ithobal* lived to the age of ſixty eight years, and ruled thirty two, ſays *Joſephus*: but if we credit *Theophilus*, he lived but forty years, and reigned but twelve. He is called in ſcripture *Eth-baal*, and ſtiled king of the *Sidonians*[x]. *Joſephus* gives him the title of king of *Ithobal.*

[r] MENAND. EPHES. & DIUS apud JOSEPH. ubi ſupr. [s] TATIAN. orat. contra Græcos. [t] THEOPH. ANTIOCH. l. 3. [u] JOSEPH. l. 1. contra APION. JOSEPH. & THEOPH. ubi ſupr. [x] 1 Kings xvi. 31.

Tyre and *Sidon* [y]. Whence it is plain, that, in *Eth-baal*'s time, *Sidon* was ſubject to *Tyre*. When that ſubjection began is uncertain, for even in king *Hiram*'s time, the *Tyrians* were, in all probability, maſters of *Sidon*; ſince *Solomon*, in the beginning of his reign, applied himſelf to *Hiram* for workmen of *Sidon*, who were famous for their ſkill in hewing of timber [z]. *Ithobal* built *Botrys* in *Phœnice*, and *Auzates* in *Africa* [a]. *Jezebel*, king *Ahab*'s wife (whom we ſhall have occaſion to mention hereafter), was daughter to this prince. *Menander*, as quoted by *Joſephus*, tells us, that *in the time of* Eth-baal *king of* Tyre, *there was an extreme drought for want of rain, that laſted from the month* Hyperberetæus, *till the ſame month next year. There were prayers indeed*, ſays he, *put up for the averting of the judgment, which were followed with mighty claps of thunder* [b]. This was undoubtedly the drought under *Ahab*, for it was in his reign that *Eth-baal* was king of *Tyre*.

Badezor. After him his ſon Badezor (who is called by *Theophilus* Bazor) reigned, according to *Joſephus*, ſix years, and lived forty five. *Theophilus* ſays he reigned ſeven.

Mettinus. His ſon Mettinus ſucceded him, and reigned nine years ſays *Joſephus*, twenty nine ſays *Theophilus*. He died in the thirty ſecond year of his age, leaving behind him two ſons, *Pygmalion* and *Barca*, and as many daughters, *Eliſa* and *Anna*.

Pygmalion. Pygmalion aſcended the throne on the death of his father *Mettinus*, being at that time, as we are told by *Juſtin* [c], very young; that is, ſixteen, according to the computation of *Joſephus*, who ſuppoſes him to have lived fifty ſix years, and reigned forty [d]. It was in the ſeventh year of his reign that his ſiſter *Eliſa*, called alſo *Dido*, flying from *Tyre*, built *Carthage* in *Afric*. The occaſion of her flight is commonly related thus. *Pygmalion* coveting the immenſe riches of his uncle *Sichæus*, who was a prieſt of *Hercules*, and had married his ſiſter *Eliſa*, determined by ſome means or other to make them his own. But as that could not be effected ſo long as *Sichæus* was alive, he invited him one day to hunt with him, and while thoſe who attended him were engaged in the purſuit of a wild boar, ran him through with his ſpear; and then throwing him down a precipice, gave out, that the

[y] Joseph. Antiq. l. 8. c. 7. & l. 9. c. 6. [z] 1 Kings v. 6.
[a] Menand. Epheſ. apud Joseph. Antiq. l. 8. c. 7. [b] Idem ubi ſupr. [c] Justin. l. 18. [d] Joseph. contra Ap. l. 1.

fall

fall had been the occaſion of his death. *Juſtin* and *Virgil* ſay, that *Pygmalion* barbarouſly murdered his uncle at the altar [e]. But however that be, he reaped no fruit from his wicked attempt, being diſappointed, when he leaſt expected it, by the prudent and artful conduct of his ſiſter *Eliſa*; who, as ſhe was a woman of great ſagacity and penetration, well knew what had prompted him to the murder of her huſband; but at the ſame time, concealing her thoughts with an artful diſſimulation, ſhewed the ſame kindneſs and eſteem for him, as though ſhe had not entertained the leaſt ſuſpicion of him. In the mean while, having formed a deſign of leaving *Tyre*, and ſaving both herſelf and the treaſures of her deceaſed huſband, from the cruel avarice of *Pygmalion*; under pretence of retiring to *Charta*, or *Chartaca*, a ſmall city between *Sidon* and *Tyre*, as if to live there with her brother *Barca*, ſhe deſired the king to furniſh her with men and ſhips to convey thither her effects. The covetous prince looked upon this as a fair opportunity of ſeizing at laſt what he had for ſo long a time ſo earneſtly deſired, though always in vain; becauſe *Sichæus*, who was thoroughly acquainted with his nephew's avaritious temper, had taken care to conceal his riches under ground. With this view *Pygmalion* willingly granted *Eliſa* her demands; which he ſoon repented; for as ſhe was aſſiſted by her brother *Barca* and ſeveral ſenators, who were privy to her true deſign, and engaged to follow her at all adventures; her treaſures were put on ſhip-board, and the fleet out of ſight, before *Pygmalion* was appriſed of her reſolution. We are told, that, ſeeing himſelf thus deluded by a woman, and the vaſt riches, which he deemed already ſecured in his own coffers, ſnatched, by ſuch a cunning device, out of his hands, he ordered a fleet to be fitted out with all poſſible expedition, in order to purſue the fugitives; but was prevented by the tears of his mother, and the threats of an oracle. The firſt place our adventurers put into was the iſle of *Cyprus*, from whence they carried off a great number of young women, a commodity they wanted moſt of all, ſince their deſign was to plant a new colony. From *Cyprus* they ſteered their courſe for the coaſts of *Afric*, where they put an end to their voyage; and, being kindly entertained by the inhabitants of *Utica*, a *Tyrian* colony, laid the foundations of *Carthage*; a city, which, in after-ages, became ſo powerful both by ſea and land, as to contend with

[e] JUSTIN l. 11. VIRG. 1 Æneid.

Rome for the empire of the world [f]. From *Barca* ſprang the illuſtrious family of the *Barcæ* in *Afric*, which produced many celebrated heroes, and among others the great *Hannibal*. But of the *Carthaginian* affairs hereafter: Let us now return to *Phœnice*. *Pygmalion* is ſaid by *Stephanus* to have built the city of *Carpaſia* in the iſland of *Cyprus*. He ſent to the temple of *Hercules*, ſtanding in the iſland of *Gades*, a rich donative, being the figure of an olive-tree of maſſive gold, and of moſt exquiſite and curious workmanſhip; its berries, which were of emerald, bearing a wonderous reſemblance with the natural fruit of that tree [g].

Elulæus. The next king of *Tyre* we find mentioned in hiſtory, is Elulæus, who reigned in the time of *Shalmaneſer* king of *Aſſyria*. This prince, ſeeing the *Philiſtines* brought low by the war, which *Hezekiah* had made upon them, laid hold of the opportunity of reducing *Gath*, which had ſome time before revolted from the *Tyrians*. Whereupon the *Gittites*, applying themſelves to *Shalmaneſer*, engaged him in their cauſe; ſo that he marched at the head of a powerful army into *Phœnice*; but upon the concluſion of a peace between him and *Elulæus*, he withdrew his troops, and retired. Not long after *Sidon*, *Arce*, *Palæ-Tyrus*, and ſeveral other maritime towns of *Phœnice*, revolting from the *Tyrians* proclaimed *Shalmaneſer* their king. Upon this, a new war being kindled between the *Tyrians* and *Aſſyrians*, *Shalmaneſer*, who could not abide to ſee, that the *Tyrians* were the only people in *Phœnice* that diſputed his power and authority, reſolved to uſe his utmoſt endeavours towards the reducing of their city: and therefore, beſides his land forces, he ordered a fleet of ſixty ſail to be fitted out againſt them. But the fleet was encountered and diſperſed by the *Tyrians* with only twelve veſſels, and five hundred of the rowers were taken priſoners. This victory gained the *Tyrians* ſuch a reputation for naval affairs, that *Shalmaneſer*, dreading to engage them a ſecond time at ſea, turned the war into a ſiege, and leaving the army to block up the city, returned into *Aſſyria*. The forces he left behind him reduced the place to great ſtraits, by ſtopping the aqueducts, placing guards by the ſprings, and cutting off all the conveyances of water. However, by digging of wells within the city they found ſome

Year of the Flood, 2282. Year before Chriſt 717.

[f] Justin. l. 18. Eustath. in Dionys. Velleius, vol. 2. Orosius l. 4. c. 2. Appianus de Bell. Pun. Liv. decad. 4. l. 4. Servius in 4. Æneid. Virg. Joseph. ubi ſupra, &c. [g] Philostrat. in vita Apollonii. l. 5. c. 1.

relief

relief in their distress, which enabled them to hold out for the space of five years; at the end of which, *Shalmaneser* dying, the siege was raised [h]. *Elulæus* reigned thirty years.

ITHOBAL II. reigned in the time of *Nebuchadnezzar* king of *Babylon*, who laid siege to the city of *Tyre*, which kept that mighty monarch, *that king of kings*, as the prophet *Ezekiel* stiles him [i], employed for thirteen years together [k]: such was the power of the *Tyrians*, at that time. We have the description of the siege in *Ezekiel* [l], who mentions a fort raised against the place, a mount cast up, and engines of war erected to batter down its walls. At last *Nebuchadnezzar*, after a siege of thirteen years continuance, made himself master of the city; but as most part of the citizens had retired with all their effects elsewhere before he entered the city, he had nothing but an empty town for his pains, as is plain from the scripture, where it is said: *Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon caused his army to serve a great service against Tyrus .... yet had he no wages, nor his army, for Tyrus.* Therefore finding himself thus disappointed, he vented his rage upon the buildings, and the few inhabitants who were left, razing the town to the ground, and putting all he found in it to the sword. To this deplorable condition was *Tyre* reduced by the *Babylonians*, and the severe prophecies, foretelling the overthrow of that city, plainly fulfilled [m]. *Ithobal*, in whose reign happened the destruction of *Tyre*, was, according to the character the prophet gives him [n], a most proud, arrogant, and assuming prince: pretended to know all secrets, to be as wise as *Daniel*, and even went so far as to rank himself among the gods; which brought that heavy judgment upon him, *because thou hast set thine heart as the heart of* GOD; *behold therefore, I will bring strangers upon thee——they shall bring thee down to the pit, and thou shalt die the death of them that are slain in the midst of the seas* [o]. From whence we may conclude, that in this war he was slain by the *Assyrians*.

Ithobal II. Year of the Flood, 2414. Year before Christ 585.

Year of the Flood, 2427. Year before Christ, 572.

As it is plain from scripture, that *Nebuchadnezzar* utterly destroyed the city of *Tyre*, which he found empty; and as, on the other hand, we are told by the *Phœnician* historians, that *Ithobal* was succeeded in the kingdom of *Tyre* by *Baal*, and *Baal* by several temporary magistrates; it is very pro-

[h] JOSEPH. Antiquit. l. 9 c. 14. [i] Ezek. xxvi. 7. [k] PHILOSTRATUS apud JOSEPH. Antiquit. l. 10. c. 11. [l] Ezek. xxvi. 8. & seq. [m] Jerem. xxv. 22. xxvii. 3. xlvii. 4. Ezek. xxvi. 3. Amos i. 9. 10. Joel. iii. 4. [n] Ezek. xxviii. 3, 4. [o] Idem ibid. ver. 6, 7, 8.

bable,

bable, that the inhabitants of *Tyre* retreated with their effects, before *Nebuchadnezzar* got poſſeſſion of the city, to an iſland about half a mile diſtant from the ſhore, where they built themſelves a new city; which, after the deſtruction of the old town, ſubmitted to *Nebuchadnezzar*, who thereupon

Baal. appointed *Baal* to be king under himſelf; but upon *Baal*'s death, in order to make the government more dependent on the *Aſſyrians*, changed the royal dignity into that of temporary magiſtrates, called *Suffetes* (C), or *Judges*; a name well known among the *Carthaginians*, who were originally *Tyrians*, and whoſe chief magiſtrates were called *Suffetes* [p].

Tyre governed by Judges. Baal reigned ten years, and upon his death the following judges had the government of the city, *viz.* Ecnibal, the ſon of *Basbech*, two months; Chelbes, the ſon of *Abdæus*, ten months; the high-prieſt Abbar, three months; Mytgonus, or Myttonus, and Gerastus, the ſons of *Abdelimus*, ſix years. After *Tyre* had been thus governed for ſome years by judges, the royal dignity was reſtored,

Balator king. and Balator created king; but both he and his ſucceſſors were entirely dependent of, and tributaries to, the *Aſſyrians*, for the ſpace of ſeventy years; which being expired, they recovered, according to the prophecy of *Iſaiah* [q], their antient liberty and former privileges, of which in its proper place. *Balator* reigned but one year.

Merbal. Upon his death the *Tyrians* invited Merbal from *Babylon*, who reigned four years.

Irom. Merbal was ſucceeded by his brother Irom, who reigned twenty years. In the fourteenth year of *Irom*'s reign, *Cyrus*, according to the *Phœnician* annals, made himſelf maſter of the *Perſian* empire [r].

After *Merbal* reigned Mapen, the ſon of *Siron*. He ſerved in *Xerxes*'s navy againſt the *Greeks*; and, with the other commanders, adviſed him to engage the *Grecian* fleet at *Salamis* [s]. The *Tyrians*, as well as the other *Phœnicians*, were, at this time, as may be gathered from *Herodotus* [t], tributaries to the *Perſians*, though under a king of their own;

[p] Liv. l. 18. 30, & 34. Joseph. l. 1. contra Apion. [q] Iſai. xxiii. 15, 17. [r] Joſeph. l. 1. contra Apion. [s] Herod. l. 8. [t] Idem l. 3.

" (C) *Suffetes* . . . . had its derivation from the *Hebrew* word *Sophetim*, i. e. Judges, which was the very name, whereby the " chief governors of *Iſrael* were called for ſeveral generations, before they had kings (1).

(1) Prideaux's *connect. vol. i. p.* 92.

being

being greatly favoured by the *Perſian* monarchs, in conſideration of the ſervices they rendered them in their naval expeditions.

ABOUT this time reigned STRATO, whoſe acceſſion to the throne is related by *Juſtin* thus. The ſlaves who were then very numerous at *Tyre*, having formed a conſpiracy againſt their maſters, murdered them all in one night (except *Strato*, whom his ſlave ſecretly ſaved), and, taking poſſeſſion of the city, married their miſtreſſes, and put all the others to the ſword, who were not of their own race. Having thus not only recovered their liberty, but made themſelves abſolute lords of the ſtate, they reſolve to create a king out of their own body, and unanimouſly agree, that he ſhould be raiſed to that dignity, as being the moſt acceptable to the gods, who the next morning ſhould firſt ſee the riſing ſun. In purſuance of this reſolution and agreement, they appointed to meet about midnight in an open field, lying on the eaſt ſide of the city, and there, with one accord, beſtow the crown upon the perſon to whom the ſun ſhould ſhew himſelf firſt. In the mean time *Strato*'s ſlave having imparted the whole matter to his maſter, whom he kept carefully concealed, was by him inſtructed to turn himſelf, not to the eaſt, as the others would probably do, but to the weſt; and there keep his eyes fixed on the top of the higheſt tower of the city. The ſlave obeyed his maſter's directions, and was therefore looked upon by the whole multitude as no better than a mad-man; it ſeeming to them very ſtrange, that a man ſhould look for the riſing ſun in the weſt. But they were ſoon made ſenſible of their error; for while the others ſtood gazing towards the eaſt, in expectation of ſeeing the ſun appear, *Strato*'s ſlave ſhewed them the high edifices of the city already illuminated with his rays: whereupon he was highly applauded by his companions, and eagerly preſſed to name the perſon to whom he was indebted for ſuch a wiſe thought; which they could not aſcribe to him, or any other ſlave. He refuſed at firſt to gratify their curioſity; but at laſt, upon promiſe of impunity for himſelf and the perſon he ſhould name, he owned that out of compaſſion and gratitude toward his maſter, who had always treated him with great humanity and kindneſs, he had ſaved both him and his ſon in the common maſſacre, and acted in the affair, they were ſo inquiſitive about, according to his directions. The multitude hearing this, not only pardoned the ſlave, but looked upon the maſter as one preſerved *Strato.*

[a] JUSTIN. l. 18 c. 2.

by

by a particular providence of the gods, immediately proclaimed him their king. This is all we know of *Strato*.

Upon his death, his son was placed on the throne; and the kingdom of *Tyre* was enjoyed by his descendants [x], among whom, the only one we find mentioned in history is Azelmic, in whose reign happened the memorable siege and reduction of that city by *Alexander* the great [y]. We may judge of its flourishing condition at that time, from the stand it made against that victorious prince, since it stopped the course of his whole army full seven months. As the conqueror approached the territories of *Tyre*, the *Tyrians* sent out ambassadors to meet him (amongst whom was the king's own son), with presents for himself, and provisions for his army: but when he desired to enter the city under pretence of offering sacrifice to *Hercules*, they refused him admittance; which provoked *Alexander*, now flushed with so many victories, to such a degree, that he resolved to storm the city, and enter it by force. On the other hand, the *Tyrians* not at all terrified by *Alexander*'s threats, determined to stand it out to the last. What encouraged them to this resolution was the strength of the place, and the confidence they had in the *Carthaginians* their allies. The city then stood on an island, half a mile distant from the shore; was surrounded with a strong wall an hundred and fifty foot high, and was stored with great plenty of provisions, and all sorts of warlike machines: besides the *Carthaginians*, who were a powerful state, and then masters of the seas, had promised to send them succours during the war. What animated the *Tyrians* to stand a siege gave *Alexander* no small uneasiness, in the undertaking and carrying it on. For he could no otherwise make his approaches to it, than by carrying a mole or causey from the continent to the island, on which the city stood. This grand work he undertook, and as he was resolved at any rate to reduce the city, he accomplished it at last, maugre the innumerable, and almost insurmountable difficulties he met with in so bold an attempt. He was assisted in raising the mole (which was two hundred feet in breadth) by the inhabitants of the neighbouring cities, who were all called in on this occasion; and supplied with stones from the ruins of old *Tyre*, and with timber from mount *Libanus*. The *Tyrians* at first looked upon this undertaking as a rash and desperate attempt, which could never be attended with any success: and therefore from their ships, laughing at the king, asked him, whether he believed himself to be greater than *Neptune*? But seeing the mole, contrary to their expectation, be-

Azelmic.

Year of the Flood, 2667. Year before Christ 332.

[x] Idem. Ibid. [y] Arrianus l. 2.

ginning

ginning to appear above water, they reſolved for fear of the worſt, to ſend their wives and children and ſuch as were not fit for ſervice, to *Carthage*; but were prevented by the arrival of *Alexander*'s fleet from *Cyprus*. Neither could the *Carthaginians* aſſiſt them with the promiſed ſuccours, being detained at home by domeſtic troubles. However, the *Tyrians* fainted not in the reſolution of ſtanding to their defence; firſt from their ſhips, and afterwards, as the mole was brought nearer the city from the walls, with ſhowers of arrows, darts, ſtones, *&c.* wherewith they made a moſt dreadful havock of the *Macedonians*, who were employed in the work, and expoſed without any defence. But what moſt of all diſheartened the *Macedonians*, was a violent ſtorm, which ariſing all on a ſudden, carried away, in great part, the cauſey, after it had been, with unwearied labour and great loſs of men, brought near the walls of the city. This unlucky accident perplexed *Alexander* to ſuch a degree, that he began to repent he had undertaken the ſiege, and would have ſent ambaſſadors to the *Tyrians* with terms of peace, had he believed they would have hearkened to them. But as they had thrown headlong into the ſea the ambaſſadors, who before the ſiege had, in his name, ſummoned them to ſurrender; he was afraid, thoſe, he ſhould ſend now, might meet with ſuch like, or more ſevere treatment. Being therefore diverted, by this apprehenſion, from all thoughts of making up matters by way of treaty, and fully appriſed that his reputation, and the future progreſs of his arms, entirely depended on the ſucceſs of the preſent undertaking, he re-aſſumed, with ſeeming chearfulneſs, the work; repaired, with incredible expedition, the breach which the ſea had made in the mole; and having brought it again almoſt home to the city, began to batter it with all ſorts of warlike engines: while the archers and ſlingers haraſſed, without interruption, thoſe who defended it, in order to drive them from their poſts. But the *Tyrians* ſtood their ground, and by means of a new contrivance of wheels with many ſpokes, which, being whirled about with an engine, either ſhattered in pieces the enemy's darts and arrows, or broke their force, covered themſelves againſt the aggreſſors, and killed great numbers of them, without ſuffering any conſiderable loſs on their own ſide. But, in the mean time, the wall began to yield to the violence of the rams, that battered it night and day without interruption. Whereupon the beſieged, ſetting all hands to work, raiſed in a very ſhort time, a new wall, ten cubits broad, and five cubits diſtant from the former; and by filling up the empty ſpace between the two walls with earth and ſtones, kept the *Macedonians* a long while employed, ere

they

they could make, with all their engines, the leaſt impreſſion on this new piece of fortification. However, *Alexander*, having joined many of his ſhips together, and mounted upon them a vaſt number of battering engines, beſides thoſe he had already placed on the mole, ſucceeded at laſt in the attempt, and made a breach an hundred feet wide. But when he came to the aſſault, in hopes of breaking into the city over the ruins, the *Macedonians*, though encouraged with the preſence of their king, were forced to give ground, and retire with great loſs to their ſhips. *Alexander* deſigned to renew the attack next morning; but the breach having been repaired by the *Tyrians* during the night, he perceived himſelf no farther advanced than when he firſt began to batter the walls. Hereupon the *Macedonian* reſolved to change his meaſures, and, having firſt of all brought the mole home to the wall, cauſed ſeveral towers to be built equal in height to the battlements. Theſe towers he filled with the moſt brave and reſolute men of his army; who purſuant to his directions, having formed a bridge, with large planks, reſting with one end on the towers, and with the other on the top of the ramparts, endeavoured, ſword in hand, to gain the wall, but could not prevail, being oppoſed by the *Tyrians* with unparalleled bravery, and weapons, which the *Macedonians* were altogether unacquainted with. Theſe were three-forked hooks, faſtened with a cord (one end whereof they held themſelves), which, being thrown at a little diſtance, ſtuck in the enemies targets, and gave the *Tyrians* an opportunity, either of plucking their targets out of their hands, and by that means expoſing them, without defence, to ſhowers of darts and arrows: or, if they were unwilling to part with their ſhields, of pulling them headlong out of the towers: ſome, by throwing a kind of fiſhing nets upon the *Macedonians* that were engaged on the bridges, entangled their hands; ſo that they could neither defend themſelves, or offend the enemy. Others, with long poles armed with iron hooks, drew them off of the bridges, and daſhed their brains out againſt the wall, or on the cauſey. In the mean time, a great many engines placed on the walls, played inceſſantly upon the aggreſſors, with maſſy pieces of red-hot iron, which ſwept away entire ranks at once. But what moſt of all diſheartened the *Macedonians* in the attack, and forced them at laſt to give it over, was the ſcorching ſand, which the *Tyrians*, by a new contrivance, ſhowered upon them. For this ſand (which was thrown in red-hot ſhields of iron, or braſs, getting within their breaſt-plates and coats of mail, tormented them to ſuch a degree, that many, finding no other relief, threw themſelves headlong into the ſea; and others,

dying in the anguish of inexpressible torments, struck, with their desperate cries, a terror into all those who heard them. This occasioned unspeakable confusion among the aggressors; which gave new courage to the *Tyrians*, who now leaving the walls, charged the enemy hand to hand, on his own bridges, with such resolution, that *Alexander*, seeing his men give ground, thought fit to sound the retreat, and by that means save, in some degree, the reputation of his *Macedonians*. Such desperate attacks were frequently renewed by the aggressors, and always sustained with the same unbroken and undaunted courage by the besieged. And now *Alexander* began to entertain some thoughts of abandoning the enterprise, and continuing his march into *Egypt*: but again, considering the dangerous consequences that must unavoidably attend such a resolution, he determined to go on with the siege at all adventures; though of all his captains none was found, but *Amyntas*, who approved of that determination. Having therefore exhorted the disheartened *Macedonians* to stand by him, and infused into them all the courage he could, he surrounded the city with his fleet, and began to batter it on all sides. In the mean time, a fancy taking the *Tyrians*, upon a dream some of them had, that *Apollo* designed to forsake them, and go over to *Alexander*, they fastened his statue with golden chains to the altar of *Hercules* (D). This statue, or colossus (for it was of an extraordinary size), belonged formerly to the city of *Gela* in *Sicily*, and was sent from thence by the *Carthaginians*, when they took *Gela*, to *Tyre* their mother city [z]. In this *Apollo* the *Tyrians* greatly confided; and therefore, upon the rumour that he was to abandon them, had recourse even to chains, in order to prevent his departure. But, their utter ruin being already decreed by the true GOD, and foretold by his Prophets [a], the confidence they placed in their idols could not avert the impending judgment. They were destined to destruction; and destruction was their fate: for *Alexander*, having at last battered down the walls, and taken

[z] DIOD. SIC. l. 13. [a] Isa. xxiii. Ezek. xxvi, xxvii, xxviii.

(D) We have already (2) seen, that there were only altars erected to *Hercules*, and that the *Egyptian*, in his temple at *Gades*; but we read (3) that *Hiram* erected a statue to *Hercules* at *Tyre*; whence we may infer, that he was either worshipped with other rites at *Tyre*, than in the temple at *Gades*, or that the antient form of worship was corrupted. This we promised (4) to take notice of.

(2) *See before in the notes, p.* 312, (Q). (3) *See before, p.* 340. (4) *See before, p.* 316.

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the town by ſtorm after ſeven months ſiege, fully executed the ſentence, which the *Tyrians* had, by their pride and other vices, drawn down upon themſelves and their country. The city was burnt down to the ground, and the inhabitants (excepting thoſe whom the *Sidonians* ſecretly conveyed away in their ſhips) were either deſtroyed or enſlaved by the conqueror, who, upon his firſt entering the city, put eight thouſand to the ſword, cauſed two thouſand of thoſe he took priſoners to be crucified, and ſold the reſt, to the number of thirty thouſand, ſays *Arrian*, for ſlaves. His cruelty towards the two thouſand that were crucified was highly unbecoming a generous conqueror. *Alexander* treated them thus for no other reaſon, than becauſe they had fought with ſuch bravery and reſolution in defence of their country. But, to palliate the true cauſe of ſo baſe an action, gave out, that he did it to revenge upon the preſent *Tyrians* the crime which their forefathers committed, when they murdered their maſters, as we have related above; and that, being ſlaves by origin, crucifixion was the puniſhment due to them. To make this look the more plauſible, he ſaved all the deſcendants of *Strato*, as not being involved in that guilt, and among them king *Azelmic*, who in the beginning of the ſiege was out with his fleet upon a naval expedition, in conjunction with *Autophradates*, the *Perſian* admiral; but had haſtened home as ſoon as he was acquainted with the danger of his country. After the city was taken, he took ſanctuary in the temple of *Hercules*; and was not only ſpared by the conqueror, but reſtored to the throne after *Alexander* had re-peopled the place. For, having thus cleared it of its former inhabitants, he planted it a-new, with colonies drawn from the neighbouring places, and thenceforth ſtiled himſelf the founder of *Tyre*, a city which he had moſt ungenerouſly deſtroyed. Upon taking the city, he unchained *Apollo*, returning him thanks for his intention of coming over to the *Macedonians*; offered ſacrifice to *Hercules*, and, after performing many other ſuperſtitious follies, continued his march into *Egypt* [b].

Year of the Flood, 2667. Year before Chriſt 332.

How Marion came to rule over *Tyre*, will be more regularly told hereafter.

The KINGS *of* ARAD.

Arad, or Aradus had its kings as well as *Sidon*, *Tyre*, and, perhaps, moſt other cities of *Phœnice*. We find mention of but three of its kings that we are ſure of.

[b] Diod. Sic. l. 17. Plutarch, in Alexandro. Q. Curtius l. 4. Arrian. l. 2. Justin. l. 11. Joseph. Antiquit. l. 11. c. 8.

A Map of Syria and Phœnice

M. Taurus

THE PLAIN CILICIA

M. Amanus

Germa

37

Sinus Issicus

Alexandria

PART OF THE

Pieria

Bera

SELEUCIS

MEDITER

R. Orontes

Seleucia

Antioch

36

Laodicea

Orontes R

Caliotis

Apamea

RANEAN

I. Aradus

35

SEA

COAST of PHŒNICE

Tripolis

Theoprosopon

Botrys

34

R. Adonis

Byblus

Palæ Byblus

Aphaca

Canobine

Balbek

M. Libanus

CŒLESYRIA

Dumas

Berytus

33

Sidon

Tyre

M.

PART OF

P. ALESTINE

M. Carmel

D. Pomarede Sculp.

ICE, *according to this* Hiſtory.

ARBAL, the father of *Narbal*[d], who accompanied *Xerxes* in his great expedition.

NARBAL, the ſon of *Arbal*, who ſerved under *Xerxes*[e], as we have ſaid.

MANY years after this, reigned one *Geroſtratus*, who, whether he deſcended from the two former kings or no, we have not to ſay. He ſerved *Darius* againſt *Alexander*, joining the *Perſian* fleet, as other *Phœnician* and *Cypriot* princes did, till hearing, his ſon *Strato* had put a crown of gold upon the head of *Alexander*, and given up to him the iſland city of *Aradus*, the city of *Marathus* on the main land over-againſt it, as alſo the city of *Mariammia*, or *Mariama*, and whatever elſe belonged to the *Aradian* dominion; he thought it moſt for his intereſt to approve, ſeemingly at leaſt, of what his ſon had done, and to make his ſubmiſſion to *Alexander*[f].

[d] HERODOT. l. 7. c. 98. [e] Idem. ibid. [f] ARRIAN. de Exped. ALEX. Magn. l. 2.

CHAP. VII.

The Hiſtory of the Jews *to the* Babyloniſh *Captivity.*

SECT. I.

The Jewiſh *Hiſtory, from* Abraham *to* Moſes.

The Deſign of the Book of Geneſis.

IT was the *Jewiſh* Lawgiver's main ſcope to prepoſſeſs the *Iſraelites* with a firm perſuaſion of the certainty of GOD's promiſes made to their anceſtor, (which he obſerved they were not over forward to credit) that their poſterity ſhould in due time inherit the land of *Canaan*, and to prevent their natural impatience and deſpondency, during their forty years wandering in the wilderneſs, or even after their entrance into the promiſed land, which they were not to conquer but by ſlow degrees. To this end he is very particular in reminding them how GOD had promiſed it, even with an oath, to *Abraham* and his ſeed, above four hundred years before they were to be put in actual poſſeſſion of it. He doth not ſtop here, but goes on, and ſets before them the manifold trials and difficulties, through which the divine providence had led them from *Chaldæa* into *Egypt*, during that long interval. That they could not but be ſenſible how wonderfully they were encreaſed, even in the midſt of their ſlavery and oppreſſion; ſo that they were now more than ſufficient to atchieve the promiſed conqueſt. That if therefore his promiſes were not ſo ſpeedily fulfilled, as their ſanguine temper might expect, they ſhould patiently wait his time, and not provoke him by their ungrateful miſtruſt, after ſo many wonders wrought in their favour, to put off the accompliſhment of them, till a more hopeful generation ſprang up[a]. But now, ſince it was his pleaſure to call them to the glorious work, they ſhould act like men fully aſſured of his aſſiſtance and protection. This was doubtleſs the reaſon, why *Moſes* gave them a fuller hiſtory of *Abraham* and his poſterity, than he had done of his progenitors. In con-

[a] Exod. xvii. 2, 7. Num. xiv. 22. Hebr. iii. 16. & ſeq.

formity

formity to which method, we ſhall begin ours with *Abraham*, the father and founder of the *Jewiſh* nation (A).

ABRAHAM was the ſon of *Terah*, and the tenth in a lineal deſcent from *Shem*, the ſon of *Noah*, to whom the right of *primo-geniture* belonged. [b] He was born in *Ur* of the *Chaldees* [c], and was about ſeventy four years of age when his father and he came from thence into *Haran* [d], where they had not been ſeated long, before *Terah* died in the two hundred and fifth year of his age (B). His funeral wes ſcarce over, when Year of the Flood, 1077. Year before Chriſt, 1922.

[b] Gen. ix. 25 & ſeq. vid. Vol. 1. ch. 2 § 1 & 2. and p. 257 &ſeq. [c] Gen. xi. 31. [d] Vid. Vol. I. 291, (Y), 294. [e] Gen. xii. 1 & ſeq.

(A) We have ventured to call them by that name in compliance with cuſtom, though it was not given them till after the *Babyloniſh* captivity, when the tribe of *Judah* became the moſt conſiderable, if not almoſt the whole of what was left of *Iſrael*. The firſt name, that was given to *Abraham* and his children, was that of *Hebrews*, which ſome derive from *Heber*, the fifth in deſcent from *Noah* (1). But it is hardly probable, that *Abraham* would call himſelf by his name, rather than by that of any of his ten predeceſſors. We rather think, as has been hinted before, that it was given him by the *Canaanites*, becauſe he came thither from the other ſide of the *Euphrates*; the word עבר, *Heber*, ſignifying, in the original, the other ſide, whether of a river, ſea, or any other thing: in which ſenſe ſome people are called *tranſmarine*, *tranſalpine*, and the like. What ſeems to confirm this etymology is, that we don't find, that he was called by that name, till word was brought him of his nephew *Lot*'s misfortune (2); ſo that it is likely the meſſenger, enquiring for *Abraham*, of the inhabitants, might deſcribe him by the word עברי, *Hibri*, or one that came from the other ſide of the river. However, after *Jacob* had received the great name of *Iſrael*, they preferred that of *Iſraelites* to that of *Hebrews*, though the neighbouring nations did ſtill call them by the latter (3).

(B) There ſeems to be an inſurmountable difficulty in this account of *Terah*'s age: for if he was but ſeventy when he begot *Abraham*, and died in *Haran*, in the two hundred and fifth year of his age; and *Abraham* left *Haran* in the ſeventy fifth of his, it will follow, either that *Terah* muſt have lived ſixty years in *Haran*, whereas it doth not appear by the text, that he lived there above one or two; or that *Abraham* muſt have lived ſixty years longer than the text expreſly ſays he did. We ſhall not trouble the reader with the ways which ſome antient fathers and *Jewiſh* rabbies have taken to ſolve this difficulty. Some moderns think with *Villet* and *Tremellius*, that though *Terah* was but ſeventy years old when he began to have children, yet he was near an hundred and thirty when he be-

(1) *Gen. x.* 24. D. Kimki. (2) *Gen. xiv.* 13. (3) *Vid. Vol. I.* 291.

Abraham's *Call.*

when *Abraham*, who in all likelihood deſigned to ſettle there, was commanded by GOD to depart thence into a land which he ſhould ſhew to him, and aſſured him, that he would bleſs, protect, and multiply him in an extraordinary manner; and that in his ſeed, all the nations of the earth ſhould be bleſſed[e]: He readily obeyed, being doubtleſs well acquainted with the call, and, taking *Sarah* his wife, and *Lot* his brother's ſon, with all his ſervants and cattle, went into the land of *Canaan*, and pitched his tents near the city of *Sichem*[f] (C), then inhabited

[e] Gen. xii. 1 & ſeq. [f] Ibid. See before, p. 75 & ſeq.

got *Abraham*, and that thoſe that were born before him are purpoſedly omitted by *Moſes*, that *Abraham* might have the honour of the *primo-geniture* for the excellency of his faith (4). Others with *Calmet* chooſe rather to give him *Adar*, or *Azar*, for his father, and *Terah* for his grandfather, according to the *Arabian* hiſtory of that patriarch; and, to fill up the chaſm, ſuppoſe that *Adar* begot *Abraham* in the ſixtieth year of his age (5); but beſides the ſmall reliance we can have on that hiſtory, the thing ſeems quite oppoſite to the text. Others therefore more reaſonably ſuppoſe with *Norton Knatchbull* (6), that there is an error crept into the original; and that *Terah* was either a hundred and thirty years old when he begot *Abraham*, or that if he was then but ſeventy years old, he died in the hundred and fifty fifth, and not in the two hundred and fifth year of his age: for the text ſays, that *Abraham* was ſeventy five years old when he left *Haran*, and that his father died but a little while before it.

It may not be improper to take notice here, that though *Haran*, the land ſo called, and *Haran*, the ſon of *Terah*, be ſpelt with the ſame letters in ours, and other verſions, from which ſome have concluded, that the latter gave his name to the country; yet in the original they are differently writ; *viz.* the former with a ח *Cheth*, equivalent to the *Greek* χ, and might be more properly ſpelt *Charan*; whereas *Terah*'s ſon's name begins only with a ה *He*, which anſwers to our H.

(C) If we may credit *Nicolas* of *Damaſcus*, *Abraham* came with an army from *Chaldæa*, ſtopt, and reigned ſome time in the country of *Damaſcus*, before he went to *Sichem* (7), and his name was ſtill famous there. *Joſephus* ſeems to have quoted his very words, which are to this effect; *Abraham*, though a ſtranger, reigned in *Damaſcus*, whither he came with a great number of followers from a country beyond *Babylon*, called *Chaldæa*. But the people after

(4) *Idem loc.* Villet. *ch. ii. quæſt.* 19. (5) Calm. *hiſt. vi.* Herbelot. *Biblioth. orient. p.* 12, 13. (6) *Vid. Eſſay on a new verſ.* (7) Ap. Joſeph. *l.* 1. *c.* 8. Euſeb. *præp. l.* 9 *c.* 16.

ſome

habited by the *Canaanites*, where he built an altar to the LORD. Here GOD was pleaſed to appear again unto him, to confirm all his former promiſes, and to aſſure him, that he would one day give that land to his poſterity. Soon after this, *Abraham* fearing, perhaps, an inundation in that low country, betook himſelf to a mountain, which had *Bethel* (D) on the weſt, and the town of *Hai* on the eaſt; where he reared a new altar to the LORD; but a great famine, which happened ſoon after in thoſe parts, forced him to remove into *Egypt*, which was then the only place where he might hope to find proviſion for his numerous family, and great multitude of cattle. However, the fear he was in upon the account of *Sarah* his wife, who, though ſhe was paſt the ſixty fifth year of her age, retained beauty enough to endanger the man's life who ſhould paſs for her husband, made him reſolve, after ſome heſitation, that ſhe ſhould paſs for his ſiſter, and not for his wife, in every place they came to. He propoſed it to her, and having gained her conſent, he committed her honour and chaſtity to the care of that providence which had hitherto protected him, and ſet out upon the journey. From this deſcent into *Egypt* the generality of chronologers compute the ſpace of four hundred and thirty years, mentioned by St. *Paul* [h] agreeably to what *Moſes* ſays in another place [i], that *Iſrael* dwelt in *Egypt* four hundred and thirty years; that is, as the ſeventy interpret it, that from the firſt coming of *Abraham* thither to the *Exodus*, ſhould be four hundred and thirty years (E). We ſhall have occaſion

Goes into Ægypt.

Year of the Flood, 1080.

Year before Chriſt 1919.

[g] USHER's Ann. p. 5. VILLET. & al.
[h] Galat. iii. 17.
[i] Exod. xii. 40.

ſome time conſpired againſt him; whereupon he and his followers removed ſouthward into *Canaan*, ſince called *Judæa*; where he fixed his abode, and became the father of a numerous offspring. Thus far *Damaſcene*; to which *Joſephus* adds, that *Abraham*'s name was ſtill to that day in great veneration in that country, and that there was ſtill a village which bore the name of *Abraham*'s habitation. However, it is plain, that the ſcripture ſays nothing of this imaginary reign.

(D) *Bethel* is here called ſo proleptically, for it did not receive that name till ſome time after, as will be ſeen in the ſequel.

(E) This account is contradicted by a learned *Romiſh* Chronologer (8), who pretends, that from *Abraham*'s going into *Egypt* to the *Exodus*, there elapſed ſix hundred years, and that the four hundred and thirty years mentioned by St. *Paul* (9), have no relation to theſe epochs. We beg leave to ſhew his error, by comparing the

(8) Genebr. *chronol.* 1. *loc.*
(9) *Galat. iii.* 17.

occasion to resume this point in its proper place. *Abraham* had not been long in *Egypt* before *Sarah* charmed the *Egyptians*, and in the end captivated *Pharaoh* himself, who, upon the fame of her beauty, sent for her, and became so smitten with it, that for her sake he shewed extraordinary favours to her pretended brother. In a short time *Abraham* saw himself possessed of vast numbers of sheep, oxen, camels, asses, men and maid-servants, besides gold, silver, and other precious things; which *Pharaoh* heaped upon him, though all too mean to recompence him for the loss of his wife: at length GOD was pleased to interpose on his behalf and to deliver *Sarah* from the imminent danger she was in. *Pharaoh* and his house were infested with such plagues, as plainly convinced them on whose account they suffered. The king then sent for *Abraham*, and, having sharply rebuked him, for deceiving him in a matter of such consequence, delivered up his wife to him as free from any stain of disloyalty as he had received her, and without staying for an answer, went out, and gave orders, that they might safely depart his dominions with all the wealth they had.

Return to Bethel.

PERHAPS it may not be unacceptable to observe here, that *Pharaoh* was not the name of this particular king, but an

number of years from the one to the other. 1*st*, Then, that from *Abraham*'s arrival into *Canaan*, to *Jacob*'s descent into *Egypt*, are but two hundred and fifteen years, is thus proved. From the time of the promise made to him in *Haran*, to the birth of *Isaac*, are about twenty five years; thence to the birth of *Jacob* are sixty more; and he was an hundred and thirty years old when he stood before *Pharaoh*; all which make but two hundred and fifteen years. 2*dly*, That the *Israelites* sojourned but two hundred and fifteen more in *Egypt*, is not only generally agreed on, but shall be farther proved in its due place. Again, that by the promise mentioned by St. *Paul*, as made to *Abraham* and his seed, is not meant that which GOD made to him when he was going to offer up *Isaac*, is plain, because there are twenty five years between the first promise and the birth of *Isaac*; and if we suppose him to have been twenty five years old, as *Josephus* thinks (10), there will be fifty years wanting of the four hundred and thirty; and if he was thirty three, as some, or thirty seven, as others, have supposed (11), the difference will still be greater, and lengthen the space of their abode in *Egypt*, to fill up that of six hundred years; the contrary of which we have promised to prove hereafter.

(10) *Antiq. l.* 1. *c.* 14. (11) Bereſh. *Rab.* 1. *loc. Rab. Sal. & al.*

appellation

appellation common to all the kings of *Egypt* (F). They had alſo other particular names, as *So*, *Necho*, *Shiſhak*, &c. but under which of the kings of *Egypt* this event happened is impoſſible to determine, not only becauſe his particular name is not mentioned by *Moſes*, but likewiſe by reaſon of the great confuſion we have obſerved in their chronology, and ſucceſſion of their kings [k]; however, A. B. *Uſher* ventures to call him *Apophis* [l].

ABRAHAM made no ſtay in *Egypt* after this; the famine being ceaſed in the place which he had left, he returned thither by the ſame way, and on the altar, he had built before, offered a ſacrifice of thanks for his happy eſcape and ſafe return [m]. In the mean time the herds of *Lot*, as well as his own, being grown too numerous for the land they lived in, ſuch contentions aroſe between their ſhepherds, that *Abraham* reſolved in a friendly manner to ſeparate from *Lot*, and having given him his choice of the whole country that lay before him, *Lot* choſe the fertile plains of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, which he ſaw watered by the river of *Jordan*, and parted from his uncle [n]. *Abraham* was no ſooner ſeparated from him, but GOD, who ſeems to have been the ſole conductor of this ſcene, that the promiſed bleſſings might fall on him alone, bid him caſt his eye round the horizon, and promiſed to give

Separates from Lot.

[k] Vid. Vol. I. p. 491 & ſeq. [l] Annal. p. 5. [m] Gen. xii. paſſ. & xiii. iv. [n] Ibid. v. 7, 8, & ſeq. Vid. ſupr. pag. 76, 170.

(F) It will not be needful, we hope, here to remind the reader of what has been ſaid before, concerning the name of *Pharaoh* (12) ſeeing all the etymologies of it are ſo very uncertain. The moſt probable ones are theſe that follow. *Bochart* thinks the word *Pharaoh* ſignifies properly a *Crocodile* (13); and that *Ezekiel* alludes to it in theſe words, —— *Behold I am againſt thee Pharaoh, king of Egypt, the great dragon that lieth in the midſt of the river* (14). — Another critic fancies, that the *Arabic* word *Pharaoh, to be raiſed on high*, or *be ſuperior to*, is the true root of the name (15). *Kircher* doth indeed derive the word from the ſame root, but will have it to ſignify, *to deliver*, or *be free*; and that *Pharaoh* ſignifies one who is free from, or above, the laws (16). Laſtly and to name no more, the learned *Renaudot* thinks that *Pharaoh* is the ſame as the *Egyptian Paurro*, or *Pooro*, which ſignifies a king (17).

(12) *p.* 72. (13) Hieroz. *p.* 2. *l.* 5. *c.* 17. (14) *Ezek. xxix.* 3. (15) Le Clerc. *in Gen. xii.* (16) Kircher *Oedyp. Egypt. l. c.* 76. (17) Renaudot. *Diſſert. dei ling. Coptica, p.* 127. Ap. Calm. *ſub. voc.* Pharaoh.

all that land he beheld to him and his poſterity. *Abraham* ſoon after left *Bethel*, and went to dwell in the land of *Mamre* (G), which is in *Hebron*, and there built an altar unto GOD,

(G) It is ſurprizing that ſo many verſions, ſuch as the *Chaldee*, *Vulgate*, *Geneva*, *Munſter*, *Caſtalio*, and others, ſhould render the word אלון *Elon* a plain, ſince it always ſignifies an oak. The *Syriac*, *Arabic*, and St. *Jerom*'s among the old, beſides ſome of the modern ones, render it by that word; and our *Engliſh* doth the ſame in ſome other places (18). And were it to have any other ſignification, that of valley would ſuit it much better than that of plain, becauſe *Sichem* is ſaid to be ſituate in the valley of *Aulon* or *Elon* (19). As for the name of *Mamre*, which in the original ſignifies illuſtrious or conſpicuous, it ſeems to have been given to the oak, not from any place near it, but rather by reaſon of its largeneſs, or the eminence of the place on which it ſtood; or more probably, perhaps, becauſe it became famous on ſo many accounts; ſuch as *Abraham*'s dwelling under it, *Jacob*'s burying his wife, nurſe, and ſtrange gods under it. The reader may obſerve the ſame fault committed in theſe verſions, with reſpect to the oak of *Mamre*, mentioned *Gen.* xviii. 1. where the word *Elon* is tranſlated a plain inſtead of an oak. *Sozomen* tells us, that this oak in *Conſtantine*'s time, was famous for pilgrimages and annual feaſts: That it was but ſix miles diſtant from *Hebron*; and that ſome of the cottages, which *Abraham* built, were ſtill ſtanding near it; as likewiſe a well of his digging, where *Jews*, *Chriſtians*, and *Heathens* reſorted, either out of devotion, or to trade. *Bronchard* doth further aſſure us, that he had ſeen it, and that he had brought away ſome of the fruit and wood. He obſerves, that its leaves are ſomewhat larger than thoſe of the maſtick tree, but its fruit is like an acorn (20).

As for *Hebron*, it is plain. that it was a very antient city. Some authors (21), after *Joſephus*, think, that it was built ninety years after the flood, and that it claimed the precedency even of *Memphis*. Some antient rabbies make it ſtill older, pretending, that *Ham* built it as ſoon as he was ſettled in that country (22): however, it is certain, that it was ſeven years older than *Zoan* in *Egypt* (23), which is not *Memphis*, but *Tanais*, the antient ſeat of the kings of *Egypt* (24). *Hebron* was afterwards called *Arbah* (25), or *Kirjath-arbah*, which ſignifies four cities, or rather the city of *Four*. The antient *Jews* will have it to be ſo called, becauſe *Adam*, *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, were buried there, with *Eve*, *Sarah*, *Rebekah*, and

(18) *Gen.* xxxv. 4. *Joſhua* xxiv. 26. *& alib.* (19) *Vid. Euſeb. Jerom. Onomaſt in* Αυλών. (20) *Eſſay on a New Tranſlat.* (21) *Villet. ch.* 13. *queſt.* 15. (22) *R. Sal. & al Num.* xiii. 23 (23) *Chald. Paraphr. LXX. & al.* (24) *Gen.* xxiii. 2. *Joſh.* xiv 15. (25) *Ibid.*

Leah

GOD, and ſoon after contracted a friendſhip with three of the greateſt men of that place, *viz.* *Mamre*, *Aner*, and *Eſhcol*; the firſt of whom communicated his name to all the country. This alliance proved very ſerviceable to *Abraham* in proceſs of time, and was the cauſe of his living peaceably near ten years among them: but a misfortune, which befel *Lot* about this time, who was taken captive by *Chedorlaomer* and his allies o *, forced him to muſter up all his forces and his courage to reſcue him out of their hands. This diſaſter no ſooner reached *Abraham*'s ears, than he communicated the news of it to his three friends, *Mamre*, *Aner*, and *Eſhcol*. He readily obtained their aſſiſtance, and joining three hundred of his men to it, they marched in purſuit of the conquerors, and came upon them at *Dan*, in the night, routed, and purſued them as far as *Hobah*, on the left of *Damaſcus*, and happily reſcued *Lot* with all his family, ſervants, and cattle, and brought him back to his old habitation. The king of *Sodom*, who was probably the ſon of him who had periſhed in the ſlime-pits (H), hearing of *Abraham*'s ſucceſs, came out to congratulate him upon it, and would have offered him all the booty which he had retaken, the men and women excepted, but the patriarch nobly refuſed to accept of even the leaſt ſhare of it. Here *Melchizedec* met and bleſſed him, and he preſented that high-prieſt with the tythes of all the ſpoil P †.

Lot *taken priſoner, and reſcued by* Abraham.

AFTER this *Abraham* removed to *Mamre*, or *Hebron*, where GOD was pleaſed to appear to him a fifth time in a

Removes to Hebron.

o Ibid. c. xiv. paſſ. * Vid. ſup, ibid. P Ib. v, 18.
† Sup. ib.

Leah; but it ſeems more probable, that it had its name from the great *Arbah*, the father of the *Anakims* (26) As to the city of *Hebron*, or rather *Chebron*, חברון, it is not likely, that it took its name from *Hebron*, the grandſon of *Caleb*, as ſome authors imagine (27), but rather from the verb חור *Chavar*, to *couple* or *join*; becauſe thoſe married couples, *Abraham* and *Sarah*, *Iſaac* and *Rebekah*, and *Jacob* and *Leah*, are buried here (28).

(H) As the text tells us, that the kings of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* fell into ſome of the ſlime-pits, with which the valley of *Siddim* abounds (29), and takes no notice of their coming out of them; we think it more probable that they periſhed there, than that *Abraham* ſtayed to take them out, as the *Jews* vainly imagined (30), contrary to the ſenſe of the text (31).

(26) *Joſh. xiv.* 15. (27) *Jerom. Muſcul. Ap. Villet. ubi ſupr. Orig. Ap. eund. & al.* (28) *Gen xlix.* 31.
(29) *Gen. xiv.* 10. (30) *Bereſh. Rab. Rambam & al.*
(31) *Gen. ubi ſupr.*

viſion,

vision, to give him fresh assurances of his special favour, adding, that he would be his exceeding great reward. *Abraham*, who had hitherto hearkened to God's promises without any expression of distrust, ventured now for the first time to expostulate with him, not knowing how they could possibly be fulfilled, whilst himself continued childless, and, to all apearance, must leave all his substance to *Eliezer* of *Damascus*, overseer of his household. This was indeed a modest way to try whether God designed to bless him with a child, and God did not leave him long in suspence, but assured him, that not *Eliezer*, but a son of his own should be his heir; then, commanding him to lift up his eyes to heaven, promised to make his posterity more numerous than the stars thereof. *Abraham* was now eighty five years old, and *Sarah*, turned of seventy four, was thought barren. All these had been sufficient to stagger a faith less firm than his; but the scripture says that he believed in God, and that it was imputed unto him for righteousness[r]; God was pleased moreover to repeat his former promises, that he would infallibly give that land to his posterity, assuring him, that it was for that very end that he had brought him thither out of *Chaldæa*. Here *Abraham* could not forbear desiring of God to give him some certain token, whereby he might be assured, that his seed should possess that land, and God was pleased to comply with his request. He bid him to take a heifer of three years, a goat of three years, and a ram of three years (I), with a pigeon, and a turtle-dove, and offer them up. *Abraham* immediately took them, killed the four-footed beasts, clove them in the midst, and joined the pieces one to the other, laid the birds on the top of them, whilst himself stayed to drive away the fowls from the sacrifice. As soon as the sun began to set, a deep sleep fell upon him, followed by a

[r] Gen. xv. 1.—6.

(I) The word, which we translate three years old, in the original is משלשת *Meshuleshеth*, which doth rather signify triplicated, or thrice told, being the *Pahul* in the conjugation *Pihel*, as the grammarians speak. Accordingly *Onkelos* (32) translates it three heifers, three goats, and three rams; wherein he is followed by other *Jewish* commentators. One of them tells us (33), that *Abraham* was then representing the three future sacrifices; namely, burnt-offerings, sacrifice for sin, and peace-offering, but doth not allow, that there were three of each kind.

(32) *Vid. Mercer. Villet. Rab. Sal. & al. in loc.* (33) *Mos. Gerund. ap. Munst. in Gen. xix. sub. not.* d

horror

horror of great darkneſs; during which, it was revealed to him from GOD, that his poſterity ſhould ſojourn, and be afflicted in a ſtrange land four hundred years [r] (K): at the expiration of which, GOD would puniſh their oppreſſors, and bring his children out of the land which he had promiſed him, whilſt himſelf ſhould be gathered to his fathers in a good old age. After this, *Abraham* ſaw a ſmoaking furnace, and a burning lamp paſs between the victims, which in all probability conſumed them. Thus was this new and glorious covenant ratified between GOD and *Abraham*, who, highly pleaſed with all theſe promiſes, went to impart his joy to his beloved wife [t].

SARAH

[r] Ibid. v. 6. Rom. iv. 3. & alib. [t] Ibid. v. 9 ad fin.

(K) Expoſitors have given into various opinions, in order to make out theſe four hundred years: *Genebrard*, mentioned in a former note †, has affirmed that the *Iſraelites* dwelt in *Egypt* the full number of four hundred years (34), whoſe error may be eaſily confuted by the lives of *Kohath*, the ſon of *Levi*, who went down with *Jacob* (35), and died in *Egypt* in the hundred and thirty third year of his age (36): of his ſon *Amram*, the father of *Moſes*, who lived one hundred and thirty ſeven years (37); and of *Moſes*, who was eighty years old when he brought *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*; all which ſeveral numbers make but three hundred and fifty years, out of which we muſt ſubſtract thoſe which *Kohath* had attained when he went down into *Egypt*, and likewiſe the time the fathers lived with their children. This has made ſome reduce the number to leſs than two hundred and ten years (38), and others to two hundred; whereas we ſhall endeavour to prove, that they remained there two hundred and fifteen years. St. *Paul* reckons from the firſt promiſe made to *Abraham* to the promulgation of the law in the firſt year after the *Exodus*, four hundred and thirty years (39): Of which two hundred and fifteen were already expired, when *Iſrael* came into *Egypt*, as we have already proved ‡. The laſt remaining two hundred and fifteen may be thus reckoned; *Kohath* came down with *Jacob*, and, according to *Euſebius*, begot *Amram* in his ſeventieth year, and *Amram* begot *Moſes* much about the ſame age; to which if we add the eighty years of *Moſes*'s age when he let them out, the whole will make two hundred and twenty, from which may be ſubſtracted five years, the ſuppoſed age of *Kohath*, when *Jacob* left *Canaan*, and the remainder will be the

† *Vid. ſup. pag.* 357. *ſub not.* E. (34) *Id. ibid.* (35) *Gen. xlvi.* 11. (36) *Exod. vi.* 18. (37) *Ibid. v.* 20. (38) *Chryſoſt. homil. l.* 1. *Nic. de Lyr. in loc.* (39) *Galat. iii.* 17. ‡ *Vid. ſup.* 357. *not.* E.

time

SARAH, not dreaming that she was to be the happy mother of the promised child, and having moreover all the convincing proofs that a woman can have, of her being past all possibility of having any of her own, resolved to be at least a mother by proxy, according to the custom of that age and country. To this end she persuaded her husband to take her hand-maid *Hagar* to him, that if he had a child by her, she might bring it forth upon her knees, which was all the happiness she could expect from the promise. *Abraham* did

time of their abode in *Egypt*, namely two hundred and fifteen years (40),

Hence it is plain, that the four hundred years of *Abraham*'s seed sojourning in a strange land, must be reckoned, not from their coming into *Egypt*, but from the birth of *Isaac*. For all the time of their sojourning in the land of *Canaan*, *Gerar*, or any other, was still in a strange land, in which they had not a foot of ground, if we except the cave of *Machpelah* As to what is added, that they shall likewise serve, and be ill treated, it is commonly understood to be spoken circumstantially, and might be put in a parenthesis, thus, they shall sojourn and be strangers (and likewise serve and be oppressed) during the space of four hundred years, as St. *Austin* and others have fully proved (41). Accordingly we find *Isaac* oppressed in *Gerar*, his wells filled up by its inhabitants, and himself forced still farther from them *; and *Jacob* served, and was oppressed by *Laban* near twenty years, yet neither of them laboured under a continual oppression. The *Egyptian* servitude did not commence till after *Joseph* and all his brethren were dead (42), before that the *Israelites* lived in peace and plenty. Allowing therefore, that *Levi* was forty four years of age at his first coming into *Egypt*, which is the most that can be supposed, he must have lived ninety three years in *Egypt*, because the text tells us, that he died in the hundred and thirty seventh year of his age (43). And these ninety three years being substracted from two hundred and fifteen, the time of their abode there, there will remain but an hundred and twenty two years of thraldom, even supposing it to have began immediately after his death. The natural sense therefore of this prophecy to *Abraham* can be only this, that his seed, from *Isaac* on should be strangers in a land that was not theirs, during the space of four hundred years, during some part of which they should be oppressed, afflicted, and at length brought under bondage; which term being expired, they should find a happy deliverance.

(40) *Vid. Merc. Villet. Munst. & al.* (41) *Aug. quæst. in Exod vi.* 47. *Merc. Jun. Munst. Villet. c.* 159. 15. *Le Clerc. in l. & al.* * *Vid. sup. pag.* 207. (42) *Vid. the authors in reference* (41) *before.* (43) *Exod. i.* 6. *vi* 16.

easily

eaſily acquieſce, and *Hagar* no ſooner found herſelf pregnant, than ſhe became haughty and inſolent towards her miſtreſs. *Sarah*, impatient to ſee herſelf inſulted by a ſlave, whom her kindneſs had raiſed to that height of happineſs, could not forbear breaking out into bitter complaints againſt them both; and *Abraham* willing to ſhew his reſentment againſt her maid, and to convince his wife that he loved her as much as ever, left it to her, to do herſelf juſtice in what way ſhe ſhould think fit; which ſhe accordingly did, but with ſuch ſeverity, that *Hagar*, not able to bear it, ſtole away from her, and went, and ſat down by a fountain on the road to *Shur*, leading to *Egypt*. Here the angel of the LORD met her, and perſuaded her to return, and ſubmit herſelf to her miſtreſs; aſſuring her that ſhe would be ſoon delivered of a ſon, whom ſhe ſhould call *Iſhmael*(L); that his poſterity would multiply exceedingly, and that both he and they ſhould prove fierce and warlike, that their hand ſhould be againſt every man, and every man's againſt them (M); and that they ſhould dwell in the face of all their brethren [u]. *Hagar* hearing this comfortable news, was ſoon perſuaded to take the angel's advice, and in memory of this ſurpriſing viſion, ſhe called the well *Beer-lahai-roi*, which ſignifies, *the well of him that lives and ſees me* (N). This well was between *Kadeſh* and *Bezed* [w]. Soon after her return ſhe brought forth the promiſed ſon, and called him *Iſhmael*, according to the angel's word. *Abraham* was now eighty ſix years of age, and did not expect another ſon, but brought this up as the heir of all his ſubſtance, and of all GOD's promiſes. *Hagar* indeed could eaſily have undeceived him, but thought it more prudent to conceal what the angel had revealed to her; and it was not till almoſt thirteen years after that GOD plainly promiſed him a ſon by *Sarah* his wife.

Hagar *is forced to fly from her miſtreſs*

Is perſuaded by an angel to return and ſubmit.

[u] Gen. xvi. 12. [w] Ibid. ver. 14.

(L) *Iſhmael* is compounded of the words ישמע and אל *jiſhmagh*, and *El*, *the* LORD *hath*, or *will hear*. The reaſon of which name is immediately ſubjoined by the angel, namely, becauſe the LORD had heard her complaint.

(M) This prediction has been exactly verified in the ſeveral tribes of the *Arabs*, *Iſhmael*'s deſcendants, who are generally cruel, warlike, and given to rapine; and whoſe habitation is in tents within the neighbourhood of *Judæa* and *Idumæa*.

(N) Theſe words are no leſs obſcure than the reaſon *Hagar* gives for calling the well by that name. They are both variouſly interpreted; but we chooſe to adhere to our *Engliſh* verſion, becauſe it ſeems to us the moſt literal and neareſt to the ſenſe of the original.

Abram's *name changed into* Abraham.

By this time *Abraham* had attained to the ninety ninth year of his age, when God was pleased to ratify his former covenant with him, by changing his name from *Abram* to *Abraham* (O); and by assuring him, that he would make him, the father of many nations; that kings should come out of him, and that his posterity should surely possess the land wherein he was a stranger. And, as a token, or rather trial of his faith and obedience, God commands him to circumcise all the males in his family, with a further injunction, that for the future all the males that should be born of him, or in his family, whether bond or free, none excepted, should be circumcised on the eight day after they were born; and that if any male remained uncircumcised, that soul should be cut off, as a despiser of God's covenant, from having any share in the promised blessings designed for him and his posterity. Lastly, and to compleat his happiness, God was pleased to assure him, that *Sarah*, his wife, should bear him a son, on whom all these blessings were to be conferred; and therefore, that her name should be no longer *Sarai*, but *Sarah* (P). Here *Abraham* falling on his face, probably to conceal

(O) We have already taken notice †, that *Abram* is compounded of two *Hebrew* words אב and רום *Ab* and *Rom*, which signify *high father*, and that *Abraham* is commonly derived from three, namely, אב רב המון *Ab Rab Hamon*, the *father of a great multitude*: but this last is somewhat forced and ungrammatical, having nothing to support it, but the reason which God gives in the text, for changing *Abram* into *Abraham*, namely, because he was to make him the father of many nations.

(P) *Sarai* שרי in *Hebrew* signifies *my princess*, and שרה *Sarah*, the name now given her, *princess*.

It is farther observable, that God, in the beginning of this 17th chapter (44), calls himself the first time, אל שדי *El shaddai*, which our version rightly translates *Almighty* God. Others have understood it otherwise, by deriving the word *Shaddai*, from *Shad*, which signifies *the breast of a woman*, to express God's tenderness towards his servants, others deriving it from the verb שדד *Shaddad*, which signifies *to spoil, lay waste, overcome*, by *Shaddai*, the irresistibility of God's power, who, they think, doth here assume that name, because he is going to invert the order of nature, and cause the old and barren to become fruitful; but the most genuine etymology is from ש used instead of אשר, for the pronoun *qui, who*, an די *Dai, sufficient*, or *self-sufficient*, an expression very fit

† *Vid. sup. p.* 389, *sub not.* K. (44) *Ver.* 1.

and

conceal his laughing, which either the ſtrangeneſs or improbability of what he heard had forced from him, began to intercede for the life and preſervation of *Iſhmael*, beyond which he thought it unreaſonable to aſk or wiſh for any thing; but the Almighty ſoon aſſured him, that theſe great bleſſings were not deſigned for *Iſhmael*, but for a ſon to be born of the hitherto barren *Sarah*, whom he ſhould therefore name *Iſaac* (Q). That as to the ſon of *Hagar*, he would indeed bleſs him with a numerous poſterity; but that *Iſaac* alone, whom *Sarah* ſhould bear in a year from that very day, was alone to be entitled to the covenant and promiſe, that in his ſeed all nations of the earth ſhould be bleſſed [x].

GOD was no ſooner departed than *Abraham* took his ſon *Iſhmael*, and all the males of his family, and circumciſed them, as well as himſelf, without any regard either to his own age, which was almoſt one hundred years, or to the tenderneſs of his ſon, who was not above thirteen. All ſubmitted alike to the operation, and to GOD's command, on the ſame day (R); and it was not long before his obedience was

Year of the Flood, 1102. Year before Chriſt 1897.

[x] Gen. xvii.

and proper to aſſure *Abraham* and *Sarah* of the certainty of his promiſe to them, which none but an all-ſufficient power could fulfil (45).

(Q) *Iſaac*, or according to the *Hebrew* יִצְחָק *Iſchack*, ſignifies *he has*, or *ſhall laugh*.

(R) Whether this ceremony of circumciſion was firſt introduced into the world by the *Hebrews* or *Egyptians*, had been much conteſted by antient and modern hiſtorians, critics, and others. *Herodotus*, who declares he had received all his knowledge of the affairs of *Egypt* from their prieſts, gives it indeed for the *Egyptians*; but he ſeems in ſome meaſure to retract, if not to contradict himſelf, in this very point, when he affirms, that no nation practiſed it, but what received it firſt from the *Egyptians*, and a little after owns, that he did not know whether of the two had it firſt, the *Egyptians* or *Ethiopians*, though he is inclined to believe the former (46). As for the reſt of the antients, who are on that ſide the queſtion, as they have blindly followed *Herodotus*, all their authority centers in him. However, it is certain, that neither they, nor any other nation we know of, the *Jewiſh* excepted, did practiſe it univerſally. The prieſts were indeed obliged to be circumciſed, but the reſt of the people were left wholly at their liberty. Neither doth it ap-

(45) *Oleaſt. & al. diſſert. de circumciſ.*

(46) *Herodot l.* 1. *c.* xlvi. *vid. Calm.*

pear,

was rewarded with a ſeventh and more remarkable viſit from God *. *Abraham*, who dwelt ſtill at *Mamre*, was ſitting one day at the door of his tent under a tree, when he beheld afar off three men, whom he took to be ſtrangers; he went to

* Gen. xvii.

pear, that they practiſed it upon a religious account, as the *Jews* did: *Philo* (47) has given us the reaſons why thoſe nations uſed circumciſion; namely, firſt, in order to avoid a diſtemper called a carbuncle, to which they who were not circumciſed were often ſubject. Secondly, for the ſake of cleanlineſs, by cutting off whatever was apt to harbour any filth; and for this reaſon it was that they ſhaved their bodies all over. The third is ſymbolical, and foreign to our ſubject. The laſt is, that circumciſion is a help to fertility, and that thoſe who are circumciſed are apter for procreation, than thoſe who are not. Now for the modern, we mean the *Chriſtian* writers. Theſe do not indeed affirm abſolutely, that *Abraham* learned it from the *Egyptians*, but that it is poſſible he might have ſeen it in *Egypt*, and be ſo much taken with it, that God, in compaſſion to his infirmity, whoſe faith could not ſuſtain itſelf without ſome outward and viſible ſymbol, might ſanctify this *Egyptian* ceremony, by retrenching all that was ſuperſtitious in it, and give it to him and his poſterity, as a ſenſible token of his alliance with them (48).

Only *le Clerc* (49) ſubjoins an argument, which, in his opinion, turns the ſcale very much on the *Egyptioan* ſide; for, ſays he, *Abraham*'s family, at his firſt coming into *Egypt*, was ſo inconſiderable, and his poſterity afterwards ſo hated and deſpiſed by the *Egyptians*, that it is by no means probable that proud nation ſhould have received ſuch a ceremony from them. But might not this be the very motive that determined them in favour of it? was it not natural for the *Egyptians*, no leſs ſuperſtitious than haughty, to infer, that ſince it procured ſuch great and valuable bleſſings to that deſpiſed people, it could not fail of proving more ſucceſsful to them, if once they admitted it amongſt them? might not *Joſeph*'s time have been a proper criſis to recommend it to them? and were not thoſe motives we have mentioned out of *Philo*, of its being reputed a promoter of fertility, cleanlineſs, and health, ſufficient to recommend it, eſpecially to a people who were governed by their wives? and laſtly might not this be the very reaſon which made the *Egyptian* women uſe it as well as the men? however that be, the notion of the *Hebrews* having received it from them ſeems ſo contrary to the care and conduct of God, to preſerve them from the ſuperſtitions of other nations, that it meets with but few advocates; and indeed it ſeems more reaſonable to think, that the *Egyptians* had it

(47) *Phil. de circumciſ. pag.* 810. *ap. eund.* (48) *Spenc. de leg. ritual. Jud. Le Clerc in loc.* (49) *Id. Bibl. A. M. p.* 2. *p.* 250. *& al.*

from

to meet them, and in the moſt civil and reſpectful manner invited them to come and take a ſmall refreſhment with him, and,

from ſome other nation, whether the *Arabs*, (as *Bochart* thinks, by reaſon of the difference there was between the *Jewiſh* and *Egyptian* circumciſion) or from any other of their neighbours, or even that they might ſtumble upon that ceremony, without knowing, or having it from any, than to ſuppoſe, that one muſt have it from the other, and that therefore the *Jews* might as well have it from the *Egyptians*. As for the reaſon of its being enjoined on the eighth day after the child's birth, the beſt we have met with is that of *Cunæus* (50), that children were not thought ſufficiently clean or perfect during the firſt ſeven days, being ſtill full of the corruption they brought from the womb. And this ſeems to be the reaſon of GOD's ordaining, that no beaſt that was offered to him ſhould be leſs than eight days old (51). Circumciſion therefore being a kind of ſolemn offering of a child to GOD, it ſeems highly reaſonable, that the ſame law ſhould be obſerved in it, as was enjoined concerning victims. But as to the eighth day being choſen rather than any other afterwards, without ſeeking for myſteries in that number, as ſome are fond of doing, it will be ſufficient to ſay, that the child being reckoned perfect and fit at that age, and there being a neceſſity of fixing a day for it, and not to leave it to the choice of the parents, no time could be fitter than that, becauſe the child is then leaſt ſenſible of the ſmart of, and leaſt in danger of being hurt by, it.

The laſt enquiry we need make upon this ſubject of circumciſion is, the reaſons of its inſtitution: and here we ſhall only mention one or two of thoſe that are thought moſt conſiderable. The firſt is topical; becauſe the heat of the climate required it, for the reaſons mentioned above. Secondly, political; in order to diſtinguiſh thoſe who were in the covenant of GOD, from other nations. Thirdly, moral; to imply the circumciſion of the heart, and the mortification of carnal appetites. Fourthly, religious; in that it was, firſt, the ſymbol and ſeal of the covenant made between GOD and *Abraham*, and his ſeed, and figurative of the faith which was to be in CHRIST (52). To theſe reaſons we ſhall ſubjoin one more out of a modern author (53), which the reader will hardly meet with elſewhere. He writes thus: We reckon circumciſion among the trials of *Abraham*'s faith. It is eaſy to obſerve, by very many circumſtances of that patriarch's life, that he was deſigned as a pattern to all the faithful. The more his faith was tried, the more conſpicuous it became; the more difficulties he obſerved in the accompliſhment of GOD's promiſes, the more he ſhewed the great idea he had of him that had made them, by overcoming thoſe

(50) *Cun. apud Baſnag. Rep. Hebr. p.* 351. (51) *Levit. xxii.* 27. (52) *Targ. Onkel. Hieron. Pugnin. Munſt. Mercer. Villet. & al.* (53) *Saurin Diſc. Hiſt. du V. Teſt.*

Abraham *entertains three angels.*

and, having obtained their conſent, ordered a feaſt to be got ready for them (S). As ſoon as it was over, one of his gueſts enquiring

obſtacles. ----- Why did not God give him *Iſaac* till the laws of nature ſeemed to exclude all hopes of his ever being a father? it was to try his faith. ---- Why did God command him to ſacrifice that very ſon to whom ſo many bleſſings belonged, but to the ſame purpoſe? ---- Why did God ſet ſo long an interval between the promiſe of a ſon, and the accompliſhment of that promiſe, that *Sarah*, thinking it impoſſible ſhe ſhould be the mother of him, did give him her maid *Hagar?* ----- Why was *Iſhmael* born ſo many years before *Iſaac*, &c. but to make ſtill freſh trials of his faith?--- Why might not then God have the ſame views in enjoining him to be circumciſed? he not only makes him wait for this ſon near twenty years, though promiſed in ſo ſolemn a manner, but when that time is elapſed, and *Abraham* thinks himſelf on the eve of receiving the reward of his faith, he croſſes his hopes a-freſh, and commands him to undergo an operation that ſeemed wholly to put an end to them. *Abraham* could not but look upon circumciſion as dangerous in that hot country, even to young men, much more to one of his years; and conſequently, that it muſt put him quite out of condition of ever being a father. The command of *his having the covenant in his fleſh* ſeemed as oppoſite to the promiſe of his having a ſon, as that of *his ſacrificing that ſon* was to the promiſe of his being the father of many nations. Notwithſtanding which, *Abraham*'s faith triumphed over this obſtacle alſo --- being fully perſuaded, that God could not only renew the ſtrength of an old man, but likewiſe make him fruitful, after his having undergone an operation which ſeemed ſo contrary to it. It is to extol this triumph that the ſcripture obſerves, he was ninety-nine years old, when he was circumciſed; and it was to preſerve the memory of it, that God enjoined that ceremony to all his poſterity, *&c.* (54).

All that needs be added under the head of circumciſion is, that the *Iſraelites* did not afterwards underſtand the curſe pronounced againſt thoſe who had it not, ſo ſtrictly as to cut them off, or drive them out from among them, provided they kept the law of nature, worſhipped the only true God, and abſtained from blood; but if they became circumciſed, they were looked upon as children of *Abraham*, and were bound to keep the law of *Moſes*. Theſe were called by the *Jews*, proſelytes of righteouſneſs, to diſtinguiſh them from thoſe of habitation, who were uncircumciſed, and only obſerved the laws of *Noah*, and were therefore called *Noachidæ*. Theſe two ſorts of proſelytes became ſo numerous, that in *Solomon*'s time there were an hundred and fifty three thouſand and ſix hundred of them in his kingdom (55).

(S) This feaſt was a whole fatted calf, three meaſures, or pecks, of fine flour, beſides cream and milk; by which, and that of two

(54) *Gen. xviii.* 24. (55) 2 *Chron. ii.* 17.

kids,

enquiring after *Sarah*, and being told that ſhe was in the tent, he then addreſſed himſelf to *Abraham*, and aſſured him, that he would viſit him again at the end of a year, by which time *Sarah* would have a ſon. *Sarah*, who was liſtening at the tent door, and thought herſelf paſt child-bearing, burſt out into a laughter, and the ſtranger aſked the reaſon of it in ſuch a ſerious tone, as ſtruck her with a terrible fright. She would fain have denied it; but it was to no purpoſe, that ſhe endeavoured to hide any thing from the perſon that ſpoke to her, who diſmiſſed her with this gentle reproof, that ſhe was highly in the wrong to miſtruſt what he had ſaid to her, ſince nothing was impoſſible with GOD. The three heavenly gueſts, for ſuch they were, roſe up in order to proceed on their journey, and *Abraham* courteouſly accompanied them ſome part of the way. At length one of them, whom the original calls the LORD (T), as a further mark of his favour, began to reveal a moſt dreadful ſecret to him, which was, that the cry of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* was gone up to heaven; and that he was going down fully reſolved to deſtroy them utterly, if, upon enquiry, he found their wickedneſs equal to the cry of it; whether the remembrance that *Lot* was in one

A ſon promiſed to Sarah.

kids, which *Rebekah* prepared for her husband (56), when ſhe was already grown dim with age, if we may gueſs at their ſtomachs, we ſhall be apt to conclude, that they were not of the ſmalleſt. Neither do the patriarchs differ much in this reſpect from *Homer*'s heroes, ſince he tells us, that when *Cumæus* entertained *Ulyſſes*, he dreſſed a whole hog, that was five years old, for him and four more (57). However, if we conſider their laborious life, and their enjoying a perfect ſtate of health, we need not wonder at their extraordinary appetite and good digeſtion.

(T) The name *Jehovah* יְהוָה, by which *Moſes* calls the ſtranger that talked to *Abraham*, being looked upon, by the generality of *Jews* and *Chriſtians*, to be the incommunicable name of GOD, it is believed by the far greater part of the latter, that it was the Son of GOD who appeared in that form: however others, particularly ſome modern ones (58), maintain, that it was but an angel who ſpoke to him in the perſon of GOD. But it is not probable, either that *Moſes* ſhould call an angel by that name, or that *Abraham* ſhould intercede with him as he doth, when he ſays, *that be far from thee to deſtroy the good with the wicked: ſhall not the Judge of all the earth do right?* or laſtly, that an angel ſhould peremptorily ſay, If I find forty, thirty, or twenty righteous men in the place, I will ſpare it for their ſakes. It is therefore more probable, that it was CHRIST himſelf, who is emphatically called the judge of all the world

(56) *Gen. xxvii.* 9, 10. (57) *Odyſſ.* 14. (58) *Le Clerc com. in loc. & al.*

of thoſe cities, or rather his natural compaſſion, gave *Abraham* freſh courage to intercede for thoſe righteous men that might be found among the wicked, *Abraham* did not ceaſe expoſtulating with him, till he had obtained a promiſe, that if there were but ten righteous men found in the place, he would ſpare it for their ſakes: Upon which, the LORD departed from him. The fate of thoſe cities, and *Lot*'s deliverance, have been already related †: as for *Abraham*, he ſaw the next morning the thick ſmoak of thoſe unfortunate cities, aſcending like that of a furnace [y].

Abraham *pleads for* Sodom.

NOT long after, *Abraham*, leaving the plains of *Mamre*, probably to be out of the ſtench of the vale of *Siddim*, went and dwelt in the country of the *Philiſtines* ‡ between *Kadeſh* and *Shur* (U); where the ſame adventure happened to him which he had met with in *Egypt*. *Sarah*, whom neither her pregnancy nor advanced age (ſhe being now ninety years old) had deprived of her beauty, was again deſired by *Abraham* to paſs for his ſiſter; *Abimelech*, king of that country, ſtill ſaw charms enough in her to invite her to his bed; but the LORD appeared to him in a dream, and threatened him with immediate death, if he did not reſtore her untouched to her huſband, who was a prophet very dear to him; in conſequence of which, *Abraham* had his wife returned to him, with conſiderable preſents (W) [z].

Abimelech *takes* Sarah. *Is threatened by* GOD, *and reſtores her.*

THE

† Supr. p. 76. [y] Geneſ. xix. ‡ Vid. ſupr. 202.
[z] Geneſ. xx.

(U) *Kadeſh* and *Shur* were the names of two deſerts, the laſt of which the *Iſraelites* entered after the paſſing of the *Red-ſea* (59) and is the ſame which is afterwards, called *Etham* (60). *Abraham* dwelling ſome conſiderable time here, called the place *Beerſheba* (61). Here it was that *Iſaac* was born, and *Abraham* liked the ſituation and people ſo well, that he continued in it upwards of twenty five years: from this place likewiſe he went to offer up his ſon in the land of *Moriah* (62).

(W) There ſeems to be a double miſtake in our tranſlation in *Abimelech*'s ſpeech to *Sarah*, which runs thus: *Behold, I have given thy brother a thouſand* pieces *of ſilver: behold he is to thee a covering of the eyes.——and thus ſhe was reproved.* For it is plain, the king was purchaſing *Abraham*'s friendſhip, and not quarrelling with him or his wife, and *Abraham* had already ſo far juſtified both him-

(59) *Exod xv.* 22. *contra* Nic. de Lyr. (60) *Numb. xxxiii.* 8. *Vid.* Toſtat.
(61) *Gen. xxi.* 31. *Vid.* Jun. *in loc.*
(62) *Gen. xxii.* 1.

ſelf

THE time appointed being come, ſoon after their leaving the court, *Sarah* brought forth the long expected ſon, and called his name *Iſaac*. And *Abraham* failed not to circumciſe him on the eighth day. They were now in the zenith of their happineſs. *Sarah* ſuckled the child herſelf, and weaned him at the uſual time (X); and *Abraham* made a feaſt to all his houſhold that day: but their joy could not laſt long without ſome mixture of grief, by the jealouſy which *Iſaac* cauſed to *Hagar* and her ſon. *Iſaac* was ſcarce ſeven years old, when *Sarah* obſerved *Iſhmael* ſhew ſome contempt to him (Y), which made her reſolve to part them for ever, that

Iſaac *born.* Year of the Flood, 1102. Year before Chriſt 1897.

Iſhmael *mocks* Iſaac.

ſelf and her to the king's ſatisfaction: and therefore the word נכחת ſhould not have been rendered rebuked, as *Kimki* and others do, that think ſhe was blamed by all for the lie ſhe had told. *Pagninus* renders it *erudivit ſe*, i. e. ſhe learned more wit, whereas it is the participle of the verb יכח, which though it is generally rendered to reprove, or rebuke, yet it as often ſignifies ſearch, or enquire thoroughly into a thing till the truth be found. *Abimelech* therefore means no more, than that ſhe is acquitted after a full hearing, and the *Chaldee* paraphraſe hath tranſlated it accordingly. The other miſtake is, *Abraham*'s being ſaid to be a covering to her eyes, whereas the king ſeems to ſpeak of the thouſand pieces of ſilver which he gave them as a token of their juſtification, the veil being always the ſymbol of womens modeſty (63).

(X) It is not eaſy to gueſs how long they gave ſuck in thoſe days, the antient *Hebrews* are divided about it (64); ſome holding, that *Iſaac* was weaned at the end of five, and others not till the end of twelve years, and others, at the end of twenty four months (65); if we may judge by what the young *Maccabee*'s mother ſaid to him (66); *my ſon, remember I have ſuckled thee three years*, that time will appear the moſt probable. However, we may ſafely believe, that *Iſaac* was not weaned before the uſual time for want of care or affection in his mother (67)

(Y) The *Jewiſh* interpreters expound the word מצחק in the text, which ſignifies laughing, or, playing, by מלעיג, which ſignifies to deride and deſpiſe, and not without good grounds, ſince *Sarah* did ſo highly reſent it. They think that it happened on the day in which *Abraham* made the feaſt for the weaning of *Iſaac*, and that whilſt the gueſts were congratulating him for having a ſon and heir in his old age, *Iſhmael* ſhewed ſome tokens of deriſion, which *Sarah* obſerving, went and complained of it to her husband (68). However it is plain it muſt have been ſomething worſe than childrens play, as the Septuagint has rendered it, ſince St

(63) Pfeiter Flaccius *in loc.* Leſcene's *Eſſay.* (64) *Apud* Hieron. *quæſt Heber. in Geneſ.* (65) 2 *Maccab. vii.* 27. (66) Ap. Calvin. & Mercer. (67) Calv. Villet.. (68) *Vid.* Munſt. *in loc.*

that ſhe might be rid at once of all her fears. You know, ſaid ſhe to her huſband, That *Iſhmael* has no ſhare in the inheritance with my ſon; for which reaſon, it is not fit, that they ſhould continue longer together; ſend him, therefore, and his mother away, that we may once more be at peace. Though *Abraham* loved her to ſuch a degree that he could deny her nothing, yet he could not but look on her requeſt as too cruel and unreaſonable, ſeeing ſhe knew, that he had ſtill a great fondneſs for the boy; but, God confirming what *Sarah* had ſaid, and promiſing moreover to protect *Iſhmael*, and to make him a great nation out of regard to him, *Abraham* was at laſt prevailed upon to ſend him and his mother away the very next morning (Z). What befel them afterwards is foreign to our preſent ſubject.

Is ſent away with his mother.

Abraham, in the mean time, entered into a ſolemn league of friendſhip with *Abimelech*, king of the *Philiſtines*[a]. To ſecure his property in a well he had dug, to guard himſelf againſt the outrage of the *Philiſtines*, who had taken ſeveral wells from him before, and to ratify the aforeſaid alliance, *Abraham* preſented the king with oxen, ſheep, and the like; then taking ſeven young ſheep, he deſired him to accept of them, as a token that he had dug ſuch a well, and that he ſhould from thenceforth peacefully enjoy it. Upon this occaſion that place was called *Beerſhebah*, or the *well of the oath*, becauſe of the covenant which they had ſworn there (A). The pleaſantneſs of the place, and the friendſhip of

Abimelech *makes a covenant with* Abraham.

[a] Vid. ſupr. p. 204, & ſeq.

Paul calls it a perſecution (69). Beſides, it muſt be remembered, that *Iſhmael* is deſcribed by the angel (70) as a fierce and cruel man, and conſequently, could not but begin to ſhew ſome tokens of it, being then upwards of twenty one years of age.

(Z) The text tells us, that *Abraham* gave them only ſome bread and a pitcher of water; a ſmall proviſion if that had been all; but we muſt remember, that bread and water are commonly taken, in *Hebrew*, for all other neceſſary proviſions. *Abraham* therefore may be ſuppoſed to have given them all things neceſſary for their journey.

(A) בְּאֵר שֶׁבַע *Beerſhebah* is compounded of two *Hebrew* words, the firſt of which ſignifies a well, and the other an oath, or likewiſe ſeven. Here *Moſes* applies the name to the oath, though it is more than probable, that *Abraham* had an eye to the double

(69) *Galat. iv.* 29. (70) *Gen. xvi.* 12.

meaning

of the king, invited *Abraham* to ſojourn there many years. He planted here a wood, and built an altar to the LORD, reſolving to end his days in this part, unleſs GOD ſhould otherwiſe determine [b].

Abraham *commanded to ſacrifice his ſon* Iſaac.

BUT GOD had yet a further tryal to make of *Abraham*'s faith and obedience, but ſo ſenſible a one as would put it to the utmoſt proof. *Iſaac*, the ſon of his old age, the promiſed head of a new and numerous race, the fountain of ſo many promiſed bleſſings, and the dear and only object of ſo much affection; this very *Iſaac* is now at length commanded to be brought unto a mountain, which GOD was to point out to him, and there to be offered up a burnt-ſacrifice, and that by the hands of his own father (B). *Abraham* never ſtayed to expoſtulate about the cruelty, illegality, and ſeverity of the command; but on the very next morning he gets all things ready, and, leaving it to GOD to make good his own promiſes, reſolves to obey. He ſets out the next morning for the place, and takes with him his ſon *Iſaac*, ſome ſervants, and all other things neceſſary for the

[b] Gen. xxi.

meaning of the word *Shebah*, when he made choice of ſeven, rather than any other number of ewes. From this well the adjoining city was called alſo *Beerſheba*, which was the utmoſt bound of the land of promiſe on the ſouth, as *Dan* was towards the north; whence came the proverb, *From Dan to Beerſheba*. This city was one of thoſe which fell to the lot of the tribe of *Simeon* (71); but becauſe *Simeon* had his inheritance in the midſt of the tribe of *Judah* (72), therefore *Beerſheba* is alſo numbered amongſt the cities of *Judah* (73).

(B) As the age of *Iſaac* is not ſet down in the text, it is uncertain how old he was, when *Abraham* was ordered to offer him up. The opinion of ſome learned *Jews* (74), that he was but twelve years old, is ridiculous, ſince it would have been impoſſible for him to have carried ſuch a load of wood as he did. Others (75) ſay, that he was thirty ſeven years old, but that was the year of *Sarah*'s death, whereas ſhe was alive when this happened. *Joſephus* makes him twenty five years old (76): and ſome chriſtians, antient and modern, conjecture, that he was paſt thirty, becauſe that was about the age in which CHRIST ſuffered, whoſe type *Iſaac* was at leaſt in this tranſaction, in which there were ſeveral circumſtances which bore a great conformity with thoſe that attended CHRIST's paſſion.

(71) *Joſh. xix.* 2. (72) *Ibid. v.* 9. (73) *Ibid xv.* 28. Villet. (74) Abenezra *ap.* Toſtat. (75) *Ap.* Villet. (76) Joſ. *Antiq. l.* 14.

dreadful work. And, on the third day after his ſetting out diſcovers mount *Moriah* afar off (C), the place appointed by GOD. There, leaving his ſervants behind, he goes up to the mount without betraying any ſign of grief or concern, which might raiſe a ſuſpicion in his ſon. *Iſaac*, on the other hand, being laden with the wood and other materials for a burnt-offering, and obſerving nothing of a victim, could not forbear aſking his father where it was; ſuch a queſtion at ſuch a time was ſufficient to have ſtaggered a heart leſs firm than *Abraham*'s, who only anſwered calmly, that GOD would provide himſelf with one. He little thought how prophetically he ſpoke, for he had no ſooner bound his ſon upon the wood, and ſtretched out his hand to give the fatal blow, but GOD was pleaſed to ſtop him ſhort, being fully ſatisfied with this laſt trial of his obedience. He renewed all his promiſes and covenant afreſh, and bound them with an oath. Then *Abraham* looking about found a ram, the victim GOD was to provide, caught by the horns in a thick buſh, and with the help of his ſon offered it up inſtead of him; in memory of which he called that place *Jehovah-Jireh*, the LORD will *look to* or *provide*, alluding to the anſwer he had given to *Iſaac*'s queſtion. He went, and rejoined his ſervants, and returned home to *Beerſheba*, where *Sarah*, who in all probability was kept ignorant of the important ſecret, was ready to receive them with her uſual tenderneſs and affection [c]. Not long after this he heard the joyful news, that *Milcah*, his brother *Nahor's* wife, had bore him a numerous iſſue (D), which determined him to ſend thither for a wife for his ſon *Iſaac* [d].

But countermanded by an angel from him.

ABRAHAM

[c] Gen. xxii. [d] Gen. xxiv. 3, 4, &c.

(C) This mountain is certainly the ſame on which the temple was afterwards built by *Solomon* (77); and therefore thoſe who affirm that CHRIST was crucified upon it, don't fix the name to that particular hill; but to the whole ridge of them. *Moriah* takes its name from the *Hebrew* רָאָה *Raah, to ſee*: whence the LXX and *Aquila* tranſlate it γῆν ὑψηλὴν, *a high or conſpicuous land*. *Fuller* derives it from two *Hebrew* words, מִרְאֶה, *viſion*, and יְהּ, GOD; and by contraction *Moriah*, becauſe GOD was ſeen upon it (78).

(D) The children of *Nahor* by *Milcah* were 1. *Huz*; 2. *Buz*; 3. *Kemuel*; 4. *Cheſed*; 5. *Hazo*; 6. *Pildaſh*; 7. *Jidlaph*; and, 8. *Bethuel*, who begat *Rebekah* the wife of *Iſaac*. He had ſome o-

(77) 2 *Chron. iii.* 1, 2. (78) *Miſcel. Sacr. l.* 2. *c. xiv.*

thers

ABRAHAM, well pleaſed with the conſtancy and reſignation which he had beheld in his ſon, lived in great peace and tranquillity for ſome time; but it was at length diſturbed by the death of *Sarah*, which happened in the hundred and twenty ſeventh year of her age, in the city of *Arbah*, *alias Hebron* (E) [e]. *Abraham* came thither to mourn for her, and to

Sarah's *death.*

[e] Vid. ſupr. p. 360, (G).

thers beſides from a concubine named *Reumah* (79). *Huz*, the firſt-born, is ſuppoſed by ſome to have peopled, and given name to, the land of *Huz* (80), where *Job* dwelt (81); but it is not improbable, that it was already ſo called from *Huz* the ſon of *Aram* (82). From *Buz* came the *Buſites*; of which family *Elihu*, one of *Job*'s friends, probably was (83). *Kemuel*, called in the text the father of *Aram*, is therefore thought the father of the *Aramites*, or *Syrians*, perhaps the ſame with the *Camuelite* of *Strabo* (84), in the land of *Haram* (85): but we are inclined to believe, that by this *Aram* is only meant a ſon of *Kemuel*, and not a race of deſcendants, much leſs of the *Syrians*, as the LXX and *Vulgate* read it; or of *Aram Naharaim*, as ſome; or *Aram Zoba*, as others think (86); for the city of *Nahor* was in *Aram*. This city and nation therefore ſeems to have been more antient than *Kemuel*, and to have been ſo called from *Aram* the ſon of *Shem* (87). As for *Cheſed*, if he was the father of the *Chaſims*, or *Chaldees*, at leaſt of that part which was on this ſide *Babylon*, as is ſuppoſed by the ſame author (88), 'tis certain there were others more antient on the other ſide, for *Abraham* came from *Chaldæa*. However, theſe ſons of *Nahor* gave names to ſome cities and families of *Syria*, ſuch as *Buzan*, &c. remembered by a *Latin* author (89). The children of his concubine were *Tebah*, *Gaham*, *Thahaſh*, and *Maachah*. From this laſt the city of *Maachah*, or *Abel-Beth-Maachah* (90), whoſe territories are ſuppoſed to have been ſituate between the two *Lebanons*, might probably receive its name (91).

(E) The text is ſomewhat obſcure in this place. *Sarah* is ſaid to die at *Arbah*, and yet no mention is made of *Abraham*'s removing from *Beerſheba* thither, only he is ſaid to come thither to mourn for her and bury her. Some therefore are of opinion, that they might be parted upon ſome occaſion or other, and that *Sarah* went to *Arbah*, whilſt her huſband kept his old dwelling. Others, not brooking ſuch a ſeparation, think, that he came only from his

(79) *Gen. xxii.* 21 & *ſeq.* (80) *Calmet. Hiſt. Vet. Teſt. p.* 148. (81) *Job i.* 1. (82) *Gen. x.* 22. *vid. Hieron.* (83) *Job xxxii.* 6. (84) *Strabo l.* 16. (85) *Calm. ubi ſupr.* (86) *Toſtat. Cajet. in loc.* (87) *Gen. x.* 22. (88) *Calmet. l.* 1. *vid. Jun.* & *Villet.* (89) *Ammian. Marc l.* 18. (90) 1 *Chron. xix.* 6, 7. (91) *Calmet. ibid. p.* 148.

own

to pay the laſt devoirs to the faithful partner of and conſtant companion of his travels, till, having given a ſufficient vent to his grief, another care called upon him; *viz.* to procure her an honourable burial. He therefore aroſe, and went to the gates of *Hebron* (F), in order to purchaſe a burying-place from the ſons of *Heth*, who dwelt in that city, and were probably the moſt conſiderable in that place. He had no

own tent into that of *Sarah*, for they had their ſeparate tents, to weep over her. But this ſeems to wreſt the text a little too much; however, we will not venture to affirm any thing on either ſide.

(F) The gates of cities in thoſe days, and for many centuries after, were the places of judicature and common reſort. Here the governors or elders of the city met to hear complaints, adminiſter juſtice, make conveyances of titles and eſtates, and to tranſact all the affairs of the place (92). Whence that verſe in the *Pſalms* (93), *they ſhall not be aſhamed when they ſpeak with their enemies in the gate*, i. e. when they are accuſed by them before the court of magiſtrates.

It is probable, that the room or hall where the magiſtrates ſat was over the gates, becauſe *Boaz* is ſaid to go up to the gate. The like did *David* when he went to weep for the death of *Abſalom* (94). How conſiderable they became in time for largeneſs and ſumptuouſneſs appears, by the two kings of *Iſrael* and *Judah* being preſent at one of them in all their royal ſplendor, and convening thither four hundred prieſts of *Baal*, beſides their own guards and officers (95). It ſeems, as if theſe places had been at firſt choſen for the conveniency of the inhabitants, who, being all huſbandmen, and forced to paſs and repaſs, morning and night, as they went and came from their labour, might be more eaſily called as they went by, whenever they were wanted to appear in any buſineſs. Theſe gates were likewiſe markets for proviſions, like thoſe of the *Romans*, as appears by the prophet *Eliſha*'s fortelling an incredible plenty to happen the next day, in the midſt of famine, at the gates of *Samaria* 96). What the number of theſe magiſtrates were, how far their power extended, and how many orders of them there were, is not to be gathered from ſcripture; only it is plain there could be but few of the latter, ſince in the time of *Joſhua* we can find but four ſorts of them; *viz.* the *Zekenim* or elders, the *Raſhim* or heads of the people, the *Sophetim* or judges, and the *Soterim* or officers. *Abraham* therefore could not make his purchaſe from *Ephron* the *Hittite* †, without having recourſe to the city gates.

(92) *Gen. xxxiv.* 20. *Ruth iv.* 1 *& ſeq.* (93) *Pſal. cxxvii. ver. ult.* (94) 2 *Sam. xviii.* 33. (95) 1 *Kings xxii.* 10. 2 *Chron. xviii.* (96) 2 *Kings vii.* 1, 31. *Joſh. xxiv.* 1.

† *See before p.* 171.

ſooner

ſooner declared the occaſion of his coming, but they one and all told him with the utmoſt civility and reſpect, that he might make choice of the beſt ſepulchre in the whole land, aſſuring him, that none of them ſhould withhold his own from him. But *Abraham* came to purchaſe, and not to borrow one; and therefore having returned their civilities, he begged, that he might be permitted to buy the cave of *Machpelah* (G) from *Ephron* the *Hittite*, who was then one of the aſſembly, and did immediately make him a free offer of it [f]. But *Abraham* ſtill inſiſting upon paying the full worth thereof, before he would make any uſe of it, they agreed for four hundred pieces of ſilver (H), which he payed down in full weight before them, and became poſſeſſor of the cave, field, and trees belonging to it, and ſoon after depoſited the dear remains of his beloved wife in the cave (I) [g].

Abraham *buys the cave of* Machpelah.

BY this time *Abraham* was well advanced in years, and *Iſaac* was come to the fortieth year of his age. He thought

Year of the Flood, 1142. Year before Chriſt, 1857.

[f] Vid. ſup. p. 171. c. [g] Gen. xxiii.

(G) *Machpelah* in *Hebrew* ſignifies doub'e: whence it is ſuppoſed by ſome, that there was a cave within another, or two, or more, contiguous to each other, in one of which *Sarah* was buried, and *Abraham* afterwards in the other (97). Others think that is the name of the field, and that it ſhould be rendered the cave that is in *Machpelah*. *Calmet* * tells us of a perſon, whom he doth not name, well verſed in the *Arabic*, who ſays, that the word *Machphelah* in that language ſignifies *ſhut up*, or *walled up*, it being the cuſtom to wall up theſe tombs to prevent robbers from ſheltering themſelves therein. There are ſtill multitudes of ſuch ſepulchres thus ſhut up, which ſeem to confirm this conjecture, which if it be true, the words ought rather to have been rendered *the incloſed cave*.

(H) The learned *Prideaux*, who has given us the laſt and beſt eſtimation of *Hebrew* and *Attic* coins, reckons a ſhekel to be equivalent to three ſhillings of our *Engliſh* money; ſo that the ſum which *Abraham* paid for his new purchaſe will amount to ſixty pounds ſterling (†).

(I) The art of embalming being known already in thoſe days, it is more than probable that *Abraham* embalmed his wife before he buried her. The days of mourning, which he had fulfilled before he went to buy her ſepulchre, being three days for any ordinary relation, but at leaſt ſeven or eight for ſo near a one as a wife, he could never have kept her ſweet till the cave had been purchaſed and fitted for her.

(97) *Jun. Munſt. Villet. & al. in loc.* * *Calm. Diction. ſub voc. Machpelah.* † *Prid. Connect. Pref. p.* 22.

it

it therefore high time to marry him to ſome of his own family during his life, which, in all probability could not laſt much longer. To this end he called one of his chief and moſt faithful ſervants, and having made him take an oath to get his ſon a wife out of his own kindred (K), gave him all neceſſary inſtructions, and authority to conclude the marriage, and ſent him away with a train ſuitable to the embaſſy he was ſent upon. That is, with ten camels laden with the richeſt preſents for the damſel's dowry; it being the cuſtom in thoſe days for the huſband not to receive, but to pay, a dowry for the wife. The ſervant made the beſt of his way to *Haran* where *Nahor* dwelt; and being ſat down by a well, a little before the damſels of the country came to fetch water, penſive and ſolicitous how to perform his meſſage to his maſter's ſatisfaction, he made a mental prayer to GOD, that he would give him a token of his having proſpered his journey, which was, that the damſel, of whom he ſhould aſk for ſome water to drink, and ſhe anſwer, that ſhe would water his camels alſo, might be ſhe who was deſigned for *Iſaac*. He had not waited long, e're *Rebekah*'s officious courteſy gave him to underſtand, that his prayer was heard; and being informed by her whoſe daughter ſhe was, with ſome other circumſtances relating to her family, he immediately took out ſome gold ear-rings to the weight of two ſhekels, and a bracelet that weighed about ten (L), which

Abraham ſends his ſervant to get a wife for Iſaac.

(K) The text tells us, that the ſervant took the oath by putting his hand under his maſter's thigh, or upon his privities. This is the firſt time we read of the ceremony, but it was afterwards uſed by *Jacob* (98) and *Joſeph* (99) in *Egypt*, when they were dying. The oddneſs of it has inclined ſome judicious writers to think, that it implied a more ſolemn myſtery than men are aware of; *viz.* a ſwearing by the great MESSIAH that was to come, and the like (100) Some *Jews* think it was a ſwearing by the covenant of circumciſion, and that whoſoever violated the oath, loſt all the privileges and benefits of that covenant. *Kimki* tells us, that was ſtill obſerved all over the eaſt by thoſe of his nation (101).

(L) In order to know the value of theſe preſents, we ſhould know what proportion gold bore to ſilver in thoſe days, which is impoſſible. The author above quoted (102) tells us, that in proceſs of time it came to be as ten, eleven, and twelve to one, according as it changed. But if we compute them according to the preſent value, which is as ſixteen to one, they will be worth 27*l.* 6*s.*

(98) *Gen. xlvii.* 29. (99) *Ibid. l.* 25. (100) *Rab. Sal. in loc. Vid. Alix. in Pentat.* (101) *Kimki apud Munſt. in loc.* (102) *Prid. Pref. p.* 25.

he

he preſented to her, deſiring, that if they had any room at her houſe, he might be permitted to lodge there that night. *Rebekah* anſwered in the affirmative, and, taking the preſents with her, ran home to acquaint her family with the adventure. *Laban* had no ſooner heard the news, than he came and invited the ſtranger to his houſe, who gave them a full account of all his maſter's wealth and great proſperity. Whilſt care was taking of him and his camels, he told them the occaſion of his journey; and when he related to them the ſucceſs which his prayer had had, and that he would neither eat or drink till they had given him a poſitive anſwer, *Laban* and *Bethuel* (M) concluded that the hand of GOD was viſible throughout all this affair; and that it would be an unpardonable thing to refuſe *Rebekah* to his maſter. They thought her extremely well diſpoſed of, and conſented, that he ſhould convey her to her huſband as ſoon as he pleaſed. He then immediately began to take out all the jewels of ſilver and gold, and fine raiment which he had brought, and preſented them to her, and made ſome conſiderable preſents beſides to her mother and brother; after which the reſt of the day was ſpent in feaſting and mirth. The next morning *Abraham*'s ſervant, who thought now the time long till his maſter was acquainted with the good ſucceſs of his negotiation, deſired to be diſmiſſed. This requeſt did ſomewhat ſurprize them. They deſired him to ſtay at leaſt ten days longer; but he ſtanding firm to his reſolution, the thing was referred to *Rebekah*, who conſenting to go with him as ſoon as he pleaſed, they got all things ready for her departure; and after they had wiſhed her all the uſual bleſſings, and given her her nurſe to accompany her, they took their leave. The ſervant ſoon brought her in ſight of his young maſter, who chanced that night to be taking a ſolitary walk in the neighbouring fields, and as ſoon as *Rebekah* was informed who he was, ſhe alighted, and throwing a veil over her face, as the manner of young damſels then was, ſhe waited to receive his firſt com-

Rebecca *is given to* Iſaac.

(M) This *Bethuel* could not be her father, who had probably been dead ſome time before, but another brother (103); who therefore is here named after *Laban*, and is never more taken notice of during the whole tranſaction (104). *Joſephus* makes the damſel tell the man, that her father had been dead long ago, and that ſhe was left to the care of her brother *Laban* (105).

(103) *Gen. xxiv.* 50 & *ſeq.* (104) *Vid. Nic. de Lyra.*
(105) *Ant. l.* 1. *c.* 16.

pliments

Iſaac *takes her home.*

pliments [h]. He then conducted her to his mother's tent, highly pleaſed with her extreme beauty and modeſt carriage, as well as the kindred ſhe came from; all which he looked upon as ample amends for the loſs of his mother. He had now nothing to wiſh for but that ſhe might prove fruitful; but he was forced to wait nineteen years before he could obtain that bleſſing; during which he comforted himſelf and her with the aſſurance of GOD's promiſes, and the example of *Sarah*, who remained childleſs till the ninetieth year of her age.

ABRAHAM could not but be pleaſed to ſee his ſon in the poſſeſſion of ſo agreeable a wife; but that not proving ſufficient to comfort him for the loſs of his own, and finding himſelf ſtill ſtrong enough to make a new addition to his family, though he was then an hundred and forty one years old (N), and had continued a widower ſeveral years; he took another wife, named *Keturah* (O), by whom he had ſix ſons whom he

Abraham *being* 141 *years old, marries* Keturah, *and has ſix ſons by her.*

[h] Gen. xxiv.

(N) We need not wonder, that *Abraham*, or any of the patriarchs ſhould allow themſelves to have concubines, and ſometimes more wives than one, if we conſider, that a numerous poſterity was looked upon as one of the greateſt bleſſings, and as a mark of grandeur and eſteem. Accordingly we meet with ſeveral places of ſcripture, in which men of rank are particularly recorded for having a great number of ſons (107).

(O) The *Jews* pretend, that this *Keturah* was the ſame with *Hagar*, whom *Abraham* ſent for again after his wife's death, and by whom he had all theſe children. The reaſons they give for it are, 1. Becauſe the *Pſalmiſt* calls the *Midianites*, which came of *Keturah*, *Hagarens* (108). 2. It is ſaid elſewhere they made war with the *Hagarens*, with *Jethur*, *Naphiſh*, and *Nadab* (109), which were the ſons of *Iſhmael* (110). And 3. becauſe *Iſhmael*, *Hagar*'s ſon, is ſaid to have aſſiſted *Iſaac* at the funeral obſequies of their father *Abraham* 111). To which they add, that *Hagar* being *Abraham*'s lawful wife, it was juſter for him to marry her than another. But theſe reaſons, and her name's being changed from *Hagar* into *Keturah*, which ſignifies incenſe, and is the emblem of continency, in which ſhe had lived ever ſince ſhe had been diſmiſſed from *Abraham*, are rabbinical dreams, for ſhe is ſtill called *Hagar* in the ſame chapter (112) Beſides, the text is plain againſt them, it being ſaid, that *Abraham* added, or proceeded to take, another wife, which is inconſiſtent with his recalling the old one. Add to this,

(107) *Judg. viii.* 30. *Ibid. x.* 4. *Eſther. ix.* 10. (108) *Pſal. lxxxiii.* 6. (109) 1 *Chron. v.* 9. (110) Hieron. *tradit. Heber. in Gen. xxv.* 20. (111) *Gen. xxv.* 9. (112) *v.* 12.

that

he afterwards portioned, that they might not interfere with *Iſaac*'s inheritance, and ſent them to dwell towards the eaſt (P). Theſe ſix ſons went away eaſtward of *Beerſheba* and the land of *Canaan*, and ſettled in both *Arabias*, the *Petræa* and the *Deſerta*, ſome footſteps of whoſe names are ſtill to be met with, of which we have in part given an account already [i].

CONCERNING *Abraham* we have nothing more recorded, except that he lived to the hundred and ſeventy fifth year of his age, and was gathered unto his fathers, and that his two ſons paid him their laſt devoirs, *Iſaac* having probably ſent for his brother *Iſhmael*, and buried him in the cave of *Machpelah*, near *Sarah* his wife. By which it is plain, that *Moſes* has here anticipated his death, by mentioning it before the birth of his two grandſons, *Eſau* and *Jacob*, though he muſt have lived to the fifteenth year of their age (Q). *Abraham's death.*

As

[i] Vid. Sup. p. 110 & ſeq.

that *Hagar* was only a concubine, and is no where called a wife, as *Keturah* is. As to the two paſſages of ſcripture above quoted, we need only anſwer, that they prove not the *Midianites*, or any of *Keturah*'s ſons, to be called *Hagarens*; but that this laſt name was common to all the poſterity of *Iſhmael*, ſome of which were called *Iſhmaelites*, ſome *Itureans*, ſome *Nebeans*, *&c.* (113).

(P) From theſe words ſome authors have concluded, that *Abraham* had married *Keturah* long before *Sarah*'s death (114), or even immediately after he parted with *Hagar*; and that the words ſhould be rendered *he had married*, inſtead of *he married* another wife; ſince *Abraham* doth not ſeem to have lived long enough to have diſpoſed of all theſe ſons in his life-time, as the text ſays he did, if he did not take *Keturah* till after his ſon's marriage. In anſwer to which, beſides what has been ſaid in the laſt note, that ſuch a notion is contrary to the ſenſe of the original, we may obſerve that *Abraham* lived at leaſt thirty-four years after it; by which time they might be all big enough to go from him. Beſides, *Hagar* muſt by this time have been about eighty years of age, and ſo too old to bear ſo many ſons.

(Q) *Abraham*'s hiſtory has been embelliſhed with a great many notorious fictions by the *Jews*, *Arabians*, and *Indians*. We have already touched on ſome of them *; and we ſhall now ſubjoin ſome few more that are remarkable, ſuch as his making a long abode in *Egypt*, and teaching aſtronomy, and other ſciences there (115); his inventing the *Hebrew* characters and tongue (116), the

(113) Jun. *in loc.* Villet. *c.* 25. *Quæſt.* 3. *& al.* (114) *Vid.* Calvin. *in loc.* * *See before, p.* 356. *not.* C. (115) Artapan. *&* Eupolem. *ap.* Euſeb. *præp. l.* 9. *c.* 17, 18. Juſtin *ex Trog. l.* 36. Joſeph. *Ant. l.* 1. *c.* 8. (116) *Id. ibid.* Suid. *in* Abraham. Iſodor. *Hiſpal. l.* 1. *c.* 3. Origen, *&c.*

ſame

Rebekah's *pregnancy.* As for *Rebekah*, ſhe continued barren above nineteen years; during which time *Iſaac* ceaſed not entreating the LORD

ſame we now uſe. His being the author of ſeveral books, and in particular the famous one, mentioned in the *Talmud*, and highly valued by ſeveral learned rabbies, called *Jetzirah*, or the creation; of which it gives an account. There is alſo an apocalypſe attributed to him by the *Sethians*, a ſort of heretics that ſprang up in the earlieſt times of chriſtianity (117). His aſſumption is mentioned by St. *Athanaſius*, and *Origen* tells us of an apocryphal book pretended to be written by him, wherein two angels, a good one and a bad one, are introduced diſputing about his ſalvation or damnation (118). The *Jews* make him alſo the compoſer of ſome prayers, and of the nineteenth Pſalm, and of a treatiſe againſt idolatry (119). The *Indian* fire worſhippers, who think him to have been the ſame with their great prophet *Zoroaſter*, do attribute his books to him, which they call the *Zend*, *Pazend*, and *Voſtah*, containing all the principles of their religion (120). Dr. *Prideaux* mentions them as one book, or perhaps three books in one volume, which he calls *Zendeveſti*; or as the vulgar people pronounce it, *Zundeveſtow* or plain *Zund*. Which name he tells us ſignifies a *fire-kindler*, ſuch as a tinder-box is here with us, and was given it by the author to inſinuate, that it would kindle a brighter fire in thoſe who ſhould attentively and devoutly read it †.

The *Arabians* do likewiſe give us a hiſtory of this patriarch, though ſo altered and blended, that one would hardly think they were deſcended, as they are, from him by *Iſhmael*.

Abraham, according to them (121), was the ſon of *Azar* and grandſon of *Terah*; which account, could it be relied upon, would eaſily reſolve that difficulty about his age when he died, which we have ſpoken of before, note (B) pag. 335. Since *Terah* might have begot *Azar* in the ſeventeenth year of his age, and *Azar* have begot *Abraham* in the ſixtieth of his; ſo that this laſt number, which is wanting in *Moſes*'s account of his life, would be here found complete; but we dare not affirm any thing about it. *Calmet* indeed thinks we might eaſily ſuppoſe two *Terahs*, one ſur-named *Azar*, *Abraham*'s father, and the other his grandfather; but how he can ſay, that there is nothing in ſuch a ſuppoſition that contradicts the ſacred text, we can't ſo well comprehend. The eaſtern heathen have alſo a long tradition of *Abraham*'s life, though vaſtly different from that of *Moſes*, and fraught with a great many wonderful additions of their own invention. The reader however may be glad to have a ſhort account of it out of the laſt quoted author (122).

(117) Epiphan. *Hæreſ. l.* 39. *c.* 5. (118) Orig. *Homil.* 35. *in* Luc. (119) R. Salom. *in* Bava Bathrah, *c.* 1. Gemar. *Cod. Talm. Tract.* Abodah Zarah, *c.* 1. (120) Herbelot. *Biblioth. Orient. p.* 16. † *Coun. p.* 317. (121) Tarikmounteckeb *apud eund p.* 12. (122) *Id. ibid. p.* 13. *ex lib. Mallem.*

LORD for her, who was pleaſed at length to hear his prayers, and ſend him the long deſired bleſſing. They now thought themſelves

Nimrod, the ſon of *Canaan*, did reign in *Babylon*, which he is thought to have built, and ſaw in a dream a ſtar ariſing, whoſe light did outſhine that of the ſun. The ſoothſayers, whom he conſulted, told him, that a child, not yet begotten, would be born in *Babylon*, who would prove very dangerous to him; whereupon *Nimrod* forbad, by an expreſs order, all the *Babylonians* to lie with their wives; but *Azar*, one of his chief officers, found means to get at his own, and one night got her with child. The magicians came next morning, and acquainted him that his precautions had proved vain, and that the child was got that night, and adviſed him to get all the pregnant women to be well guarded, and their children put to death as ſoon as they were born; but *Adnah*, *Azar*'s wife, not ſhewing any marks of her pregnancy, went on with it, and was brought to bed of a ſon in a cave or grotto, the entrance of which ſhe had carefully ſtopp'd, and then came and told her husband, that the child died as ſoon as it came into the world. She failed not however to go and ſuckle it as often as ſhe could, and was ſurpriſed to find him ſtill ſucking two of his fingers, one of which gave him milk, and the other honey. Being thus ſatisfied that providence took care of him, ſhe viſited him more ſeldom; but obſerving, that he grew as faſt in one day as other children do in a month, inſomuch that at the age of fifteen moons he was as forward as a boy of fifteen years, ſhe acquainted her huſband with the whole ſtory.

Azar went immediately to the cave, and ordered his wife to bring him into the city, where he deſigned to ſettle him in *Nimrod*'s court. *Adnah* took the boy through ſome meadows where there were abundance of cattle, which made *Abraham*, who never had ſeen any before, very inquiſitive what they were, and his mother took a great deal of pleaſure in inſtructing him in their names, natures, uſes, and the like; which made him deſirous to know who had made them all; and being anſwered that all creatures owed their being to GOD, *Abraham* asked how himſelf came into the world, and *Adnah* told him ſhe brought him forth: he then enquired farther who was her lord, and ſhe anſwered that it was *Azar*; and who is *Azar*'s lord, continued he? *Nimrod*, ſaid his mother. But here ſhe thought fit to ſtop all further enquiry, telling him, it was dangerous for him to be too inquiſitive. By this time they were got to the city, which he ſaw ſwarming with all ſorts of idolaters; he returned to his grotto more deſirous than ever of knowing his Creator; and obſerving one night the ſtar of *Venus* to ſhine brighter than all the reſt, he began to fancy that to be the creator of the world, till he ſaw her ſet, which convinced him of the contrary, ſince he thought GOD incapable of any change. He made the ſame judgment of the moon; and at length ſeeing great multitudes worſhip the ſun, he was tempted to do the ſame; but having likewiſe

themſelves happy indeed; but *Rebekah* did not long continue ſo. The ſtruggles of the twins, which ſhe bore, cauſed her a great

obſerved its declination towards the weſt, he concluded that it could not be GOD.

Azar preſented him to *Nimrod*, who was ſeated on a lofty throne, and attended by a great number of the moſt beautiful ſlaves of both ſexes. *Abraham* asked his father who he was that was thus ſeated above all the reſt, and he told him that it was *Nimrod*, whom all that croud about him looked upon as their god; but *Abraham* anſwered that he could not be their god, ſeeing he was not ſo handſome, and conſequently not ſo perfect as they. He afterwards took occaſion to preach to his father the unity of GOD, which made him ſo many enemies among the courtiers, who would not admit of his doctrine, that *Nimrod*, being acquainted with it, cauſed him to be thrown into a fiery furnace, out of which he came nevertheleſs ſafe and unhurt.

A famine, that raged ſoon after this, having made him diſtribute all his ſtore to the poor, he ſent to a friend of his in *Egypt* for a freſh ſupply, but was refuſed, under pretence that he did not want it for himſelf; but to give it away to the poor. The meſſengers, being afraid that the *Babylonians* would laugh at them, if they came home empty, filled their ſacks with a white ſort of ſand; and being got home to their maſter, acquainted him with their ill ſucceſs. *Abraham*, without being alarmed at it, went into his little oratory to comfort himſelf with his GOD, and in the mean time *Sarah* his wife, who knew nothing of this myſtery, ſeeing the camels laden with full ſacks, went and emptied one of them, which ſhe found full of fine flour, and made ſome bread of it for the poor. *Abraham* having concluded his prayers came out, and was ſurprized at the ſmell of the new bread, and aſked his wife where ſhe had got the flour, and ſhe told him that it was that which had been brought to him from his friend in *Egypt*; rather, replied he, from GOD, our only true friend, who has not forſaken us in time of need. And from that time *Abraham* was ſtiled *the friend of* GOD; a name given him by the prophets (123), and by all the *Moſlams*, who call *Hebron* the place where he lies buried, *the city of the friend of* GOD; though they make him vaſtly inferior to their *Mohammed*; to whom, one of them ſays, *Abraham* was but an officer, and the MESSIAH maſter of the ceremonies.

They are not agreed about the number of angels who dined in his tent. One of them (124) reckons there were three; *viz. Gabriel*, *Arraphel*, and *Michael*. The firſt of whom was ſent to deſtroy *Sodom*, the ſecond to foretel the birth of *Iſaac*, and the third to deliver *Lot* and his family. The *Kôran* tells us, that *Abraham*

(123) *Iſa. xli.* 8. *Dan. iii.* 35. (124) *Damiati.*

treated

a great deal of pain and uneaſineſs, till having conſulted GOD about it, ſhe was anſwered, that *two nations were ſtriving in her womb, and that two ſorts of people ſhould be ſeparated from her bowels, one of which ſhould prove ſtronger than the other, and*

treated them with a roaſted calf; but obſerving that they did not eat, he was frighted with the thoughts of their being enemies, there being no greater token of enmity in thoſe countries, than to refuſe to eat and drink with the perſon that invites. The angels however ſoon eaſed him of that fear, by telling him that they were ſent from GOD to *Lot*'s people, which made *Sarah*, who was then preſent burſt out into a laughter. Thus far *Mohammed*, who, being perhaps ignorant of the true hiſtory of *Abraham*, tells it after his ridiculous manner. His interpreters pretend, that the cauſe of her laughing was either her joy to ſee her huſband rid of his fears, or the pleaſure ſhe ſhould have to ſee *Sodom* in flames, or her admiration to ſee angels in human ſhapes. However, her laughter made the angel tell her, that ſhe ſhould have a ſon named *Iſaac*, who ſhould be the father of *Jacob*. To which ſhe anſwered, that it would be a marvellous thing indeed, if, old as ſhe was, and her lord ſtill much older, ſhe ſhould bring forth a ſon; but they having aſſured her, that the divine power would not be wanting, ſeeing the bleſſing was upon *Abraham* and her, who were choſen to be the heads of a numerous family, they departed towards *Sodom*, whilſt *Abraham* pleaded hard with GOD not to deſtroy the city, if ſo many righteous men were found in it; and ſo on.

The *Mohammedans* have likewiſe altered the ſtory of *Hagar* and *Iſhmael*, in which there is this prayer of *Abraham*, *Lord, I have placed one of my ſons in a barren valley, near thy holy temple.* Of which the commentators on the *Kôran* tell us the occaſion was, that *Sarah*, who could not endure the ſight of *Hagar* or her ſon, deſired *Abraham* to ſend them into ſome dry and barren land: that *Abraham*, being troubled at her cruel requeſt, was told by the angel *Gabriel*, to do as his wife bid him; whereupon he conveyed both the mother and the child into the territory of *Mecca*, which was then barren, and without water; but that the angel made a fountain to ſpring up from under *Iſhmael*'s feet, which is now the well of *Zemzem*, ſo famed among the *Turks*, and the only one in all that country. At the ſame time GOD bleſſed the land, and made it ſo fruitful, that it abounds with each kind of fruit of the four ſeaſons of the year, which grow plentifully there all the year round.

There was then no temple built at *Mecca*, but only a great edifice called *Sorah*, reared up by *Seth* in *Adam*'s life-time, in the form of a temple, which was reſorted to with great devotion. But the deluge having deſtroyed it, it was afterwards rebuilt by *Abraham* and *Iſhmael*. The *Turks* call it *Caabah*, or the ſquare-houſe, and think themſelves bound to viſit it at leaſt once in their life, and always turn their faces towards it when they pray, in what part of

Year of the Flood, 1163. Year before Chriſt 1837.

and that the elder ſhould ſerve the younger. Accordingly ſhe was ſoon after brought to bed of two ſons, the firſt of which, *viz.*

Eſau *and* Jacob *born.*

the world ſoever they be. A modern author (125) thinks, that both the *Arabs* and *Iſhmaelites* did formerly worſhip *Bacchus* and *Urania*, or *Venus*, in that temple; for *Herodotus* aſſures us, that they worſhipped none but thoſe two deities, the firſt of whom they called *Urotalt*, and the latter *Alilat* (126). Though other authors have ſince told us, that they worſhipped alſo *Jupiter*, the ſun, moon and dæmons (127). However that be, it is moſt likely, that the altar and grove which *Abraham* built at *Beerſheba* (128), gave the firſt riſe to the fiction of his building this temple.

They tell us moreover (129), that *Abraham* having prayed to God to let him ſee how he raiſed the dead, was aſked by him *whether he wanted faith? no*, replied he, *but it would be a great ſatisfaction to me.* At the ſame time the devil having taken notice of a dead body thrown up by the ſea, and half devoured by fiſhes, birds, and wild beaſts (130) thought it a proper inſtrument to enſnare mankind againſt the belief of a reſurrection. He appeared to *Abraham*, who had been bid to repair to the ſea-ſhore, in the ſhape of a man that ſeemed aſtoniſhed at ſomething, and aſked him, how it could be poſſible for the parts of that dead carcaſs, which had been devoured by ſo many living creatures, to be re-united at the general reſurrection. To whom *Abraham* anſwered, that he who had created all thoſe limbs out of nothing could more eaſily gather them from the different places where they lay ſcattered, than a potter could the broken pieces of a potſherd, and make a new one out of them.

After this God bid him take four birds, and cut them in pieces, and to carry the pieces upon four different mountains; and then give them a call, and he ſhould ſee them all four fly immediately to him. This ſeems to be taken from the heifers, goats, and pigeons, which *Abraham* was bid to hew in pieces, *&c.* (131). To which the *Mohammedans* have added ſeveral other circumſtances, ſuch as that the four birds were a cock, a dove, a raven, and a peacock; that he cut them all in ſmall pieces, and jumbled them all together. Some add, that he pounded them in a mortar, and divided the whole maſs into four parts, which he carried to the tops of four different mountains; after which holding their heads, which he had kept unminced, he called them diſtinctly by their names; whereupon each of them came to fetch his own head, and flew away. Thus it was that *Abraham* was convinced of the truth of the reſurrection according to the *Mohammedans*. And this ſeems to have ſome far off relation with what our Saviour ſays of him (132), that *Abraham* had deſired to ſee his day, and that he ſaw it

(125) *Calm. Diction. ſub voc. Abraham.* (126) *Herodot. l.* 3. *c.* 8. (127) *Strabo l* 16. *Philoſtorg. ap. Phoc. Ammian. Marcel. & al.* (128) *Gen. xxi.* 23. (129) *Kôran. c.* 2. (130) *Herbelot. Bibl. Or. p.* 15. (131) *Gen. xv.* 9. *& ſeq.* (132) *John viii.* 56.

and

viz. Eſau, was all over hairy, and the ſecond came out holding

and rejoiced; which the *Mohammedans*, according to their cuſtom, have applied to the day of the reſurrection. The *Perſian* fire-worſhippers do to this day expreſs a great veneration for him; they call him *Zeerdooſt*, or *Zoroaſter*, which ſignifies the friend of fire, becauſe when he was thrown into the furnace by *Nimrod*'s order, the flames, inſtead of conſuming him, careſſed and embraced him in a friendly manner (133).

Calmet (134) mentions a book in the *French* king's library. No 792, written originally by St. *Ephrem* the *Syrian*, and tranſlated from the *Syriac* into *Arabic*, upon *Abraham*'s journey into *Egypt*; in which book there is alſo a ſermon on his death, preached by St. *Atharaſius*, patriarch of *Alexandria*, on the twenty eight of *March*, on which day the *Coptic*, or *Egyptian* Chriſtians do celebrate his feſtival. The antient fathers of the church have highly celebrated him on the account of his great faith and obedience, and the martyrologies have given him a place among their other ſaints, on the ninth of *October* (135). The church of *Rome* hath likewiſe ordered an office for him, and addreſs him in particular for thoſe who are at the point of death.

It is reported, that the tomb of *Abraham* having been diſcovered near *Hebron*, they found his body, and thoſe of *Iſaac* and *Jacob*, whole and uncorrupted. There were likewiſe ſome gold and ſilver lamps hung up in the cave, which was viſited by multitudes (136). The *Moſlams* have ſuch a veneration for this place, that they make it one of their four pilgrimages, the three others being that of *Mecca*, *Medina*, and *Jeruſalem*; and the chriſtians built a church over the cave (137), which the *Turks* did afterwards turn into a moſk (138).

Moſ. Ben. Maimon (139), and after him the learned *Spencer*, tells us, that *Abraham* was brought up in the religion of the *Zabeans*, who are ſuppoſed to have been great aſtronomers, aſtrologers, *&c.* and by diſcovering the power and influence of the ſtars and heavenly bodies, came at length to worſhip them. Who theſe *Zabeans* were, whether a nation, or only a ſect of philoſophers, or whether their name imports any more than their religion and the like, ſhall be enquired into in its proper place. In the mean time, as to what *Maimonides* ſays, we ſhall only anſwer with *Meyer* (140), that it is impoſſible to prove that the *Zabeans* were even as old as *Moſes*; much more that they were older than *Abraham*; for though it be

(133) *Prid. Connex. p.* 1. *Book* 4. (134) *Ex Bibl. Orient. p.* 16. (135) *Martyrol. Rom. Adon. Uſuard. &c.* (136) *Ben Sholman ap. Herbelot.* (137) *Serm. Quadrag. Elmid* 1. 2. *p.* 773. (138) *Vid. Calmet. loc. citat* (139) *Maimonid. Tractat. More Nevok. part. iii c.* 29. *&* 46. *& in Avodah Zarah. c.* 11. *&* 12. (140) *Meyer de Feſt. dieb. Hebr. c.* 12.

ing him by the heel, and was therefore named *Jacob* (R). *Eſau* became a great lover of hunting, and conſequently the darling of *Iſaac*, who was very fond of his veniſon; but *Jacob* was the mother's favourite, who knew that he was to inherit the bleſſings, and could not, perhaps, forbear intruſting him with the ſecret betimes, though ſhe ſeems all along to have concealed it from her huſband. The two brothers were not above twenty years old, before *Jacob* gave proof of it. *Eſau* came home one evening from his uſual hunting, faint and hungry, and ſeeing a meſs of pottage which his brother had got ready, begged to be refreſhed with ſome of it; which he, it ſeems, well inſtructed by his mother, utterly refuſed, unleſs he would part with his birth-right to him. And *Eſau*, in his diſtreſs, ſwore away his birth-right to his brother *Jacob*, as we have ſaid [1].

Eſau *ſells his birth-right.*

Year of the Flood, 1194. Year before Chriſt 1805.

A famine, which happened ſome years after this, obliged *Iſaac* to ſeek for another habitation; he thought to have gone down into *Egypt*, when GOD appeared unto him, and diverted him from it, bidding him go to *Abimelech* king of *Gerar*, where *Abraham* had heretofore been ſo friendly entertained, promiſing, that he would protect, and multiply him exceed-

Iſaac *goes to* Gerar;

[1] See before, p. 124.

granted, that there were ſome people called *Zabeans* before *Moſes*'s time, and that that idolatry had been in vogue long before him; yet this will not prove, that the *Zabeans* we are ſpeaking of were older than *Moſes*; and *Spencer* himſelf owns (141), that it is almoſt impoſſible to diſcover their beginning, which has given riſe to ſo many different opinions about it, and perhaps not one of them right. However, it is not improbable, that *Abraham*, being born and educated in an idolatrous country and family, might have been addicted to that ſuperſtition, till GOD called him away from the one and the other.

(R) From the *Hebrew* word עקב, *Hekeb*, which ſignifies the heel, is formed the verb עקב, to ſupplant; and by the addition of the י *Jod*, one of the formatives of nouns, *Jacob*, a ſupplanter, which name he in time made good. As for the name *Eſau*, the meaning is ſomewhat obſcure, unleſs we derive it, as ſome (142) do from עשה, *Haſſah*, to make, becauſe *Eſau* came out all hairy, and as it were perfect; whereas other children are born with hair only on their heads. He is alſo ſuppoſed to have been called *Sheir*, or *Sehir*, from שער, *Shahar*, which ſignifies hair. And laſtly *Edom*, from his ſelling his primogeniture for a meſs of *red* pottage (143).

(141) *Spenc. de Leg. Hebr. ritual. l.* 2. *c.* 1. §, 2. (142) *Rab. Sal. Mercer. & al.* (143) *Vid. ſup. p.* 124.

ingly

ingly. He obeyed; but the fear he was in for his life, on account of his wife's beauty, made him reſolve to let her paſs for his ſiſter as his father had formerly done. This pretence paſſed current a conſiderable time, till at length the king obſerved from his window ſome familiarities between them, which made him ſuſpect, that ſhe was ſomething more than a bare ſiſter to him. He therefore rebuked them ſharply for the fraud, which *Iſaac* endeavoured to excuſe the beſt he could, telling him that the fear of his own life was the only motive that had induced him to it [m]. *Iſaac* was glad to ſee himſelf out of danger, and he went and ſowed the ground that had been aſſigned to him, which yielded him an hundred fold, to the great ſurprize of his neighbours, who could not ſee him ſo proſperous in this, and all other things which he took in hand, without envy. His richneſs and multitude of ſervants made him likewiſe be feared as a dangerous man, who might probably prove one day too mighty for them. But as the ſucceſs of open violence was doubtful, they reſolved to harraſs him another way, by filling up all his wells, without which his vaſt multitude of cattle could not ſubſiſt. They likewiſe endeavoured to alarm the king againſt him, which they accordingly did; and *Iſaac* found himſelf under a neceſſity of retiring to *Gerar*; where he dug new wells, and opened thoſe which had formerly been dug by *Abraham*; in doing of which he met with great and repeated troubles and vexations from the *Philiſtines* of *Gerar*, and was forced to remove at a good diſtance from thence [n].

is envied by the people.

AT length he was ſued to by *Abimelech* in perſon [o], either to revive the old covenant, or to make a new one. *Iſaac* expoſtulated with them upon the ill uſage he had met with in their land; but nevertheleſs prepared a ſumptuous banquet for them, and on the morrow entered into the covenant they requeſted [p]. On the ſame day word was brought to *Iſaac*, that his ſervants had found water; upon which account he called the place *Beerſheba* (S). The tranquillity which this new

A covenant between Abimelech *and* Iſaac.

[m] See before, p. 205. [n] See before, p. 207. [o] See before, ibid. [p] See before, ibid.

(S) This name is rather revived than given to the place, ſince we have ſeen already on what account *Abraham* called it ſo (144); though it is not improbable, but the diſcovery of this new well might lead *Iſaac* into a third alluſion to the word שבע, *Shabah*, which ſignifies not only to ſwear, and ſeven, but likewiſe to ſatisfy or

(144) *Supr. Gen.* xxi. 31.

new alliance had procured him, was ſoon after diſturbed by *Eſau* marrying two wives, *Judith* the daughter of *Beeri*, and *Baſhemath* the daughter of *Elon*, both *Hittites* [q].

Year of the Flood, 1239. Year before Chriſt 1760.

However, *Iſaac* beheld him ſtill as heir, and was reconciled to him. If he did know any thing of the ſale he had made of his birth-right, he only looked upon it as a youthful trick, and the effect of hunger and wearineſs. Finding himſelf therefore grow old and feeble, and his eyes quite dim with age, and apprehending his death to be nearer than it really was, he being then an hundred and thirty ſeven years old, reſolved to bleſs him before he died. He therefore called him to him one day, and bad him get ſome freſh veniſon, and dreſs it to his palate, and told him, he deſigned to confer the bleſſing on him that day. *Rebekah*, who over-heard their diſcourſe, knowing the importance of the paternal bleſſing, laid hold on the favourable opportunity, to procure it for her favourite ſon, in the abſence of *Eſau*. She directed him then to take two choice kids, which ſhe would dreſs to his father's liking, and ſend him into his father, therewith to perſonate *Eſau*. *Jacob* made ſeveral excuſes. His ſkin and his voice he was afraid would betray him, being in both ſo unlike to his brother; ſo that if *Iſaac* ſhould detect the fraud, he would more probably curſe than bleſs him. *Rebekah*, who knew there was no time to loſe, took all the curſes upon herſelf, and encouraged him to follow her directions, which he did. Whilſt the kids were dreſſing, ſhe laid their ſkins on his hands and neck, and then arrayed him in *Eſau*'s cloaths, and ſent him trembling to his father. When *Iſaac* ſmelt the meat, he was ſurprized it was ſo ſuddenly got ready, and not knowing what to think of it, he put the queſtion ſeveral times to *Jacob*, whether or no he was in very deed his ſon *Eſau?* to which he anſwered in the affirmative, deſiring him to riſe and taſte of his veniſon, ſince GOD who knew his zeal to obey his father, had brought it into his hands much ſooner than he could have expected. But *Iſaac* ſtill doubtful, deſired him to draw nearer, that he might be better ſatisfied; and when he had felt the hairy ſkin on his hands and neck, he owned, that *the hands were the hands of Eſau, though the voice was the voice of Jacob.* Thus far ſatisfied, or rather impoſed on, he aroſe and eat heartily of his ſon's pretended veniſon.

Jacob *gets his brother's bleſſing from him.*

[q] Gen. xxvi.

ſatiate; whereby he might intimate that he had wells enough, and would reſt ſatisfied with them.

Rebekah

Rebekah forgot not to ſend ſome wine with it; and after a cup or two, he bid his ſon come near to him, that he might now beſtow the promiſed bleſſing upon him. The ſmell of *Jacob*'s raiment contributed much to *Iſaac*'s chearfulneſs; he ſmelt and praiſed them, and, in a kind of extaſy of pleaſure, embraced and kiſſed his pretended firſt-born; and having wiſhed him all heavenly and earthly bleſſings [r], diſmiſſed him. If the father was pleaſed at his having performed this important ceremony, the ſon was no leſs rejoiced at his ſucceſs, and at his being freed from acting a part, which to an honeſt man muſt have cauſed the greateſt reluctancy, to ſay nothing of the dread he muſt have been under during all that time, leſt *Eſau* ſhould intervene. But what he did was in obedience to his mother, who aſſured him, that they did only fulfil the divine decrees in all this, and that it had been a direct contravention of them to have acted otherwiſe. Her joy upon this occaſion was great we may be ſure.

WHILST the mother and ſon were congratulating each other, *Eſau* came to his father with the veniſon he had prepared for him. He invited him in the ſame dutiful manner that his brother had done, and wondered to obſerve ſuch tokens of ſurprize and concern in his fathers's face. Not to repeat what we have already expatiated on [f]. *Eſau* found he had been circumvented in his abſence; and a mournful ſcene enſued between the father and the ſon; which was cloſed up by *Iſaac*, who inſiſted, that his bleſſing ſhould remain with *Jacob*. *I have bleſſed him*, ſays he, *yea, and he ſhall be bleſſed* [t] (T). Nevertheleſs, to aſſuage *Eſau*'s grief,

[r] See Gen. xxvii. 28, 29. [f] Vid. ſupr. p. 126. [t] Gen. xxvii. 33. Gen. xxxvii.

(T) Whoſoever narrowly obſerves *Jacob*'s life, after he had obtained his father's bleſſing, will own, that it conſiſted in nothing leſs than worldly felicity, of which he enjoyed as little as any man whatever. Forced from his home into a far country for fear of his brother; deceived and oppreſſed by his own uncle, and forced to fly from him after a ſervitude of twenty one years; in imminent danger, either of being purſued and brought back by *Laban*, or murdered by his brother. Theſe fears are no ſooner over, but the baſeneſs of his eldeſt ſon in defiling his couch; the treachery and cruelty of the two next to the *Sheehemites* (145). And laſtly, the loſs of his beloved wife, and ſuppoſed untimely

(145) *See before*, 172.

end

Eſau *is alſo bleſſed.*

grief, he bleſſed him in theſe words, *thy dwelling ſhall be the fatneſs of the earth, and of the dew of heaven from above* (U). *By thy ſword and thy bow ſhalt thou live, and ſhalt ſerve thy brother; and it ſhall come to paſs, that when thou ſhalt have the dominion, thou ſhalt break his yoke from off thy neck* (W).

end of his ſon *Joſeph*; all theſe overwhelmed him with freſh ſucceſſions of grief; and to compleat all, his being forced by famine to deſcend into *Egypt*, and to die there: theſe, and many more, are ſufficient proofs, that his father's bleſſing was of a quite different nature, and conſiſted in two particulars only; *viz.* the poſſeſſion of the land of *Canaan* in right of primogeniture, which his brother had ſold him, and which rather belonged to his poſterity than to himſelf; and in the next place, that the MESSIAH being born of his race, and not of that of *Eſau*. As to the ſtratagem by which this bleſſing was obtained, though it appears ſomewhat harſh and unjuſt at firſt ſight; yet if we conſider, that theſe two brothers were deſigned by providence as types; *viz.* *Eſau* of the *Jews* (who were afterwards to be rejected for not accepting the ſpiritual kingdom of the MESSIAH, in hopes of that glorious earthly one which they dreamed, and ſtill dream of, which is in fact preferring a meſs of porridge to the nobleſt birth-right), and *Jacob* of the *Gentiles*, who were to be admitted into that kingdom, which the former had rejected; if we conſider further, that this alienation from one brother to another had nothing to do with a future ſtate, as the papiſts, our predeſtinarians, and others imagine, but was confined wholly to the preſent; if we conſider theſe things, we ſhall not want the ſubtilties of the ſchools to juſtify an action which was determined, and conducted, by a divine hand, unleſs men will affirm, that GOD could not in juſtice make ſuch an alienation; an aſſertion ſo bold and abſurd, that we don't think any man of ſenſe and common modeſty would venture to maintain it.

(U) Theſe words have been rendered by ſome modern authors (146), *thy dwelling ſhall neither be fruitful, nor watered by the dew of heaven*. And it is true indeed, that *Idumæa*, or the land of *Edom*, was not very fruitful; but they that underſtand the original will eaſily ſee, that they have wreſted it quite out of its genuine meaning.

(W) We muſt not think, that theſe predictions were to be fulfilled in *Jacob*'s time, or in his perſon, who never had any dominion either over the *Edomites*, or any other nation, nor ever poſſeſſed the leaſt inheritance, *Machpelah* excepted; but died in a country where he had not one foot of land. How, and when, the *Edomites*, who multiplied exceedingly, and were a fierce, warlike people, became ſubject to *Jacob*'s poſterity; and when they ſhook off their yoke, we have already related (147).

(146) Le Clerc. Chatil. *in loc.* (147) *See before. p.* 144, *&c.*

This

This bleſſing was inferior to *Jacob*'s in the following particulars. 1. It omits plenty of corn and wine, by which it ſeems to be implied, that *Eſau*'s lot ſhould not be ſo fertile as his brother's, as in fact it was not. 2. Here is no mention of GOD as there is in the firſt, GOD *give thee*, &c. 3. There is a ſpiritual bleſſing promiſed to *Jacob*, that *they ſhould be bleſſed that bleſſed him*, &c. but no ſuch thing is ſaid to his brother. *Jacob* was for a while in danger of his brother's heavieſt indignation; which *Rebekah* dreading, found an excuſe to ſend him out of the way, as far off as *Padan-Aram*, that he might there marry one of his couſins. She ſent him therefore to her brother *Laban*, alledging, that if he ſhould follow his brother's example, and marry a *Hittite*, it would make the reſt of her life uncomfortable.

Jacob *is ſent to* Padan Aram.

IT is very probable, that *Iſaac* had likwiſe ſome ſuſpicion of *Eſau*'s deſign to murder his brother, elſe it is not likely, that he would have ſent *Jacob* away alone, and with only his ſtaff in his hand, when his father *Abraham* had ſent thither a ſervant in ſo noble a manner, unleſs it were done to conceal his flight. However that be, the other reaſon which the mother alledged, was thought highly reaſonable, and *Jacob* was privately ſent for, to take his leave of his father, and to receive his commands and his farther bleſſing; which done, he went away for *Padan-Aram*. In his way thither he was overtaken by the night near *Luz*, and forced to lie in the open fields with a ſtone for his pillow. Here he ſaw in a dream a ladder reaching from earth to heaven, and angels aſcending and deſcending, whilſt GOD, who ſtood on the top, was pleaſed to encourage him, by promiſing, that he would be his protector, and that he would bleſs and multiply him beyond meaſure [u]. *Jacob* awaking from his dream ſurprized and frighted, cried out, *Surely God was on this place, and I knew it not!* Riſing therefore from his hard bed, he took the ſtone which had ſerved him for a bolſter, and, pouring oil thereon, erected it into a pillar; and in memory of this viſion he called the place *Bethel* (the houſe of God); for it was called *Luz* before that time. Here he likewiſe made a vow unto GOD; that if he would grant him his protection, feed and cloath him, and bring him back ſafe to his father's houſe, the LORD ſhould be his GOD, that he would pay the tythes of all he had unto him, and that the ſtone which he had reared ſhould be GOD's houſe. Having finiſhed his prayer, he went on chearfully the reſt of his way, till he came to his journey's end [w].

[u] Gen. xxviii. 12. & ſeq. [w] Ibid.

HIS

HIS uncle *Laban* received him with joy; and, after a month's ſtay with him, *Jacob* falling in love with his youngeſt daughter *Rachel*, a beautiful virgin, they agreed that he ſhould ſerve him ſeven years for her, at the end of which ſhe ſhould become his wife. *Jacob* was ſo pleaſed with this motion, that he ſpared no pains to make his ſervice acceptable to his uncle *Laban*, who liked him ſo well for a ſervant, that he reſolved to continue him in the ſame capacity another ſeven years. For when the time was come he was to be put in poſſeſſion of the wife he had ſo dearly bought, he conveyed his new ſon-in-law into his eldeſt daughter *Leah*'s apartment. *Jacob* did not diſcover the deceit till the next morning, and when he found, inſtead of his beloved *Rachel*, her homely blear-eyed ſiſter, he could not forbear expreſſing his reſentment thereat to her father. *Laban* had his anſwer ready, and, in a magiſterial tone, told him, that it was an unprecedented thing in that country to marry the youngeſt daughter before the eldeſt, and that it would have been a great injuſtice to *Leah* to have given him her younger ſiſter; but, continued he, in a milder tone, if you will fulfil the nuptial week with your wife, and conſent to ſerve me another ſeven years for her ſiſter, I am content to take your word for it, and to give *Rachel* to you as ſoon as the ſeven days are ended. *Jacob* could not but be troubled at ſuch an unfair procedure; but he loved *Rachel* too well not to obtain her at any price; he therefore conſented to theſe hard conditions, and at the week's end he enjoyed the fruits of his ſervitude and conſtancy.

ſerves ſeven years for Rachel;

is cheated by Laban.

Marries Rachel.

DURING this interval, *Eſau* went and married *Mahalath*, the daughter of his uncle *Iſhmael*, in hopes, that ſhe would be more acceptable than his two other wives, and brought her home to his father's houſe (X). He had children by all the three

(X) It will be proper to obſerve here, that *Moſes* gives theſe three wives of *Eſau* quite other names, when he comes to ſpeak of the poſterity he had by them (147); which might lead an unwary reader to think, that he had more than three, eſpecially becauſe the fathers of the two former are likewiſe called by different names. Thus his firſt wife, *Judith* of *Beeri*, is afterwards *Adah*, the daughter of *Elon* the *Hittite*; the ſecond, *viz*, *Baſhemath*, the daughter of *Elon*, is again called *Aholi-bamah* the daughter of *Anah*, the daughter of *Zibeon* the *Hivite*; the laſt, called at firſt *Maha-*

(147) *Compare Gen. xxvi* 34. *xxviii.* 9. *with xxxvi.* 2. *& ſeq.*

lath,

three wives [x]: his poſterity became very numerous; an account of which has been given in the hiſtory of the *Edomites* [y] *.

IN the mean time *Jacob* behaved himſelf very differently towards his two wives. *Rachel* had his heart and affection, whilſt *Leah* was forced to content herſelf with a formal civility; but GOD made quite another difference between them, by making the latter mother of many children, whilſt her ſiſter continued barren for a long time. *Leah* was ſoon brought to bed of a ſon, and it being then the cuſtom of thoſe times for mothers to give names to their children, not without ſome particular reaſon or meaning, ſhe called him *Reuben*, intimating, that GOD had ſeen her affliction, and had given her a ſon, which would probably engage her huſband to love her. She had another ſoon after him, whom ſhe called *Simeon*; becauſe, ſhe ſaid, the LORD had heard her complaint. Her third ſhe called *Levi*, hoping her huſband would be now joined to her; and the fourth ſhe called *Judah*, thinking herſelf bound to praiſe GOD for her fruitfulneſs; after which ſhe left off bearing for a while [z]. Reuben born. Simeon, Levi, *and* Judah born.

RACHEL by this time was ſo extremely mortified at her ſiſter's happineſs, that ſhe came one day in a fit of envy, and told her huſband, that, unleſs he gave her children alſo, ſhe ſhould inevitably die of grief. *Jacob* who could not forbear being provoked at ſuch a ſpeech, which ſeemed to lay the blame of her ſterility upon him, anſwered her in a paſſion, that it was out of his power to do miracles, that GOD, who had ſhut up her womb, was alone able to open it; but that her behaviour was rather the way to prevent, than

[x] Gen. xxxvi. 1, 2. [y] Ibid. * See before, p. 136, & ſeq.
[z] Gen. xxix.

lath, is now called *Bathſhemath*; but what ſhews that theſe two latter names mean the ſame perſon, and that the ſame thing may be ſuppoſed of the other two (eſpecially, conſidering that *Eſau* is recorded to have had but three wives) is, that ſhe is called in both places the daughter of *Iſhmael*, and ſiſter of *Nebajoth*. All the account that can be given for this difference is, that they had two names, and that it was uſual to call them ſometimes by one, ſometimes by the other. Thus, the mother of *Abijam*, king of *Judah*, who is called in one place *Maachah*, the daughter of *Abiſhalom* (148), is in another place calle *Michaiah*, the daughter of *Uriel* of *Gibeah* (149). Other parallel places might be brought in great numbers, were it needful.

(148) 1 *Kings xv.* 2. (149) 2 *Chron. xiii.* 2.

to gain, ſuch a bleſſing. This mortifying anſwer made her bethink herſelf of the uſual way, at that time, for women in her caſe to give their maids to their huſbands; ſhe therefore deſired him to take *Bilhah*, and to try to make her a mother by her means; to which he conſented, and ſoon after had a ſon by her, which *Rachel* called *Dan*, meaning that God had judged in her favour. She called the other ſon which *Bilhah* bore *Naphtali*, to expreſs the violent ſtruggles ſhe had had with her ſiſter: after which *Leah*, thinking ſhe had quite left off bearing, gave her maid *Zilpah* alſo to *Jacob*, whoſe firſt ſon ſhe called *Gad* (a troop), expecting more to come, and the next ſhe called *Aſher*, to expreſs the happineſs ſhe now enjoyed.

Dan *and* Naphtali *born.*

Gad *and* Aſher *born.*

By this time *Reuben* was about ſix years of age, and brought home one evening ſome mandrakes (Y), which he had

(Y) What theſe mandrakes were, is not eaſy to gueſs; but they could not certainly be what we underſtand by that name. 1. Becauſe they had nothing inviting, either in ſmell, taſte, or colour, to induce a child of his age to gather them; much leſs could he chooſe them for any particular virtue or quality they had. 2. The text ſays, it was then wheat-harveſt which in thoſe hot countries is about *May*, when the apples of that root are far from being ripe. 3. The mandrake has a very ſtrong ſtupifying ſmell, and is therefore called by the *Arabians Jabrokim*; whereas the *Dudaim*, or *mandrakes*, are commended for their fragrancy, in the only place of ſcripture where they are mentioned beſides (150). For this reaſon ſome have fancied them violets (151); others lilies (152); others jaſſimin; others have rendered the word deſirable flowers (153), agreeable to the word *Dudaim*, which ſignifies, *loves* in the dual, or, the breaſts of a woman. Others again and perhaps more probably, have gueſſed them to be citrons (154). That which has induced ſo many interpreters to ſuppoſe them to be mandrakes, is the virtue attributed to them of helping conception (155), which made *Rachel* willing to try the effects of them; but beſides that they were plentiful enough to have been bought at a cheaper rate, it is plain, that ſhe did not conceive after them. Neither is it probable, that *Leah* would have parted with them, if they had been known to have had ſuch a virtue, which perhaps was not diſcovered till a long time after; when it became known among the *Greeks* and *Romans* by the name of the apple of love, and of the juice of which the emperor *Julian* tells his friend (156),

(150) *Cant. vii.* 13. (151) Onkel. *in loc.* (152) Oleaſt. (153) Jun. *in loc.* (154) Bochart. Brown's *Vulg. Err.* Calmet. *Comm. in Gen. cap. xxx. v.* 14. (155) Epiph. *ap.* Villet. (156) Ludolph. *Hiſt. Æthiop. Com. l.* 1. *cap.* 72.

had been gathering in the fields in the time of the wheat-harveſt. *Rachel* no ſooner ſaw them, but ſhe deſired to have ſome part of them. *Leah* hereupon anſwered, not over complaiſantly, that it was a little too much for her to take her huſband and her ſon's mandrakes too; wherefore, to pacify her and purchaſe the fruit, ſhe agreed, that *Jacob* ſhould lie with her that night (Z); and *Jacob* no ſooner came home, but *Leah* challenged him to confirm the bargain, which he accordingly did; the conſequence of which was, that ſhe bore him a fifth ſon, whom ſhe called *Iſſachar* (the man of reward), alledging, that it was given her as a reward for giving her maid to *Jacob*. After which ſhe bore her ſixth and laſt ſon, and called him *Zebulun (dwelling)*, in hopes, that ſo many ſons would make her huſband dwell with her. She had likewiſe a daughter whom ſhe called *Dinah*, which is the feminine of *Dan*; after which ſhe bore no more. As for *Rachel*, her prayers at length being heard, ſhe was happily brought to bed of a ſon whom ſhe called *Joſeph*, in hopes, that GOD would add another to him. By this time, *Jacob*, having finiſhed his fourteen years ſervitude, and being deſirous to reviſit his old parents, deſired his uncle to diſmiſs him and his family. But *Laban*, who had found no ſmall advantage in having ſuch a faithful ſervant, begged of him to ſtay with him a little longer, promiſing him, upon that condition, to give him what wages he ſhould name. Here *Jacob* took an opportunity of reminding him how much his

Iſſachar.

Zebulun *and* Dinah *born.*

Year of the Flood, 1254. Year before Chriſt 1745.

Joſeph *born.*

that he had taken a doſe to excite him to love. A modern author, in his hiſtory of *Æthiopia*, has confuted the notion of *Dudaim*, ſignifying mandrakes (157), and affirms, that it ſignifies a certain fruit, which the *Syrians* call *Mauz*, not unlike the *Banana*, or *Indian Fig-tree*, in ſhape and taſte, and about the bigneſs of a cucumber, thirty or forty of which often hang upon one ſtem: but whatever theſe *Dudaim* were, whether a fruit or flower, it is certain, they muſt have had ſomething pleaſant and inviting to a child, either in ſmell or taſte.

(Z) The cuſtom of thoſe countries, where polygamy was allowed, was in thoſe days for the huſband to take his wives by turns (*); the kings of *Perſia*, if we may believe *Herodotus* (†), were not exempt from that rule. This makes it more probable, that ſhe ſold her turn for that night to her ſiſter, than that ſhe did direct her huſband which of the four he ſhould lie with.

(157) *Vid.* Calm. *in Gen. xxx.* 16. *Dict. ſub voc.* Mandrag. Aug. *l.* 22. *cont.* Fauſt. *cap.* 29. (*) *Vid.* Villet. Munſt. *& al.*
(†) Herodot. *l.* 2. *cap.* 79.

ſubſtance

ſubſtance was increaſed, ſince it was put under his care; but that it was now high time that he ſhould make ſome proviſion for his own family; but however, that if he would conſent to let him have all the ſpotted and parti-coloured cattle, whether of ſheep, or goats, and the black ones among the ſheep, for his hire, he would conſent to ſtay ſix years longer with him. *Laban* could not but think the conditions ſomething hard, ſince the white ones only were to fall to his ſhare, and had he known what project *Jacob* had in his head, he would hardly have conſented to them; but as he was willing to keep him at any price, the bargain was ſtruck, and a ſeparation made between the white ones and the reſt, and a ſpace of three days journey put between them to prevent all ſuſpicion; after which *Jacob* began to execute his new project. He had obſerved the rams leaping the ſheep, at the places where they came to drink, from whence he conceived, that if he could lay ſome ſpeckled ſticks in the water at that time, it might make the white ones to bring forth ſpeckled lambs alſo, and tried it ſo ſucceſsfully upon the ſtrongeſt of *Laban*'s flock, that it ſoon dwindled away, whereas his own improved viſibly, both in number and ſtrength (A). *Laban*, vexed at his heart to ſee ſuch a prodigious difference between the two flocks, and perhaps ſuſpecting ſome trick, obliged him to invert the bargain, and for the future to take all the white lambs and kids for his hire, and leave him the reſt; from which time *Jacob* took care to lay by the ſpeckled ſticks. This change was renewed more than once or twice, as he complains to him afterwards[a]: in ſpight of all which, *Jacob* grew exceeding rich, and with the money which he got by his fleeces, *&c.* bought men and women-ſervants, camels, oxen, and aſſes; which raiſed ſuch envy in *Laban* and his ſons againſt him, that they began to look upon him with an evil eye; and this made him contrive the means of getting

Jacob's *ſtratagem of the ſpeckled ſticks.*

[a] Gen. xxxi. 41.

(A) Our antient commentators fancied, that *Jacob* made uſe of his ſpeckled ſticks in the ſpring of the year, when the lambs had the whole ſummer to grow fat and ſtrong; but that he ſet them aſide in autumn, when he knew the coldneſs of the winter would ſpoil their thriving: But, as the text ſpeaks neither of ſpring or fall, our moderns have thought it more reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that he laid the ſticks only before the young and luſty ſheep and goats, and the old and weak he left to take their chance; by which the beſt lambs came to his ſhare, and the worſt to *Laban*'s (158).

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ſubſtance was increaſed, ſince it was put under his care; but that it was now high time that he ſhould make ſome proviſion for his own family; but however, that if he would conſent to let him have all the ſpotted and parti-coloured cattle, whether of ſheep, or goats, and the black ones among the ſheep, for his hire, he would conſent to ſtay ſix years longer with him. *Laban* could not but think the conditions ſomething hard, ſince the white ones only were to fall to his ſhare, and had he known what project *Jacob* had in his head, he would hardly have conſented to them; but as he was willing to keep him at any price, the bargain was ſtruck, and a ſeparation made between the white ones and the reſt, and a ſpace of three days journey put between them to prevent all ſuſpicion; after which *Jacob* began to execute his new project. He had obſerved the rams leaping the ſheep, at the places where they came to drink, from whence he conceived, that if he could lay ſome ſpeckled ſticks in the water at that time, it might make the white ones to bring forth ſpeckled lambs alſo, and tried it ſo ſucceſsfully upon the ſtrongeſt of *Laban*'s flock, that it ſoon dwindled away, whereas his own improved viſibly, both in number and ſtrength (A). *Laban*, vexed at his heart to ſee ſuch a prodigious difference between the two flocks, and perhaps ſuſpecting ſome trick, obliged him to invert the bargain, and for the future to take all the white lambs and kids for his hire, and leave him the reſt; from which time *Jacob* took care to lay by the ſpeckled ſticks. This change was renewed more than once or twice, as he complains to him afterwards[a]: in ſpight of all which, *Jacob* grew exceeding rich, and with the money which he got by his fleeces, &c. bought men and women-ſervants, camels, oxen, and aſſes; which raiſed ſuch envy in *Laban* and his ſons againſt him, that they began to look upon him with an evil eye; and this made him contrive the means of getting

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who did not hear of his flight till the third day after, was full ſeven days before he could overtake him; by which time

of his nation is concerned, that his authority will be of little weight in all ſuch caſes.

Theſe *Teraphims* were afterwards univerſally known by the name of taliſman, as they are to this day all over *India*. The *Perſians* called them *Telephim*, a name not unlike *Teraphim*. They were made of different metals, and ſizes, caſt under certain conſtellations, with the figures of ſome planets, and magic characters engraven upon them. What metal thoſe of *Laban* were, or how big, or how many, is not eaſy to gueſs; only this the text tells us, that ſhe hid them in the ſtraw, and ſat upon them. As for their uſe, it was chiefly to give anſwers, to foretel what was to come, to diſcover what was hid or loſt, and the like. Beſides this, they were likewiſe addreſſed to for temporal bleſſings, and to avert evils. They were to be conſulted and prayed to, at certain times, under particular aſpects of the planets, from which, according to the *Jews*, they partly received that power, and partly from the characters engraven on them (163). Another Rabbi goes farther, and pretends, that they gave their anſwers *viva voce* (164), and proves it from the words of the prophet, *The Teraphims have ſpoken vain things* (165). However we muſt not ſuppoſe, that all the *Teraphims* were of the ſame make, or for the ſame uſes, even among the *Jews*. We ſhall have occaſion to mention ſome of other ſorts, when we come to ſpeak of that of *Michah* (166): beſides, as they came to be more univerſal, every one had them made after his own fancy; though the generality of them had at leaſt a human head.

The laſt thing worth enquiring into is what induced *Rachel* to ſteal her father's gods. Concerning which we can affirm nothing certain: ſome think, that ſhe did it to repay herſelf for the damage which they had ſuſtained by her father (167); others, that ſhe thought by that means to prevent *Laban*'s enquiring of them which way *Jacob* went (168); others, that ſhe would thereby cure her father of his idolatry, againſt which *Jacob* had read his wives many a lecture (169). Laſtly, others think, that both ſhe and her ſiſter were ſtill addicted to that ſuperſtition, and that their deſigning to continue in it, made her to conceal the theft from her huſband (170); but that *Jacob*, making a thorough reformation in his houſe, cauſed them to be taken from her, and buried under a tree in *Shechem* (171).

(163) D. Kimchi *ſub voc.* Teraph. (164) R. Eleaz. *cap.* 36. (165) *Zechar. x.* 2. (166) *Judges xvii.* 1, & *ſeq.* (167) Perrer, Johnſon, & *al.* 168) Abenezrah *in loc.* (169) Theodoret. *Quæſt.* 9. Rab. Sal. Greg. Nazianz. *orat. de* S. Paſch. & *al.* (170) Cyril. *in Gen. xxxi.* Chryſoſt. Cajet. Muſc. Calv. & *al.* (171) *Gen. xxxv.* 4.

Jacob

Jacob was already got over the river *Euphrates* (C), and was got up the mountains of *Gilead*, where he had pitched his tent for that night. The day being too far ſpent for *Laban*, and thoſe relations he had brought with him, to do any thing, they encamped near him, and waited for the morning. It is evident, that he had ſome ill deſign againſt his ſon-in-law; but GOD, who appeared to him that night in a dream, was pleaſed to avert it, by threatening him ſeverely, if he committed any hoſtility or violence againſt him. *Laban*'s courage being thus cooled, their meeting on the next morning proved more calm than he intended it. He contented himſelf with expoſtulating with him, that he had ſtolen away without giving him an opportunity of kiſſing his children and grand-children, and ſending them away with the uſual ceremonies of muſic and dances. *Jacob*, on the other hand, was not without his complaints; the cheat he had put upon him in making him ſerve ſo long for a woman he did not care for; the changing his ſalary ſo many times, and his late ſtrange behaviour towards him and his family: all theſe and many more, he anſwered him, were but ill requitals for all his diligence and care, or for the bleſſings which GOD had heaped upon him for his ſake. *Laban* had yet another thing to lay to his charge, namely, the ſtealing of his gods; and *Jacob*, ignorant of *Rachel*'s theft, deſired him to make the moſt diligent ſearch for them throughout his family, promiſing, that the perſon on whom they were found ſhould be immediately put to death. *Laban* loſt no time, but went and ſearched every tent, and laſt of all came to that of *Rachel*, who had hid the *teraphims* under the camels litter, and had ſet herſelf down upon them. She kept her ſitting whilſt he was curiouſly examining every corner of her tent, and excuſed it, with telling him, that the condition ſhe was then in, allowed her ſex to diſpenſe with the uſual ceremonies. This prevented all further ſcrutiny, and *Laban*, who could not think, that ſhe would come near ſuch ſacred ſtuff in that condition, went

Laban *overtakes him:*

Searches for his Gods.

(C) Though the text doth not ſay what river he paſſed, yet it is plain, it could be no other than the *Euphrates*, which the ſcripture ſometimes calls the river *Perah*, ſometimes the great river, and ſometimes emphatically, *the river* (172); either, becauſe that and the *Nile* were the only two conſiderable ones they knew; or, becauſe it was one of the four rivers of *Paradiſe*; or laſtly, becauſe it was the boundary of the promiſed land †.

(172) *Vid. Joſh. i.* 4. *Gen. xxxi.* 21. *& alib.* † *Vid. Gen. xv.* 18.

away with a heavy heart, and acquainted his ſon-in-law with his ill ſucceſs. This cauſed ſome freſh expoſtulations, which being ended, they fell upon a more agreeable ſubject, which was to make an alliance between them, and to erect a monument, as a ſtanding witneſs of it to future ages. They all put a helping hand, and reared the pile, which *Laban* called in the *Syrian* tongue *Jegar-Sahadutha*, and *Jacob* in *Hebrew* *Galeed*; both which ſignify the heap of witneſs †. Here they likewiſe ſwore, that neither would paſs over that monument to hurt the other, and *Jacob*, that he would uſe his wives and children with all becoming tenderneſs and affection. The ceremony being ended, and a ſacrifice offered upon the occaſion, he feaſted the whole company the reſt of that day; and the next morning *Laban*, having embraced and bleſſed the whole family, returned home to *Padan-Aram* c.

Makes a covenant with Jacob.

They rear a monument in memory of it.

Laban *returns home.*

JACOB, who thought his abſence a greater ſecurity than the oaths he had ſworn, was glad to have ſo well eſcaped; but one fear ſucceeded another, and the reſentment of his brother *Eſau* began now to give him a freſh trouble; but a viſion which he had of an hoſt of angels, who met him in his way to *Canaan*, did diſſipate his anxiety for a while, and in memory of this viſion he called the place *Mahanaim* (two camps). But being ſtill fearful of his brother ‡, he reſolved to ſoften him with a ſubmiſſive meſſage, or at leaſt, to feel how his pulſe beat toward him. He ſent therefore ſome of his ſervants before, to acquaint him with the ſucceſs he had during his ſtay in *Meſopotamia*, the riches and multitude of wives, children, ſervants, and cattle, which he had acquired, and that he did not think fit to proceed further homewards, till he had ſent him his beſt compliments. The meſſengers returned with the news, that *Eſau* was coming to meet him, accompanied with four hundred of his men. This was enough to compleat *Jacob*'s dread: he then began to think himſelf a dead man; but, having recovered himſelf a little, he ſet himſelf about giving orders to his family. He divided them into two bands, in hopes, that if the one periſhed, the other might eſcape; which done, he addreſſed himſelf to GOD in a very humble prayer, acknowledging his great mercies to him, and his own unworthineſs of them, and begged his future protection againſt his brother's ſword, and that he would fulfil all his former promiſes to him. After this he reſolved to try how far preſents would work upon *Eſau*'s temper, and having ſet a-part two hundred ſhe-goats, and twenty he-goats, two hundred ewes and twenty rams, thirty ſhe-

Jacob's *viſion. He calls the place* Mahanaim.

† Vid. ſup. p. 266. c Gen. xxxi. ‡ Vid. ſup p. 128.

camels,

camels with their colts, forty cows and ten bulls, twenty ſhe-aſſes and ten colts, he ſent them before him in ſeparate bands, and charged their drivers, when they met his brother, to tell him, that they were preſents ſent by *Jacob* to his lord *Eſau*, in order to entreat his favour and good will. On the next morning he made all his family and flocks go over the brook *Jabbok*, long before break of day, whilſt himſelf tarried at *Mahanaim*; where there appeared a man who wreſtled with him till the morning, and not being able to prevail with him, he touched the hollow of his thigh, and put it out of joint, then deſired him to let him go ſince day appeared. *Jacob* was reſolved to have his bleſſing firſt; upon which he changed his name from *Jacob* to *Iſrael*, which ſignifies a man that has prevailed with GOD. But when he was deſired to tell his own name, he refuſed it, and left him (D). *Jacob* there-

He ſends ſome preſents to Eſau.

Jacob *is named* Iſrael *at* Peniel.

(D) Moſt verſions, as well as ours, render the words of the angel to *Jacob* in the latter part of the 28th verſe, as if *Jacob* had prevailed over men as well as over him; whereas he had been ſo far from prevailing over the only two enemies he had, *viz.* *Eſau* and *Laban*, that he had been forced to flee from them both This makes it therefore neceſſary to have recourſe to a better verſion of theſe words, if the original can bear us out in it: which it will do without the leaſt violence; or rather, by following the moſt ſtrict and literal ſenſe of it, which runs thus. *Thou haſt acted, or behaved, prince like* (in thy wreſtling) *with* GOD, *and thou ſhalt alſo prevail over men.* And indeed, what could be more comfortable to *Jacob* in the ſtrait he was in, about meeting his brother *Eſau*, than ſuch a promiſe? or what can more naturally account for this viſion, than to ſuppoſe, that it happened unto him in order to diſpel his fears? Not that we need to confine the meaning of the wreſtling, or the ſenſe of the angel's words to the preſent dread and difficulties, which that patriarch laboured under; for his numerous poſterity was to be no leſs ſubject to the hatred and perſecutions of other nations: nothing therefore could be more proper to ſtrengthen his and his childrens faith and reliance in GOD, than this prophetic viſion and promiſe, that as he had now wreſtled with GOD and prevailed, ſo he ſhould likewiſe in the numberleſs difficulties, which both he and they ſhould meet with from their enemies. This verſion is likewiſe more agreeable to the *Chaldee* paraphraſe, the *Septuagint*, and the *Vulgate*, which render it thus, *If thou haſt been thus far able to prevail with* GOD, *how much more wilt thou be able to prevail over men!*

This myſterious wreſtling has indeed induced ſome of the antient fathers to think, it was to be underſtood in a ſpiritual, and not actual ſenſe (173): which they conclude from the words of the Apo-

(173) Hieron. *qu. Hebr.* Orig. *& al.*

ſtle

therefore called the place *Peniel*, or the face of GOD, and when he came to march, he found that he halted upon his thigh; upon which account his posterity never eat of that joint[d]. And *Josephus* tells us, that neither *Jacob*, nor any of his posterity ever since, did eat that part of any creature[e]; and though the text mentions only the sinew that shrank; yet so scrupulous have some of the *Jews* been even to this

[d] Gen. xxxii. [e] Ant. l. 1. c. 20.

stle (174), *we wrestle not against flesh and blood*; and some *Jews* do think, that it was done in a dream (175); and that his halting was either occasioned by weariness, the cold of the night, or the posture he slept in. But besides that the fear of his brother gave him but little inclination to sleep; the circumstances of the story, the imposition of a new name, and above all, the testimony of the prophet *Hosea* (176), who says, *he had power over the angel, and prevailed*, that *he wept and prayed unto him*, seem to make it more than a dream, if it was not a real and corporeal wrestling. As to the person who wrestled with *Jacob*, some have believed it to have been an angel, only because *Hosea* calls him by that name in the place above quoted; whereas when it is GOD, or CHRIST, that appears like one, he is distinguished by the angel of the covenant, or some other word (177). But what follows in the very next verse of the prophet plainly confutes that notion, *he found him in Bethel, even the* LORD GOD *of hosts*. That it was GOD who met him in *Bethel*, is plain, by his saying, *I am the* GOD *of Bethel* (178). The general opinion therefore of antient and modern authors is, that it was CHRIST who wrestled with *Jacob* here. 1, Because he blessed him; and 2, Because *Jacob* says, *I have seen* GOD *face to face*, &c. and called the place *Peniel* (179). As for what is said, that he could not prevail, it might be an expression *ad captum*; as when he says to *Moses*, *let me alone, that I may*, &c. (180.) This *Peniel* became afterwards a city of some note for we find, that *Gideon* pulled down one of its towers, because they had denied them bread (181); but it was afterwards rebuilt by *Jeroboam* (182). *Josephus* says, that he likewise built a palace there; it stood by the river *Jordan*, and belonged to the tribe of *Gad* (183) *Strabo* mentions a city adjoining to *Tripolis*, which was called the face of GOD, at one end of mount *Libanus* (184).

(174) *Ephes. vi.* 12. (175) R. Levi. *l.* 1. *& al.* (176) *Hos. xii.* 4. (177) Perrer. *in loc. & al.* (178) *Gen. xxxi* 13. (179) Tertul. *lib.* 2. *cont.* Marcion. Hilar. *de Trin. l.* 4. Ambr. *de fid. l* 6. Chrysost. *in cap.* 7. Actor. *&. al.* Calv. Merc. Jun. *& al. mult.* (180) *Exod. xxxii.* 10. (181) *Judges xiii.* 17. (182) 1 *Kings xii.* 25. (183) Jos. *Ant. l.* 8. *c.* 3. (184) Strabo *l.* 16.

day,

day, that for want of knowing which it was, they abſtain from the whole hind-quarter; though others, leſs nice, abſtain only from the thigh; and ſome again will eat even that, and content themſelves with plucking the ſinew out of it[f]. Some think, that *Jacob*'s lameneſs was ſoon over; others, that he halted all his life. However that be, this new viſion gave him ſuch freſh courage for the preſent, that he marched on chearfully till he had overtaken his family.

IT was not long before he diſcovered his brother afar off, coming towards him with his large retinue, at which he could not forbear betraying ſome freſh tokens of diſtruſt. To prepare therefore for the worſt, he divided his family into three bands; the two maids and their ſons went firſt, *Leah* and her children next, and *Rachel* and *Joſeph*, who was then about ſix years of age, followed in the rear, as fartheſt from danger. As ſoon as he ſaw his brother, he bowed himſelf ſeven times down to the ground before him, who, being moved with his ſubmiſſive behaviour, ran to him, embraced and kiſſed him, and wept over him (E). And ſeeing his wives and children, who not to be wanting in their reſpect to him, did proſtrate themſelves before him, one after another, in the ſame order in which *Jacob* had diſpoſed them; and being informed who they were, returned their civilities

Meets with his brother Eſau.

[f] CALM. Hiſt. O. T. in loc.

(E) The *Mazorites* and *Cabaliſts* obſerve, that there is a large point over the word וישקהו *Vaiſhakehu, and he kiſſed him*, which implies, that he did not deſign to kiſs his brother, but to bite him; for the word ſignifies alſo to bite; but that *Jacob*'s neck was immediately turned into marble. Wherefore the text ſays, they both wept, he for the odd change in his neck, and *Eſau* becauſe he had almoſt broke his teeth againſt it, and that this prevented his wicked deſign againſt his brother (185). But it is more than probable, that *Iſaac* and *Rebekah* had taken much pains to convince him, during his brother's abſence, that what *Jacob* and ſhe had done, was by order of GOD himſelf, who had decreed the inverſion of the ſucceſſion before they were born; that it would therefore be not only in vain, but even an unpardonable crime, for him to oppoſe himſelf againſt the decrees of providence; and that, inſtead of recovering his brother's bleſſing, he would bring a terrible curſe upon his own head: by which, and other ſuch like arguments, they had wholly perſwaded him to acquieſce in the divine will, and to ſet aſide all animoſity againſt *Jacob*.

(185) Bereſhith Rabbah *in loc.* Mazor. *in loc.*

with

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(186) *Gen. xiv.* 18. (187) Hieron. *quæſt. Hebr.* (188) *John iii.* 23. (189) Ant. *l.* 1. *c.* 11. (190) Pſal. lxxvi. 2. (191) *Vid.* Villet. *c.* 33. (192) *Judg. xxi.* 19.

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near the city of *Shechem*, in the land of *Canaan*, where he bought a piece of land from *Hamor*, the father of *Shechem* for an hundred pieces of money, and pitched his tents there (G), and built an altar to the LORD, which he called *El-elohe-iſrael*, or the mighty GOD of *Iſrael* [h]. This was in all likelihood the ſame place where *Abraham* had heretofore built one, ſoon after his firſt coming into the land of *Canaan* [i]. And here alſo was probably *Jacob*'s well near mount *Gerizim*, where CHRIST talked with the woman of *Samaria* [k]; for that mountain ſtood in the country of the *Shechemites* [l]. *Buys a piece of ground near* Shechem.

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that they were two diſtinct places: wherefore upon the whole we think, that *Salem* ſhould here be rendered *ſafe*, or *in peace*; namely from the dread and dangers he had been in of his brother *Eſau*, and not becauſe he was cured of his lameneſs, as the *Jews* imagine.

(G) The word *Keſhitah* קשיטה, which is here rendered *a piece of money*, ſignifies alſo *a lamb*; from whence *Onkelos* (193), the *Septuagint*, *Vulgate*, *Oleaſter*, and others, have tranſlated it an hundred lambs, as they have alſo that place in *Job*, where every one of his friends gave him a *Keſhitah*; but it is more likely that they gave him a piece of money than a lamb; for that would be of greater ſervice to him in the condition he was in. All the *Jewiſh* interpreters, except *Onkelos* above-named, render it by the word מעה (194), which ſignifies a piece of money of about the value of a penny, and tell us, that the *Arabians* called money *Keſhitah* (195). It is more probable, therefore, that it was a ſmall coin that had a lamb ſtamped upon it, and was called by that name, as we do call an *Angel* from the ſtamp it bears of one. As for thoſe who think that this price was hardly ſufficient to purchaſe ſuch a piece of ground, it not amounting to above ten or twelve ſhillings (196), they ſhould conſider, that if a lamb in thoſe days was worth no more than five farthings or three halfpence, which is probable enough, money then bearing a higher value, an hundred lambs would be but equivalent to an hundred ſuch pieces of money.

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much miſchief, and obliged her father to withdraw from that place nearer to *Mamre*, where his father ſtill lived †. *She-*

Shechem's *amour with* Dinah.

chem, the ſon of *Hamor* the *Hivite*, who was prince of that country, ſaw her, became in love with her, raviſhed her, and ſent her home to her father, with the greateſt aſſurances of marriage, if *Jacob*'s conſent could be as eaſily obtained as that of his father *Hamor*. *Dinah* told her miſhap to her father, who was forced to bear it patiently for the preſent; becauſe his ſons were all out in the field. But as ſoon as they were come home, and made acquainted with it, their reſentment grew to ſuch a height, that they reſolved ſeverely to revenge the diſhonour done to their family. In the mean time *Shechem* having prevailed upon his father to obtain him the damſel, *Hamor* went with him to make the propoſal of it to her father, and promiſed to give her as large a dowry as he ſhould deſire; adding, that if his family were to intermarry with the *Shechemites*, it might prove the moſt effectual means for both to live in perfect peace and friendſhip. But the treacherous ſons of *Jacob*, who meditated nothing but the moſt bloody revenge, replied, that is was not lawful for them to contract any affinity with any uncircumciſed nation; but that, if he and his people would conſent to be circumciſed, as they were, they would agree to his propoſal. The ſequel ſhews, that they deſigned nothing leſs. For the prince, having acquainted his people with the whole matter, did eaſily perſuade them to accept the conditions, ſince it would have given them a power over all their ſubſtance and riches. *Shechem* was no doubt very preſſing to have the ceremony of circumciſion performed out of hand, that he might the ſooner enjoy his deſires, and, in complaiſance to him, the whole city agreed to go about it that very day. Three days after this, when their wounds had rendered them incapable to ſtand in their own defence, *Simeon* and *Levi*, *Dinah*'s brothers entered the city, and put all the males to the ſword, and brought their ſiſter back. After this they went and plundered the place, took all the women captives, and carried away all the cattle they found in the neighbourhood. When *Jacob* came to hear of this barbarous exploit, he was extremely diſpleaſed at it. He reproved them for it, told them the dangerous conſequences that muſt inevitably attend ſuch a treacherous action, which he thought muſt end in the deſtruction of himſelf and family. And indeed we need not doubt, but the reſt of the inhabitants of that country might, and would,

Year of the Flood, 1267. Year before Chriſt 1732.

Hamor *demands her in marriage for his ſon.*

Jacob's *ſons treachery.*

They enter the city, and deſtroy all the males, &c.

† Vid. ſup. p. 171.

eaſily

eaſily have made his words good, had not GOD interpoſed, and ſent a panick fear amongſt them, inſomuch that they did even let them depart quietly, and carry of all the plunder they had got from the ſlaughtered *Shechemites*. However, all the anſwer *Jacob*'s ſons made to him was, why did he uſe our ſiſter like a harlot [n] ?

HOWEVER, GOD was ſoon pleaſed to diſſipate his fears once more, by ſpeaking to him in a dream, and bidding him go to *Bethel*, where he had formerly appeared to him, when he fled from his brother, and to dwell there, and build an altar unto him. *Jacob* therefore unwilling to prophane that holy place, by carrying with him any thing that might be diſpleaſing to GOD, ordered his family to bring all the idols they had taken from the *Shechemites*, or brought from *Padan-Aram*, if his wife's were not among them, to purify themſelves even to the very changing of their garments, and to bury all their ſuperſtitious lumber in a deep hole, which he cauſed to be made under an oak near to *Schechem*. His commands were forthwith obeyed, and they parted even with their very ear-rings, which they uſed to wear as taliſmans, or charms, againſt ſickneſs and other misfortunes [o]. After which *Jacob* and his whole family ſet out with all they had, and arrived ſafely at *Luz*, afterwards called *Bethel:* none of the neighbouring inhabitants daring to purſue after them. As ſoon as he came there, he built an altar to GOD, and called it, *El-beth-el*, or the GOD of *Bethel:* ſoon after which *Deborah*, his mother's nurſe (H), died, and was buried under an

Jacob *is bid to go and dwell at* Bethel.

Their idols buried.

Deborah *dies.*

[n] Gen. xxxiv. [o] See CALMET, Comm. in Gen. xxxv. 4.

(H) It is not eaſy to gueſs how ſo very old a woman as *Rebekah*'s nurſe muſt then be, ſhould be found in his retinue, unleſs we ſuppoſe, that ſhe was ſent by *Iſaac* to enquire after *Jacob*'s welfare. *Calvin* and others indeed think, that ſhe went with him into *Meſopotamia*, having a deſire to ſee her own country again, and that when ſhe heard that he was gone for the land of *Canaan*, her deſire to ſee *Rebekah* made her follow him thither; but it is unlikely, that a woman at her years ſhould take ſuch rambles: For if we ſuppoſe her to have been forty years old when ſhe was taken in to be *Rebekah*'s nurſe (and leſs than that ſhe could hardly be, ſeeing ſhe was not taken to ſuckle her, but to bring her up as a governante), ſhe muſt have been near an hundred and ſeventy years old when ſhe died. The *Hebrews* tell us, that *Rebekah* having promiſed her ſon, when he was going from her, that ſhe would ſend for him again, as ſoon as ſhe found that he was out of danger, did now ſend *Deborah* to fetch him back; but, beſides that a younger meſſenger would

an oak at the foot of the hill of *Bethel*, and the place was called *Allon-bachuth*, or *the oak of mourning*. He made but a ſhort ſtay at *Bethel*, being deſirous to go to viſit his father, whom, for ought we find, he had not ſeen ſince he went to *Meſopotamia*: but as he was marching towards *Ephrath*, *Rachel* fell in labour at a ſmall diſtance from the place, and perceiving that it would coſt her her life, called the child *Benoni*, or *the ſon of my affliction*; but after ſhe was dead, *Jacob* changed that name, too likely perhaps to revive his grief for her loſs, into that of *Benjamin*, or *the ſon of my right hand*. *Rachel* was buried in the way to *Ephrath*, and a ſtone monument was reared over the grave, which was ſtill to be ſeen in *Moſes*'s time. This was not the only misfortune *Jacob* met with in this place: for his ſon *Reuben*, having taken a liking to *Bilhah*, his father's concubine and *Rachel*'s maid, did not ſcruple to lie with her: which, when his father heard, made ſo deep an impreſſion in his heart, that he grieved at it to his dying day [p]. Soon after this *Jacob* left that melancholy place, and came at length to *Mamre*, to his old father *Iſaac*; with whom he continued almoſt the ſpace of thirteen years, ſome ſay nineteen, that is, till the good old man departed this life, which he did in a very advanced age, being an hundred and eighty years old; having been almoſt blind and decrepid a conſiderable number of years (I). His two ſons buried him in the cave of *Machpelah*, with *Abraham* and *Sarah*; after which *Eſau* returned home, and *Jacob* continued at *Mamre* [q].

Rachel *brought to bed of* Benjamin. *Dies, and is buried at* Ephrath.

Reuben's *inceſt.*

Iſaac *dies, and is buried by his two ſons.*

HOWEVER, the happineſs which *Jacob* had enjoyed, during his ſtay with his father, had not been without ſome allay. *Joſeph* was about ſeventeen years of age, and was become

[p] Gen. xlix 4. [q] Gen. xxxv.

would have been more proper; it is certain *Jacob* was not ſent for, but called by GOD, and drove by *Laban*'s cruel uſage out of that country.

(I) The *Jews* tell us, that the maſters who taught *Iſaac* the law of GOD were the patriarchs *Shem* and *Heber*, who were ſtill living; and that when *Abraham* took him with him to mount *Moriah* to ſacrifice him there, he told *Sarah*, that he was going with him to the ſchool of *Shem* (197). They likewiſe attribute to him the compoſing of the noon-prayers which they conſtantly uſe: for they think *Abraham* was the author of thoſe of the morning, and *Jacob* of thoſe of the evening, and *Iſaac* of thoſe of noon *.

(197) Sgambat. Archiv. *Vet. Teſt. l.* 2. *p.* 197. * Fabric. *Apocryph. Vet. Teſt.* 434.

his

his darling, in regard of his excellencies of body and mind; beſides, his father had obſerved ſomething extraordinary and promiſing in him, beyond what he could ſee in his other ſons, which made him ſo exceſſively fond of him (K), that it procured him the envy of all his brothers. What encreaſed it ſtill more was, that *Joſeph* having obſerved ſome vile actions in the ſons of *Bilhah* and *Zilpah*, with whom his father had ſent him to feed the ſheep, in hopes, that they would pay him a greater regard than his other brethren, came and acquainted him with it. But he himſelf helped to compleat their envy, or rather, to turn it into an irreconcilable hatred, by innocently telling them ſome dreams he had, which ſeemed to foreſhew, that he ſhould one day get the power and authority over them. One of them was, that he ſaw in a wheat-field his own ſheaf ſtanding upright, and theirs falling down before it, and paying homage to it. Another was, that he ſaw the ſun, moon, and eleven ſtars, doing the like obeiſance to him. This laſt he likewiſe told to his father, who, though he could not perhaps but be delighted with it, and think it ſignificative of ſome great fortune that would attend him; yet obſerving, with what envy his brethren heard it, thought fit to rebuke him ſeverely before them, aſking him, if he thought, that his father, mother, and brethren were to bow themſelves to the earth to him? but this rather helped to encreaſe their hatred againſt him, and made them

Joſeph *beloved by his father.*

Hated by his brethren.

His two dreams.

(K) Moſt verſions as well as ours, have made *Jacob* to love *Joſeph*, becauſe he was the ſon of his old age, whereas he had two ſons younger than he, *viz.* *Zebulun* and *Benjamin*, and this laſt was born above fifteen years after him. It ſeems they have confounded the words בן זקנים *Ben Zekenim*, the ſon of ſenators or elders, as he is called here, with בן זקנה *Ben Ziknah*, the ſon of old age. But the former has a quite different meaning, it ſignifying, according to the *Hebrew* idiom, *the ſon or diſciple of ſenators*; that is, becauſe he was endued with extraordinary wiſdom and prudence. Accordingly the *Samaritan*, *Perſic* and *Arabic* verſions have rendered it, *becauſe he was a wiſe and prudent ſon*; though even this comes ſhort of the energy of the idiom, and might be more properly tranſlated, *becauſe he was as wiſe and prudent as a ſenator*. And as it is natural for parents, eſpecially fathers, to admire thoſe children that ſhew any degree of wiſdom above their years, ſo *Jacob* had a great deal of reaſon to ſhew a more than ordinary love for ſuch a ſon; whereas to be fond of a child of old age, had *Joſeph* been even ſuch, is but a common piece of dotage, which *Moſes* would hardly have thought worth recording (198).

(198) *Vid.* Le Scene's *Eſſay.*

reſolve

reſolve to contrive his death. It was not long before an opportunity offered itſelf to them. *Jacob* being uneaſy, that he had not heard from them for ſome time, ſince they were gone to *Shechem* with their flocks, and fearing leſt ſome ill luck had befallen them, ſent *Joſeph* to enquire after them. When he came thither, he was told that they were removed farther off, about twenty miles farther north towards *Dudaim*. He went after them, and they no ſooner ſaw him, but they all agreed to make away with the dreamer, as they called him, and to make their father believe, that ſome wild beaſt had devoured him. They had certainly executed their bloody deſign, without any regard either to his tears, his age, or to the grief, which the news of his death would cauſe to their aged father, had not *Reuben* diſſuaded them from imbruing their hands in his blood, and adviſed them to throw him alive into a pit, and let hunger and grief perform that cruel office. Whether the fear of the guilt of blood, or deſire to make him die a more lingering death, prevailed upon them to take the advice, they let him down into the pit, and, as if they had performed ſome noble exploit, they ſat down to eat and to drink. In the interim a troop of *Iſhmaelites* happening to paſs by, with ſpices and balm from *Gilead*, and bound for *Egypt*, *Judah* perſuaded his brethren to ſell him to them, ſince his death would do them no more ſervice, than his being carried down into *Egypt* †. His project was approved, and *Joſeph* was ſold to the merchants, and carried off unknown to *Reuben*, whoſe deſign was to have got him out of the pit, and to have ſent him back privately to his father. The ſurpriſe and concern he was in when he found him gone, forced ſuch complaints from him, that they ſoon underſtood what his deſign had been. They took therefore the more care that he ſhould not know what was become of him. Soon after this, having dipped his party-coloured coat, which they had ſtripped him of, in ſome kid's blood, they ſent it home to their father; who no ſooner ſaw it, than he ſuppoſed that his beloved child had been torn in pieces by ſome wild beaſt. He took his ſuppoſed loſs ſo to heart, that he did not ceaſe mourning for him, 'till he heard the ſurprizing news of his advancement in *Egypt*[r] (L), where

He is ſold, and carried down into Egypt.

† Vid. ſup. p. 114. [r] Gen. xxxvii.

(L) *Juſtin* in epitome of *Trogus* makes mention of *Joſeph*'s being ſold into *Egypt* by his brethren, who envied the excellency of his wit;

where *Joſeph* happened to be ſold to an officer of the king's guard, named *Potiphar* (M). Here *Joſeph* ſhewed ſuch diligence and integrity, and proved ſo ſucceſsful in all he undertook, that his maſter ſoon took notice of him, and committed the care of all his affairs wholly into his hands. He had been about ten years in *Potiphar*'s houſe, when his extraordinary beauty and comlineſs began to inflame his miſtreſs's heart, and ſhe, not being over-nice in ſuch matters, made no difficulty to diſcloſe the ſecret to him, in ſuch plain terms as would force a direct anſwer from him. But how great was her ſurprize, when, inſtead of the chearful compliance ſhe probably expected, ſhe found herſelf denied, and ſeverely reprimanded for her diſloyal paſſion! However, being willing to hope, that another opportunity might prove more favourable, after ſeveral fruitleſs attempts, ſhe laid hold on one when all the family was abroad, and accoſted him in ſo paſſionate and violent a manner, as gave him to underſtand, that ſhe would not bear any further denial. *Joſeph*, thinking it ſafer to leave her than to ſtay and expoſtulate with her, was forced to leave his upper garment behind, which ſhe held ſo faſt that he could not get it out of her hands. This laſt affront ſo enraged her, that ſhe reſolved his immediate ruin. She began with ſetting up a moſt horrid out-cry, which ſoon brought in all the people that were within hearing of it, then ſhewing them *Joſeph*'s cloak, ſhe told them, that he had made ſo furious an attempt to raviſh her, that nothing but her loud cries could have delivered her from him. By that

Sold there to Potiphar.

Is ſolicited to an amour by his miſtreſs

His refuſal makes her accuſe him.

wit; and having got him privately into their hands, ſold him to ſome merchants, who carried him down into that country (199).

(M) It may not be improper to obſerve here, that tho' the text calls *Potiphar* an eunuch, yet he was not a real one, as the LXX render it, and the *Jews* fancy; ſome of whom think, that he was not ſo thoroughly caſtrated, but that ſome of the ſtrings being left might make him deſire a wife (200); for though the *Hebrew* word סריס *Saris* doth properly ſignify an *Eunuch*, yet it is often uſed to ſignify an *officer belonging to the court, and near to the king's perſon.* He is alſo called שר טבחים *Sar Tabachim*, which in its primitive meaning ſignifies *the prince of the butchers*, from *Tabach*, which ſignifies *to kill, ſlaughter*, or what is beſt expreſſed by the *French* word *Egorger*. For which reaſon ſome have rendered it *the prince of the cooks* (201). But, as the matter is of no great importance, we have followed the *Engliſh* verſion, which agrees in this with the generality of interpreters (202).

(199) Juſtin. *l.* 36. *c.* 2. (200) D. Kimki & *al.* (201) *Vid.* Mercer. Jun. & *al.* (202) Joſeph. *Philo, Ambr.* & *al.*

time

time her ſpouſe came home, ſhe had dreſt up her ſtory ſo well, and made ſuch uſe of the dumb witneſs ſhe had torn from him, that ſhe was eaſily believed. Had *Potiphar* loved him leſs than he did, it is probable, he would have ſacrificed him that minute to his reſentment; but he contented himſelf for the preſent with ſending him into the king's priſon [r], where we ſhall leave him for a while, to take a view of what paſſed in his father's family.

He is ſent to priſon.

Judah's *marriage with a* Canaanite.

NOT long after *Joſeph* had been ſold into *Egypt*, *Judah* happened to marry the daughter of a *Canaanite*, whoſe name was *Shuah*, by whom he had three ſons (N), *Er*, *Onan*, and *Shelah*. *Er* being cut off for his wickedneſs, before he had any children by his wife *Tamar*, *Judah* bid his ſecond ſon *Onan* to take her, according to the cuſtom of that country, and to raiſe a poſterity to his brother. *Onan* obeyed ſeemingly, but, not brooking the thoughts that his children ſhould be eſteemed his brother's, took ſuch a wicked and unnatural way to prevent *Tamar*'s having any by him, that GOD was provoked

Er's death.

Onan's ſin and death.

[r] Gen. xxxix.

(N) It is not eaſy to gueſs at what time *Judah* had theſe three ſons by this *Canaanitiſh* woman; and if we take the words in the original, *at that time*, in a ſtrict ſenſe, as if it happened about the time that *Joſeph* was ſold, he muſt have been too young; being but twenty two years of age; for *Joſeph* was ſeventeen years old, and he could not be above four or five years older, being the fourth ſon of *Leah*, and he and *Joſeph* both born within the compaſs of ſeven years. So that the moſt that can be thought is, that he had married either a little before *Joſeph* was ſold, or about that time, and that the latter part of the ſtory of his ſon's marriage and death, and the buſineſs of *Tamar*, happened during the twenty years that *Joſeph* continued in *Egypt*. And therefore, though *Moſes* relates all theſe events in the chapter preceding that, which gives an account of his diſgrace and impriſonment, it is moſt probable, that he has done it to prevent intermingling the ſtory of thoſe two brothers too much, and ſo has made an end of *Judah*'s adventures before he went on with thoſe of *Joſeph*. Neither need we think ſtrange, that *Judah* and his ſons ſhould marry ſo young, ſince we have other inſtances in ſcripture of the like nature; ſuch as that of *Ahaz*, *Hezekiah*'s father, who was but eleven years old when he was born; for *Ahaz* was but thirty ſix when he died, and his ſon was twenty five when he began to reign (203), though he was his immediate ſucceſſor. And if a prince in thoſe latter days could have a child at that age, much more might they that lived in *Judah*'s time.

(203) 2 *Kings xvi.* 2. *Ibid. xviii.* 2.

to

to puniſh him with death alſo (O). *Judah* therefore bid her remain a widow in her father's houſe, until his third ſon was grown old enough to ſupply his brother's place; but when ſhe ſaw that time come, and that he neglected to ſend for her, as indeed he never deſigned it, leſt *Shelah* ſhould meet with the fate of his two brothers, ſhe reſolved to make herſelf amends by ſome other way, which ſhe effected by the following ſtratagem.

JUDAH had buried his wife about this time, and was ſtill young enough to feel the want of her. As ſoon therefore as the uſual days of mourning were over, it being then the ſeaſon of ſheep-ſheering, he reſolved to try whether that diverſion might allay his grief. He took an intimate friend with him, and went up to *Timnath*, the place where the ſheerers were at work. In the mean while *Tamar* hearing of it, reſolved to make uſe of that opportunity to ſet on work her deſign. She put off her widow's garments, and dreſſing herſelf like a curtezan, and throwing a vail over her face (P), ſet herſelf between the two ways that lead to *Timnath*, through one of which ſhe knew her father-in-law muſt needs paſs.

(O) Though *Onan*'s ſin was in it ſelf great enough, yet it is very probable that it was aggravated with a worſe circumſtance; *viz.* his having an eye to the ſuppreſſing of the MESSIAH'S coming, ſince he ſhould not have the honour to be numbered among his anceſtors (204), which might provoke GOD to cut him off. As for the ſin of his elder brother, it is thought to have been the ſame with *Onan*'s but committed with a different view; that *Tamar* might not ſpoil her beauty and ſhape by bearing of children; but this is only a rabinic conjecture.

(P) The text ſays, that *Judah* thought her to be a harlot, becauſe ſhe had covered her face. From whence ſome have fancied that ſhe covered it with paint; but theſe are ſufficiently reproved and confuted by *Abenezra* (205). Others think that the vail over the face was the ſign of a harlot(206); but whether they were ſo ſhame-faced in thoſe days or not, it ſeems rather, that ſhe had vailed herſelf that *Judah* might not know her. What therefore made him think her to be a curtezan, was her ſitting alone in ſuch a conſpicuous place; for ſo the original may be rendered. If it be aſked, how ſhe could prevent her voice from betraying her, all that can be ſaid is, either that ſhe had an art of altering it ſo as not to be known, as ſome people have, or, which is more probable, that *Judah* was ſo hot in purſuit of his pleaſure, that it did not permit him to make any reflection about it. *Vid.* our next note.

(204) *Vide* Alix. *in Pentat.* (205) Abenezra *in loc.* (206) Jun. Calv. *& al. in loc.*

Judah *and* Tamar. JUDAH no ſooner ſpied her, but, thinking her to be what ſhe appered, began to make his addreſſes to her, and ſhe inſiſting only upon a reward for her compliance, he promiſed her to ſend her a kid, and at her deſire left her his ſeal, his bracelet, and ſtaff, as a pledge for it. The intrigue being over, *Judah* ſent his friend *Adullam*, for that was his name, with the kid, to redeem the pledges, but in vain, for ſhe was gone home; neither did the men of the place, of whom he enquired, know any thing of ſuch a woman plying there. He went to *Judah* and told him his ill ſucceſs, who, fearing to be expoſed for his amour, anſwered his friend, let her keep the pledges, as long as I have performed my promiſe to her, as you yourſelf will bear me witneſs. (Q)

Tamar *with child.* BUT the matter was not ſo indifferent as he thought. Some months after word was brought to him, that his daughter-in-law had proved diſloyal, and was certainly with child. *Judah*, though glad at the news, becauſe her death would free him from his promiſe of giving his ſon *Shelah* to her, pretended to be highly provoked at her incontinency, and, ordering

Condemned to be burnt, her to be brought forth, condemned her to be burnt, according to the laws of the country. *Tamar*, inſtead of being ſurprized at the dreadful ſentence which he had pronounced againſt her (R), produced the pledges he had left with her, and

(Q) It ſeems by this action of *Tamar*, that ſhe had obſerved ſomething of this propenſity to women in him, whilſt ſhe lived with his two ſons, elſe it is not probable, that ſuch a project ſhould come into her head, neither would ſhe have appeared ſo ſure of the ſucceſs, as ſhe ſeems to have been by the ſequel. However, it is plain, that it was neither the virtue, nor ſanctity of the twelve patriarchs, that recommended them to the favour of GOD, but his covenant with *Abraham*, and the glorious deſigns of his providence on their poſterity. And this is what *Moſes* told the *Iſraelites* in the wilderneſs in more places than one (207).

(R) Some think, that *Judah*, as head of his own family, had power of life and death over all that belonged to it; but it is hardly probable, that the *Canaanites*, in whoſe country they dwelt, would give a ſtranger ſuch a power. 'Tis more likely therefore, that he meant only, that ſhe ſhould be brought before a court of Judicature, and ſentenced according to the laws of the country. However, whether judge or proſecutor, 'tis certain he acted like an unrighteous one: for *Tamar* could not be juſtly accuſed of adultery, which alone condemned her to be burnt, unleſs it were becauſe he had betrothed her to his ſon *Shelah*, by the promiſe he made her to marry her to him (otherwiſe it was lawful for widows to ſeek their

(207) *Deut. paſſ.*

and told him, that ſhe was got with child by the owner of them. Whereupon *Judah*, in a confuſion and ſurprize, owned, that ſhe was the more innocent of the two, and that he had wronged her in with-holding *Shelah* from her. He afterwards conducted her home, but never touched her from that time. When her full time was come ſhe brought forth twins; but the manner of their being born was ſomething ſurprizing; for one of them put forth his hand, about which the midwife tied a ſcarlet thread, expecting him to come out the firſt: but when he withdrew his hand, and his brother ſhewed him the way into the world, his mother called him *Phares*, or *breach*, by reaſon of the breach he had made between his brother and him; and the other was called *Zarah* [t]. *but abſolved.* *A ſtrange birth.*

JOSEPH in the mean while, was got into ſuch favour with the keeper of the priſon, that he entruſted him with the care of all the priſoners. Two of them, men of ſome diſtinction, *viz. Pharaoh*'s chief butler and baker, being very ſad and thoughtful one morning about a dream which each of them had, *Joſeph*, being informed of the cauſe and the dream, gave each of them its particular interpretation, telling them alſo the preciſe time when they ſhould ſee them fulfilled. Accordingly, three days after the butler was reſtored to his place, and the baker hanged (S). *Joſeph* took this opportunity Joſeph. *Dreams of two priſoners explained.*

[t] Gen. xxxviii.

their fortune elſewhere, as appears by what *Naomi* ſaid to her two daughters-in-law) becauſe he never deſigned to fulfil his promiſe (208). It was moreover an inhuman thing to put a woman to death before ſhe was delivered; and the *Romans*, bad as they were with reſpect to children, whom they uſed to expoſe when they thought fit, had yet a law to prevent a pregnant woman being put to death before her delivery (209). But it is probable, that his eagerneſs to be rid of her, made him ſpeak more unadviſedly than he would have done, had ſhe been a more indifferent perſon. However, it is plain, that *Joſephus* looked upon all the tranſactions mentioned in this chapter to be ſo little for the credit of *Judah* and his ſons, that he has ſuppreſſed them all. This is one, though far from the only one, of the inſtances we told the reader of in a former note, of his ſuppreſſing any thing that caſt a reflexion on his nation †: the reſt will come in courſe.

(S) Our tranſlation has rendered the expreſſion, which *Joſeph* uſes to the butler and the baker, *ſhall lift up thy head*, too literally, ſince they imply that they would both have the ſame fate; whereas it is plain they proved vaſtly different. The words in the original mean, that in three days *Pharaoh* would have them brought forth

(208) *Ruth i.* 9. (209) Ælian. *l.* 5. † *Vid. ſup. p.* 401, (B)

nity of addreſſing himſelf to the former, and to beg his aſſiſtance and intereſt to get him out of priſon, telling him at the ſame time, how he had been ſold out of his country, and falſly accuſed by his miſtreſs, and what elſe he thought proper to move him to comply with his requeſt.

BUT the butler, being got at liberty and reſtored to his place, never remembered his fellow priſoner for two whole years, till a remarkable accident forced him, as it were, to call him to mind. The king his maſter had had two very frightful and portentous dreams in one night, the meaning of which he had in vain enquired of all his *Egyptian* wiſemen, none of whom could give him the leaſt light into them. The uneaſineſs which appeared in *Pharaoh*'s countenance, and the ſearch he ordered to be made for ſome more learned interpreters, did ſoon make our courtier recollect what *Joſeph* had foretold him in the priſon. He went therefore inſtantly to the king, and, after an humble apology for his ingratitude and forgetfulneſs, acquainted him, that two years before there was an *Hebrew* youth in priſon with him, who had interpreted his and the baker's dream with a more than ordinary exactneſs, and ſeemed to have a much greater talent that way, than all the wiſemen that had been hitherto conſulted. *Pharaoh* was too eager to be ſatisfied about his own, not to ſend immediately for *Joſeph*, who, having waſhed and ſhaved himſelf, and changed his cloaths, was forthwith introduced to his majeſty. He no ſooner appeared than the king told him his dreams, and promiſed him a conſiderable reward if he could give him an interpretation of them. *Pharaoh* had dreamed, that he had ſeen ſeven luſty fat cows feeding on the banks of the *Nile*; ſoon after which ſeven others lean and ill-favoured ones came and devoured them; and yet did neither look the fatter or bigger for it. His ſecond dream was much of the ſame kind, *viz.* ſeven full ears of corn devoured by ſeven blaſted ones. *Joſeph* anſwered the king with his uſual modeſty, that the ſeven cows and ſeven ears ſignified the ſame thing; that the dream being repeated was only a ſign, that the thing was to happen immediately after. That the ſeven

Pharaoh's *two dreams interpreted by* Joſeph. Year of the Flood, 1284. Year before Chriſt, 1715.

and examined; for the word here rendered *lift up the head*, ſignifies to *muſter*, to *call to an account*, and *to take the ſum* of any thing; and the ſequel ſhews this to have been the true meaning, ſince, after ſuch examination, the one was hanged, and the other re-inſtated. It ſeems therefore probable, by the expreſſion here uſed, that they had been ſuſpected, or accuſed, of cheating the king, and that when their accounts had been examined and caſt up, the one was found guilty, and the other cleared.

fat

fat cows and full ears ſignified ſeven years of exceſſive plenty, which would nevertheleſs be quite forgotten in the ſeven ſucceeding years of famine, ſignified by the ſeven lean cows and blaſted ears. He thereupon adviſed the king to appoint a wiſe and expert man over his whole kingdom, who ſhould take care to build granaries, and ſet officers in every province, to lay up a fifth part of all the corn of the ſeven plentiful years, againſt the ſucceeding years of famine.

THE king and all that heard him, were ſurprized at the wiſdom of this young ſtranger, who was then but thirty years old, and concluded, that he was the fitteſt perſon to be ſet over the kingdom, and to put his propoſal in execution. He was thereupon made maſter and overſeer of *Pharaoh*'s houſe; and orders were given, that he ſhould be obeyed in all things, as if he had been *Pharaoh* himſelf. The king ſtopped not here, but took his ſignet off his finger and gave it to him, cauſed him to be cloathed in fine linen, and put a golden chain about his neck, telling him, that he appointed him ſuperintendant over the whole kingdom, and the next unto himſelf in authority: he gave him moreover the name of *Zaphnath-paaneah*, which ſignifies *a revealer of ſecrets* (T). And to compleat his happineſs, he gave him the daughter of *Potipherah*, prieſt, or prince of *On*, to wife (U); and made him ride

Joſeph's *advancement and glory.*

His marriage.

(T) Theſe are not *Hebrew* words, as ſome rabbies dream (210), who render it by הצפונות מגלה, for though the firſt word may be derived from צפן *Zaphan*, to *hide*; yet the original of *Paaneah* is not to be found in the *Hebrew*. St. *Jerom* and others think, it ſignifies the SAVIOUR of the world in the *Egyptian* tongue (211); but it is moſt probable, that it ſignifies the revealer of ſecrets, and is accordingly ſo rendered by moſt *Jewiſh* and Chriſtian expoſitors (212).

(U) As it is not likely, that *Joſeph* ſhould be grown ſo great a courtier in ſo ſhort a time, as to have forgot his religion, eſpecially ſince we find him making ſo ample a profeſſion of it to his brothers ſeven years after (213); ſo neither is it probable, that he would have married the daughter of an uncircumciſed, whether prince or prieſt. But it was not ſo with *Potipherah*, who could not but be deſirous to purchaſe ſo advantageous an alliance at any rate, and therefore might eaſily be induced by *Joſeph* to remove that only obſtacle, by becoming circumciſed. This was therefore a fair opportunity for him to introduce that ceremony among the *Egyptian*

(210) Rambam. (211) Hieron. *in loc.* Egubin. *&c.* (212) Targ. Onkel. *in loc.* Joſ. *Ant. l. 2. c. 6. LXX.* Grot. Jun. *in loc. & al.* (213) *Gen. xlii.* 18.

prieſts,

ride in his ſecond chariot, while ſome men that ran before it cried, *bow the knee* (W). *Joſeph*, being raiſed to this height of power, took a progreſs through the whole kingdom, built his granaries, appointed proper officers in every place, and in a word, ordered all things with ſuch prudence and application, that before the ſeven years of plenty were over, he found his ſtores filled above numbering. During this time he had two ſons born of his wife *Aſenath*. The firſt of whom he called *Manaſſeh*, intimating, that GOD had made him forget all his toils; and the next he called *Ephraim*, becauſe GOD had made him fruitful in the land of his affliction.

Manaſſeh and Ephraim born.

THESE ſeven plentiful years were ſucceeded immediately by the ſeven years of famine; neither was the ſcarcity con-

The years of famine.

prieſts, which might afterwards be received alſo by the laity. However that be, we muſt not miſtake the city of *On* for that of *No*, threatened with deſtruction by *Ezekiel* (214), which was *Alexandria*. *On* therefore was *Heliopolis*, the chief city of the canton of that name, called by *Ptolemy Onium* (215), diſtant about twenty miles from *Memphis*, the metropolis of the kingdom †. Neither muſt we confound this *Potipherah* with that to whom *Joſeph* has been ſold, as St. *Jerom* has done. 'Tis much more probable, that they were two diſtinct perſons. 1. Becauſe the names are differently written; the firſt *Potiphar*, and the other *Potipherah*, or rather *Potipherangh*, ending with the letter ע (*Ain*). 2. The one is called captain of the guards, the other prieſt, or prince, of *On*.

3. The former therefore muſt have his reſidence in the capital, to be always about the king; the other lived at *On*, or *Heliopolis*; and laſtly, it is not likely, that *Joſeph* would have married his maſter's daughter, leſt ſhe ſhould have proved like her mother, whoſe incontinency he had ſo ſeverely ſmarted for (216).

(W) The *Jews*, *Kimki* excepted, unwilling to ſuppoſe, that ſo religious a man as *Joſeph* would ſuffer the ceremony of bowing the knee to be performed to him, have divided the word אברך *Abrek*, and read it אב רך *Ab rak*, which in *Hebrew* ſignifies *tender father*; by which they underſtand, that he was a father with reſpect of his conſummate wiſdom, and tender with reſpect of his years (217). And it is certain, that if the word be *Hebrew* it ſignifies both *bow the knee*, and *tender father*; but if it be *Egyptian*, we are to ſeek for the meaning of it. *Joſephus* ſays nothing of this circumſtance, probably, becauſe for want of underſtanding the *Hebrew*, he was forced to follow the *Septuagint*, which renders it, *bow the knee*.

(214) *Ezek. xxx.* 16. (215) *Vid.* Hieron. *loc. Hebr.* † *Vid.* Vol. I. *p.* 387. (216) Auguſt. *quæſt. in Gen. i.* 36. Chryſoſt. *Homil.* 63. *in Gen.* Mercer. Jun. Muſcul. *&c. al.* (217) Targ. Onkel. R. Jehud. *&c. al.*

fined

fined to the land of *Egypt*, but was felt all over the land of *Canaan*, and all the nations round about it. As ſoon therefore as the *Egyptians* came to be pinched for want of bread, they applied themſelves to *Pharaoh*, who commanded them to apply to *Joſeph*; upon which he immediately ordered his ſtores to be opened, and corn to be ſold to the people who flocked to him, not only from all parts of *Egypt*, but from all the neighbouring countries [u].

BY this time *Jacob*, who was not exempt from the common calamity, hearing that there was corn to be bought in *Egypt*, ſent ten of his ſons thither to buy ſome, and kept only *Benjamin* with him. Theſe, upon their arrival into *Egypt*, were directed to *Joſeph*, whom they muſt apply to for an order; and as ſoon as they ſaw him they proſtrated themſelves before him, and begged they might be ſupplied with ſome corn. *Joſeph* knew them immediately, though he was ſo altered that they could not call him to mind: he put on a ſevere look, and in an angry tone aſked them, whence they came? and upon their anſwering, from the land of *Canaan*, he charged them with being ſpies, who were come to diſcover the weakneſs of the land. Such an unexpected accuſation forced them to juſtify themſelves; they told him in the moſt ſubmiſſive terms, that they were come with no other deſign than to buy corn for their family, which was very numerous, they being all one man's ſons; that they had left another, a younger brother, with their father, beſides another who was now dead. This was what *Joſeph* wanted, who in a ſurly commanding tone told them, that unleſs one of them fetched this youngeſt ſon, whilſt the reſt were kept in ſafe cuſtody, he would not be perſuaded but that they were ſpies, and would puniſh them as ſuch. To ſhew that he was in earneſt, he ſent them all to priſon, and kept them there three days; at the end of which he ſent for them, and putting on a milder face ſaid to them, *this do and live, for I fear* GOD. Let one of you remain a priſoner with me, whilſt the reſt go home with proviſion for your family; and when you bring your youngeſt brother hither, he ſhall be delivered up ſafe, and you juſtified. He then commanded *Simeon*, who had been perhaps one of his moſt zealous enemies, to be bound before their eyes, and ſent to priſon, whilſt he had the pleaſure to hear them confeſs their inhumanity towards their brother, whoſe bitter cries had not been able to ſoften them to pity; acknowledging, that this misfortune had befallen them as a juſt puniſhment for it. Here *Reuben* had an opportunity of juſtifying himſelf, by re-

Joſeph's brethren come to him for corn.

Joſeph's rough behaviour to them.

Simeon *kept bound.*

[u] Gen. xli.

minding

minding them of the pains he took to diſſuade them from the horrid fact, little thinking who heard him, any more than his brethren; for *Joſeph* ſpoke by an interpreter to them. At length, having learned all that he wanted to know, he diſmiſſed them, not without contriving a freſh occaſion of ſurprize to them after they were gone, having bid the officer, who was to fill their ſacks with corn, to return their money in the mouth of the ſacks. Accordingly, when they came to bait, and to give ſome provender to their beaſts, they were not a little frighted to find all their money in their ſacks, and failed not to make all the diſmal reflections upon it, that their fear could ſuggeſt to them; concluding, that the haughty *Egyptian* lord had done it, that he might have a pretence to enſlave them at their next coming. As ſoon as they were got home they acquainted their father with all theſe adventures, who, though he was grieved at the detention of his ſon *Simeon*, was much more ſo, when he found, that *Benjamin* muſt go down to redeem him. He withſtood all their perſuaſions as long as he could [w], till, at length the famine increaſing, and the proviſion being almoſt ſpent, *Judah* prevailed with him to part with his favourite ſon for a time, promiſing to bring him ſafe back, or elſe to be anſwerable for him at the hazard of his life (X). As it was not without the utmoſt reluctancy

Their money returned.

[w] Gen xlii.

(X) The whole conduct of *Joſeph*, from his being firſt brought into *Egypt* to his diſcovering himſelf to his brethren, having been very much canvaſſed and diſapproved, it will not be amiſs to enquire how far it deſerves it, and how far it may be juſtified, even abſtracting from the hand of providence being concerned in it. Firſt then, he is blamed for not having ſent word to his father of his condition, who would have redeemed him at any rate, the city of *Memphis*, where he was ſold, not being above eighty miles at moſt from *Hebron*, where *Jacob* dwelt. To this it may be anſwered, 1. That if he had returned home, his brethren would, in all likelihood have taken a more effectual way to be rid of him, and, upon the firſt opportunity, have put their former bloody project in execution. And ſecondly, that *Egypt* being the place where he expected the preferment which his dreams had fore-ſignified to him, it was by no means adviſeable for him to leave it, but to wait patiently there for the event. Again, he is blamed for his rough and unjuſt uſage towards his brethren, which, it is pretended, ſavours of the rankeſt revenge: but it is plain, that if revenge had been the chief motive of his behaviour, he could have indulged it, in a more effectual way, without any danger of being called to an account for

tancy that *Jacob* conſented to this ſeparation, ſo he failed not to give his ſons the ſtricteſt charge about him, and to take all the proper meaſures for their ſafe return, and to gain the favour of the proud *Egyptian* lord. He bid them carry double their money, and make ready ſuch preſents as they thought would be acceptable to him (Y); and having entreated hea- Jacob's *preſents to* Joſeph.

ven,

it: whereas it is plain he had a much better deſign in it, namely, either to bring their heinous cruelty towards him into their remembrance, as it actually did †; or, 2. in order to inform himſelf of the ſtate of his family, eſpecially of his father and of his brother *Benjamin*; or laſtly, to make them reliſh his future kindneſs the better, by the rough uſage they had met with before. The laſt, and indeed the moſt conſiderable thing he is blamed for, is his ſending for his brother *Benjamin*, which he knew, his former behaviour conſidered, would cauſe an infinite deal of grief to his aged father, if not break his heart; and if he refuſed to ſend him the whole family muſt ſtarve at home, and *Simeon* remain in bonds. As for the latter part of the charge, *Joſeph* had it ſtill in his power to have remedied it, ſince, if he had found that his other brethren ſtayed longer than ordinary, he could but have ſent *Simeon* home with what meſſage and ſupply he pleaſed. But as for the other part of his behaviour, his cauſing *Jacob* to paſs ſo many days, if not weeks, in all the fear and anxiety that ſo dear a ſon's abſence and danger could cauſe, it cannot eaſily be juſtified any other way than by ſuppoſing, that *Joſeph* did certainly foreſee what would happen, and that his father's grieving ſometime for *Benjamin* would be ſo far from endangering his health, that it would only encreaſe his joy when he ſaw him again, and give a greater reliſh to the news of his own advancement and ſucceſs in *Egypt*. Without this ſuppoſition, 'tis plain, ſuch a ſudden tranſition from an exceſs of ſorrow to one of joy, was of itſelf ſufficient to have deprived him of his life, or of his ſenſes.

(Y) It is to be feared the generality of our expoſitors have not been very happy in their tranſlation of ſome of the preſents which *Jacob* ſent into *Egypt*, which has induced ſome learned critics of a later date (218) to endeavour to give us a more rational account of them, ſuch as the honey, nuts, and almonds, which could be no great rarities in *Egypt*, nor indeed any of the others, except the balm, which was that of *Gilead*, and of great price all the world over. A ſmall quantity therefore of it was a preſent worth accepting; but as for roſin, or wax, as many of our interpreters have rendered it, it could not be worth ſending.

Bochart, indeed, in the place above quoted, thinks, that it was either roſin, or turpentine, rather than balm of *Gilead*; becauſe

† *Gen. xlii* 21 *& ſeq.* (218) Bochart *paſſim.* Le Scene's *Eſſay. Eſſay towards a new tranſlation of the Bible, and others.*

ven, not without abundance of tears, for their good ſucceſs, diſmiſſed them; little dreaming, what glorious news he ſhould hear at their return, to make him amends for his ſon's abſence. They no ſooner appeared before *Joſeph* with their brother *Benjamin*, but he commanded his ſteward to conduct them to his houſe, where he deſigned they ſhould dine with him. But they, who had abandoned themſelves to fear, began to ſuſpect, that ſome ill deſign was hatching to enſlave them, upon the account of the money which they had found in their ſacks. To prevent therefore, as much as they could, any quarrel ariſing upon that ſcore, they acquainted the ſteward with the whole affair before they entered the houſe; ad-

Gilead was on one ſide *Jordan*, and *Jacob* was then at ſome ſmall diſtance from it on the other: but that doth not prove, that there was none to be bought there, or to be ſent for upon ſuch an occaſion. He adds, indeed, that *Joſephus* affirms balm to have been unknown in *Judæa*, till the queen of *Sheba* brought ſome of it to *Solomon* from *Arabia Felix*: but *Joſephus* may be miſtaken. Beſides, how came *Gilead* to be ſo famous for it afterwards? The Queen hardly brought the trees there, and if *Solomon* had ſent for them afterwards, he would have planted them in all likelihood nearer to him: but whatever it was, 'tis plain, that roſin and turpentine could not be a preſent worth *Joſeph*'s acceptance. The next is honey, which was indeed very much admired by the antients, as well *Jews* as *Gentiles*, for a delicious food (219); but, unleſs that of *Canaan* was better than ordinary, it was hardly a preſent worth ſending to an *Egyptian* prime miniſter, ſince 'tis morally impoſſible, that country ſhould be without it. It is more likely, therefore, that they were dates, which are called by the ſame name (דבש *Debeſh*) as the *Jewiſh* doctors obſerve, and which, when full ripe, yield a ſort of honey not much inferior to the other. The *Arabic* calls dates *Duboos*, and the honey of them *Dibo*, or *Dibis*, to this day; and it is plain, that *Judæa* abounded in palm-trees of all ſorts, more eſpecially about *Jericho*, if we may believe *Joſephus* and *Pliny*. The next is what we tranſlate ſpices; but the *Hebrew* word נכאת *Nekoth* doth rather ſignify ſtorax than ſpices, being a precious aromatic gum, that was put into all precious ſpicy ointments (220). *Myr*, or as it is in the original לוט *Lot*, is rather the ſtacte or ladanum, of the *Chaldee* and *Septuagint*, the laſt name coming nearer the *Hebrew* word. It is thought to be the gum of the cypreſs-tree, and was one of the aromatics in the perfume preſcribed by GOD to *Moſes* (221).

(219) 1 *Sam. xiv.* 27. 2 *Sam. xvii.* 29. *Cant. iv.* 11. Homer. *Iliad* λ. *v.* 630. *Odyſſ. η. v.* 69. Sueton. *de* Neron. *c.* 27. *& al.*
(220) *Vid.* Bochart *Hierozoic. lib.* 4. *col.* 531, 532. (221) *Exod. xxx.* 34.

ding,

ding, that they had brought it back with them, with a new ſupply to buy ſome freſh proviſions. The ſteward, ſeeing their concern, bid them not be under any apprehenſions about it, for they ſhould never be aſked for it again. He then brought them into the houſe, ordered them water to waſh their feet, and provender for their beaſts, and in the mean time he brought *Simeon* unbound to them. He afterwards acquainted them, that they were to dine with his lord, who would be back by noon; upon which they ſet themſelves about making ready their preſents, which they accordingly laid before him with the utmoſt reverence, as ſoon as he came home. *Joſeph*, having ſaluted them round, began to enquire after their father's health, and whether that was their youngeſt brother that ſtood before him. *Benjamin* bowed his head to the ground, and *Joſeph* having bleſt him, ordered the victuals to be brought in, and made them ſit down by themſelves, and to be ſerved according to their rank and ſeniority, whilſt he ſat at a table by himſelf, and his *Egyptian* gueſts at another by themſelves; it being an abomination to the *Egyptians* to eat with the *Hebrews* (Z). *Joſeph*, according to the cuſtom of the country, and of thoſe times [x], ſent diſhes from his own table to all his brethren, and they were not a little ſurprized to ſee how exactly he ſerved them according to their ſeniority;

Benjamin *and his brethren dine with* Joſeph.

[x] Vid. XENOPH. in vit. CYR. lib. 8.

(Z) This extreme averſion of the *Egyptians* to eat with the *Hebrews* has been variouſly accounted for. Some attribute it to the exceſſive pride of that nation, which deſpiſed all but themſelves; others to the *Hebrews* being ſhepherds, and ſo eating of the ſheep and other cattle which the *Egyptians* worſhipped (222). Accordingly we read in another chapter (223), that ſhepherds were alſo an abomination to the *Egyptians*, whether *Hebrews* or otherwiſe; and *Moſes* tells *Pharaoh*, that they could not ſacrifice in *Egypt* what was an abomination to them (224); that is, to kill and eat part of thoſe beaſts which they worſhipped (225): but the moſt probable reaſon of this averſion to ſhepherds, and to the *Hebrews*, as ſuch was the great oppreſſion and tyranny under which they had groaned, when the *Hykſos* or king-ſhepherds, as the word ſignifies, poured in upon them, enſlaved, and held them in ſubjection above five hundred years; and of which an account has been given in a former chapter (226).

(222) Muſcul. Munſt. Tremel. & *al. in loc.* (223) *Gen. xlvi.* 34. (224) *Exod. viii.* 26. (225) *Chald. Paraph.* (226) *Vid. ſup. p.* 4 *vid.* Manetho *apud* Joſeph. *cont.* Apion.

but much more so, when they saw *Benjamin*'s portion five times larger than any of the rest, which was an usual mark of honour to the person to whom it was sent. After they had eat and drank plentifully, they began to think of taking their leave, and of going about their other affairs [y]; but *Joseph* had yet one fright more in reserve for them before he discovered himself. He bid his steward to put his drinking-cup into *Benjamin*'s sack, and to overtake them at some distance off the city, and, after a thorough search, to bring the pretended thief back to him. The thing was punctually executed, and we may easily imagine their surprize and concern, when the silver cup was produced out of the sack of their younger brother. They made all possible haste to load their asses again, and returned to *Joseph*, who received them with a warm reprimand for thus requiting his kindness and civility to them; which he concluded however with assuring them that though he might justly punish them all, yet the person only upon whom the cup was found should remain a slave, whilst the rest might go home in peace. After they had expressed their grief and shame in the humblest manner they were able, *Judah*, who had taken *Benjamin* under his care, having recovered himself from his surprize, addressed himself to *Joseph* in the most submissive and pathetic terms. He acquainted him with his father's extreme fondness for the lad, the great difficulty they had to persuade the good old gentleman to part with him, and the danger of his grieving to death for the loss of him. He likewise offered himself at the same time as an equivalent for his brother, with such zeal and concern, that *Joseph* was no longer able to contain himself. His [z] bowels began to yearn, and his tears to flow so fast, that he was forced to send all the by-standers away, whilst he made himself known to his brothers. He no sooner had told them, that he was *Joseph* their brother, which was all that his full heart would let him utter, but they were all struck with such mixture of joy and surprize for a considerable time, that they could make him no answer; neither did they dare even to look towards him, to convince themselves whether it was really he or an allusion. By this time *Joseph* having recovered himself, desired them to draw nearer unto him; he embraced them all round with a surprizing tenderness, and to dispel all their further apprehensions, he told them, that their selling him into *Egypt* having been directed by an unseen providence, and proved the means of so much good, both to himself, to them, and to all *Egypt*, he would be so far from re-

Joseph's *cup found in* Benjamin's *sack.*

Judah's *speech to* Joseph.

Joseph *discovers himself.*

[y] Gen. xliii. [z] Gen. xliv.

senting

ſenting it, that they ſhould never hear it ſo much as mentioned by him from that day. Whilſt this was doing, ſome of the *Egyptians*, one of whom might be the interpreter, went and acquainted the king and the whole court, that *Joſeph*'s brethren were come to buy corn. *Joſeph* had no deſign to make a ſecret of it, when he ſent the *Egyptians* out of the room; he only wanted to be without witneſſes whilſt he diſcovered himſelf to them, diſſipated their fears, acquainted them with his good fortune, and tried to perſuade them to bring his father down with all their families and cattle; ſeeing there were yet five years of famine to come, during which the earth would hardly return the ſeed it had received. However the news had pleaſed *Pharaoh* ſo well, that he ſent for him, and told him, that ſince his father had ſuch a numerous family, and the ſcarcity not half over, he might ſend for them, and place them in what part of the country he thought fit; promiſing him, that they ſhould never want proviſions, nor any other favour he could ſhew them. He likewiſe bid him to ſend them a freſh ſupply of grain, and ſuch other things as he thought they might want for their journey, and chariots to bring their wives, children, and beſt moveables; telling them, that they needed not regard the ordinary ſtuff, ſince the good of the land was before them. *Joſeph* gladly obeyed the king's orders, and, beſides the chariots and proviſions, ſent to his father ten aſſes laden with the choiceſt commodities of *Egypt*; he likewiſe preſented his brethren with changes of garments, and diſtinguiſhed *Benjamin* by the addition of a large ſum of money; after which he diſmiſſed them with a ſtrict charge that they ſhould not fall out by the way. It is not to be doubted but their journey was performed more briſkly this time than the laſt. They found their father alive and well, whoſe firſt care was to look out for his favourite ſon, whom having joyfully received he thought himſelf at the height of his happineſs. But when they acquainted him with *Joſeph*'s grandeur, and told him, that he was the very man who had cauſed them ſuch mortal frights, the good old man, not being able to bear ſo much good news at once, fainted away in their arms; and being come to himſelf, doubted whether it was not a dream. At length, when they ſhewed him *Joſeph*'s preſents, and the *Egyptian* chariots, his doubts and fears vaniſhed, and he cried out in an exceſs of joy, *It is enough for me that my ſon* Joſeph *lives, I have now nothing more to wiſh, but to go down and ſee him once more before I die* [a].

Pharaoh's orders to Joſeph.

Joſeph *ſends for his father,* &c.

[a] Gen. xlv.

THIS

This great deſire of ſeeing ſo dear a ſon, whom he had ſo long mourned for, in all his *Egyptian* glory, ſpurred him up to haſten his departure, and to overcome all the difficulties which the number of his children, cattle, and all the other lumber of houſhold-ſtuff laid in his way. However, as his gratitude to God for all the mercies he ſaw himſelf bleſſed with, and his further want of the divine protection to accompany him ſafe into *Egypt*, demanded ſome freſh act of religion from him, he choſe to go to *Beerſheba* to offer ſome ſacrifices there; both becauſe it was the place where *Abraham* and *Iſaac* had lived ſo long and ſo happily, and becauſe it was in his way to *Egypt*, being the utmoſt boundary of *Canaan* towards the ſouth. Here God appeared again unto him, and bid him not fear to go down, ſince he would be with him and protect him, and in due time bring his poſterity out of it, to enter into the poſſeſſion of the promiſed land; adding moreover, that as for him, he ſhould have the comfort to live near his ſon *Joſeph*, to die in his arms, and to have his eyes cloſed by him. *Jacob*, thus comforted and encouraged, haſted his way to the metropolis of *Egypt*, and when he came within ſome ſmall diſtance from it, he ſent *Judah* before to acquaint *Joſeph* with his arrival, and to deſire him to come to him in the land of *Goſhen*, where he had promiſed to ſettle them (A). *Joſeph* was no ſooner informed of it, than he got up into his chariot, and went to meet his father, and their mutual joy upon this occaſion was ſuch, as is better imagined than expreſſed. As ſoon as this tender greeting was over, *Joſeph* told them, that he would go out of

Jacob *goes down into* Egypt.

Joſeph *acquaints* Pharaoh *with it.*

(A) It is a wonder how the *Septuagint* came to place the land of *Goſhen* in *Arabia*, at leaſt ſome copies have it *Goſhen in Arabia*, ſince that was farther off from *Egypt* than the land of *Canaan*. St. *Jerom* thinks, that it was the ſame as *Thebaïs* in *Æthiopia*, or bordering to it (227): but that was too long a journey for *Jacob*, neither would *Joſeph* have been near enough to have ſeen and ſupplied his wants: whereas he gives it as a reaſon to his brethren in the former chapter for his chooſing this land, that they might be near him: but this *Goſhen* was ſituate between the *Red-ſea* and the *Nile*, upon the borders of *Canaan*, not far from *On*, or *Hierapolis* (228), where his chief habitation was. It was a fruitful ſpot of ground and fit for cattle, and therefore *Joſephus* tells us, that *Pharaoh* kept his own there (229): it was ſeparate from *Egypt*, and therefore fitteſt for *Jacob* and his family, which would be out of all danger of interfering with the *Egyptians* (230).

(227) Hieron. *loc. Hebr.* (228) Joſeph. *Ant. l.* 2. *c.* 7. (229) *Id. ibid.* (230) *Vid.* Jun. Merc. *& al.*

hand

hand to give *Pharaoh* notice of their arrival, who would no doubt have the curioſity to ſend for them, and to enquire after their occupation; in which caſe he charged them to tell him, that they, as well as their fore-fathers, were ſhepherds from their youth. This was indeed an occupation which the *Egyptians* abominated, as we have ſeen before †; but *Joſeph* had his ends in it, being afraid, leſt *Pharaoh* ſhould detain them in his ſervice, inſtead of ſending them into the land of *Goſhen* where he was deſirous to place them. Accordingly, when five of his brethren were brought before the king, and were asked what their profeſſion was; they anſwered him as *Joſeph* had bid them, adding, that the famine, which raged in *Canaan*, had forced them to come with all their cattle into *Egypt*, and begging, that he would be pleaſed to appoint them the land of *Goſhen* to dwell in; which *Pharaoh* readily granted. *Joſeph* likewiſe preſented his father to him, who wiſhed the king abundance of happineſs; and being aſked how old he was, anſwered an hundred and thirty. Here the king expreſſing, perhaps, ſome wonder, to ſee a man ſo old, and in ſo good a caſe, *Jacob* added, that his life had been ſo full of trouble, that he came vaſtly ſhort of the years of his anceſtors. After this *Joſeph* conducted him and the whole family to the land of *Goſhen*; where he took care to ſupply them with all the neceſſaries of life, during the whole time of the famine. *Pharaoh* likewiſe ordered *Joſeph* to chooſe ſome of the ableſt of them, and to commit the care of his cattle to them, which he accordingly did [b]. It will not be amiſs to give here the names of *Jacob*'s children and grand-children, which came down with him into *Egypt*. As to the difficulties in adjuſting the account of them, and reconciling it with ſome other places of ſcripture, we chooſe to give them to our readers in a note, rather than interrupt the thread of the hiſtory (B).

Jacob *ſtands before* Pharaoh. Year of the Flood, 1293. Year before Chriſt 1706.

A Liſt

† Vid. ſup. p. 427, *ſub. nota* (Z). [b] Gen. xlvi.

(B) *Moſes* makes mention of two numbers of ſouls in *Jacob*'s family, excluſive of his daughters-in-law, *viz.* ſixty ſix (231) and ſeventy (232); he doth likewiſe reckon thirty three ſouls to *Leah*, including *Dinah* (233); and to *Zilpbah* her handmaid ſixteen ſouls, including *Serah*, *Aſher*'s daughter, and *Beriah*'s two ſons (234). To make which reckonings agree with the fourteen of *Rachel* (235) and the two firſt ſums of ſixty ſix and ſeventy. It is to be obſerved,

(231) Gex. xlvi. *v.* 26. (232) *v.* 27. (233) *v.* 15. (234) *v.* 18. (235) *v.* 22.

firſt,

A list of Jacob's *family.*

A List of *Jacob*'s sons and grandsons.

The sons of *Jacob*, and their sons.

By *Leah*:
- *Reuben*; *Hanoch*, *Phallu*, *Hezron*, *Carmi*.
- *Simeon*; *Jemuel*, *Jamin*, *Ohad*, *Jachin*, *Zohar*, *Shaul*.
- *Levi*; *Gershon*, *Kohath*, *Merari*.
- *Judah*; *Er*, *Onan*, *Shelah*, *Pharez*, *Zerah*. (*Er* and *Onan* died in *Canaan*.)
- *Issachar*; *Tola*, *Phuvah*, *Job*, *Shimron*.
- *Zebulun*; *Sered*, *Elon*, *Jahleel*.

By *Zilpah*:
- *Gad*; *Ziphion*, *Haggai*, *Shuni*, *Ezbon*, *Eri*, *Arodi*, *Areli*.
- *Asher*; *Jimnah*, *Ishuah*, *Isui*, *Beriah*, *Serah*, a daughter.

By *Bilhah*:
- *Dan*; *Hushim*.
- *Naphtali*; *Jahzeel*, *Guni*, *Jezer*, *Shillem*.

By *Rachel*:
- *Benjamin*; *Belah*, *Becher*, *Ashbel*, *Gera*, *Naaman*, *Ahi*, *Rosh*, *Muppim*, *Huppim*, *Ard*.

The sons of *Pharez*, *Judah*'s son; *Hezron*, *Hamul*.
of *Beriah*; *Heber*, *Malchiel*.

IN

first, that in the number sixty six *Jacob* is not reckoned, but only the souls that came out of his loins; but in the number of thirty three he seems included, else we shall find but thirty two, *viz.* *Leah*'s twenty nine sons, two grandsons by *Pharez*, and *Dinah*, in all thirty two; but that *Jacob* is reckoned in this number seems intimated by the eighth verse of the chapter, in the words *Jacob and his sons, viz.* by *Leah*. Accordingly *Josephus* gives us a list of them to the number of thirty two, including *Dinah*; yet sums them up thirty three, without acquainting us that he includes *Jacob*; though it is plain by the amount that he doth. This being premised, the whole account will stand thus:

Leah	33	including *Jacob*.
Zilpah	16	
Rachel	11	exclusive of *Joseph* and his two sons.
Bilhah	7	
	67	

Out of which deduct *Jacob*, because *Moses* reckons here only those that came out of his loins, and there will remain sixty six.

IN all threeſcore and ſix, excluſive of *Dinah*, *Jacob*'s daughter by *Leah*, and of *Joſeph* and his two ſons *Manaſſeh* and *Ephraim*; which being added to the number, it will amount to ſeventy ſouls.

THREE

To which add *Jacob*, *Joſeph*, *Ephraim*, and *Manaſſeh*; becauſe this ſecond reckoning is of all the ſouls of *Jacob*'s family, in which caſe he may be included, and the whole amount will be ſeventy ſouls (236): but if we reckon *Serah*, *Aſher*'s daughter, as *Joſephus* has done (237), and in all probability *Moſes* too, ſince he mentions her in his liſt, we need not to include *Jacob* in the number: for it will be ſeventy complete without him.

It is true that St. *Stephen* (238) reckons the whole number of them ſeventy five, which diſagrees with that of *Moſes*; but it muſt be remembered, that the apoſtles and firſt preachers made uſe of the *Septuagint* verſion, as being the only one then univerſally underſtood by the *Jews*; which verſion adds five more to *Manaſſeh* and *Ephraim*, namely, *Machir* and *Gilead*, ſons of *Manaſſeh*, *Sutalan* and *Tuhan*, ſons of *Ephraim*, and *Eden*, *Sutalan*'s ſon. But, beſides that they differ from the *Hebrew*, by reading eighteen inſtead of fourteen ſouls to *Rachel* (239): they likewiſe differ from themſelves; for fourteen and the five which they add will make nineteen, and not eighteen. Some antient fathers, thinking this knot inſoluble, have endeavoured to pick ſome myſteries out of it (240); but we need not be at any trouble to free the *Septuagint* verſion from error, which doth in ſo many inſtances differ from the original. However, there is ſtill another rational way to account for this difference between St. *Stephen*'s reckoning and that of *Moſes*, which is as follows. That St *Stephen* follows the firſt number of *Moſes*, *viz.* ſixty ſix; out of which he excludes *Jacob* and *Joſeph*, and his two ſons, to which he adds nine of their wives; for *Judah*'s wife was already dead, and *Benjamin* is ſuppoſed to be ſtill unmarried, and *Joſeph*'s wife out of the caſe: ſo that if we add theſe nine wives, which, though not of *Jacob*'s blood, yet belonged to his family, and to *Joſeph*'s kindred (which is the expreſſion St. *Stephen* makes uſe of) to the number of ſixty ſix, it will amount to ſeventy five (241).

Some antient and modern writers have ſuppoſed, that all theſe grandſons were not born when *Jacob* went down into *Egypt*, but either ſoon after, or at leaſt during his life; for which reaſon they think *Moſes* made no ſcruple to ſet them down with the reſt (242). So far are they from thinking, for inſtance, that *Benjamin* had ten

(236) Villet *cap. xxxvi.* (237) Joſ. *Ant. l. 2. c. 7.* (238) *Acts. vii.* 14. (239) *Gen. xlvi.* 22. (240) Auguſt *Quæſt. in Gen. clii.* Euchar. *& al.* (241) Berruyer *Hiſt. du peup. de Dieu, p.* 373, 374. 4° *Edit.* Kidder *in pentat.* (242) Ca met. *Comm. in Gen. in loc. & Hiſtoire de Juifs. p.* 245. Berruyer *loc. citat. St.* Auguſt. *Quæſt. cit.*

THREE things are to be obſerved in the liſt which *Moſes* has given us in this chapter, namely, 1. That the wives are not ſet down in it; becauſe they were not deſcended from him, any more than his ſervants and ſlaves. 2. That he doth not ſet them down according to the order of their birth as in other places [c], but mentions thoſe that were born of *Leah* and her maid, and then thoſe of *Rachel* and her maid. And 3dly,

[c] Gen. xxxv. 24, & ſeq. & alib.

ſons by that time, being but a little turned of thirty, that they think he was hardly married. The ſame thing they ſuppoſe of *Pharez*'s two ſons, alledging, though falſely, that *Pharez* was but one year old at *Jacob*'s departure (243). But all theſe ſuppoſitions are point blank contrary to the text, and if *Moſes* muſt have reckoned all thoſe that were born in *Egypt* before *Jacob*'s death, we don't know why he might not almoſt as well have reckoned ſeven hundred as ſeventy; ſince they muſt have encreaſed very faſt there, and married very young, elſe they could hardly from ſeventy have encreaſed to upwards of ſix hundred thouſand in the ſpace of two hundred and fifteen years, which was all the time of their abode in *Egypt*. It will therefore be more reaſonable to ſay, according to *Moſes*'s account, that *Pharez*'s two ſons were then born, though very young; for *Pharez*, being begotten of *Judah* in the thirtieth year of his age, might take a wife at fourteen or fifteen, and ſo have two ſons before *Jacob* left *Canaan* (244). The ſame may be likewiſe ſaid of *Benjamin*, who might have a number of children and two grand-children at the age of thirty one. We have already given inſtances of men, if they may be called ſo, who have had children when they were ſome years younger than we ſuppoſe theſe (245); ſo that there is no reaſon to depart from the plain text of *Moſes*, to fall into more difficult ſuppoſitions, than any that are in his narrative.

Another difficulty, that is raiſed againſt this genealogical liſt, is the difference of the names here mentioned and in other places of ſcripture, where the ſame genealogy is rehearſed, as in 1 *Chronicles* and *Numbers* (246); but we have already obſerved, that it is very common for men to have two names in the ſcriptures, and to be called ſometimes by one, and ſometimes by the other *. Concerning which the reader may conſult our commentators at their leiſure; as well as about the omiſſion of ſome of theſe perſons mentioned in *Moſes*'s liſt, which are left out by the author of the book of *Chronicles* (247).

(243) Perrer. (244) Mercer. Villet. (245) *See before*, *p.* 416, *ſub nota* (N). (246) 1 *Chron iv.* 24. *Numb xxvi. paſſ.* * *Vid. ſup. p.* 396, *ſub nota* (X) (247) *Vid. Villet. in loc.*

That

That the number ſixty ſix, in one part of the liſt, is only of the ſouls which *came out of* Jacob's *loins*, and the ſecond number of ſeventy is that of *all the ſouls* which belonged to the *Houſe of Jacob*; to which therefore *Joſeph* and his two ſons, and a grand-daughter named *Serah*, *Aſher*'s daughter, muſt be added, in order to make the number of ſeventy complete.

WHILST *Jacob* and his family were kept in peace and plenty, by the provident care of his ſon, the *Egyptians* felt the diſmal effects of the famine, which encreaſing daily upon them, and *Joſeph* holding up his corn at a high rate, ſoon drained them of all their money. After this they were reduced to ſell their cattle, houſes, land, and at length their very ſelves, for ſubſiſtence. By this means he bought all their lands and perſons for the king's uſe; and from that time they all became ſlaves to the crown, except the prieſts, who had a ſufficient quantity of proviſions allotted to them out of the royal ſtores, without being at any expence for it. One would be apt to think, that *Joſeph*'s zeal for the king's intereſt carried him beyond the bounds of common prudence, and that he did not conſider, that, whilſt he took ſuch an advantage over a ſtarving people, he raiſed the king's power to the degree of an abſolute tyranny, under which his family or their poſterity would one time or other ſeverely groan, as they effectually did. The text, as well as *Joſephus*[d], tells us, that he tranſplanted the people from one end of the kingdom to the other; and that the miſerable multitude went ſome one way and ſome another[e], ſubmitting to any miſery rather than ſtarving. However, when the ſeventh and laſt year of ſcarcity was come, *Joſeph* acquainted them, that they might now expect a crop againſt the next year, that the *Nile* would overflow, and the earth produce again as uſual; that he would diſtribute freſh lands, cattle, and corn to them, that they might return to their uſual tillage; upon this condition nevertheleſs, that from thenceforth the fifth part of all the product of their lands ſhould go to the king, and the reſt ſhould be theirs. The poor people were glad to ſubmit to theſe conditions, which were much better than they probably expected. They all ſet about cultivating the ground that was allotted to them, and from that time it paſſed into a law, that the fifth part of the product of the whole land of *Egypt* ſhould belong to the crown, which law continued in force for ſeveral centuries after, till a new regulation and diviſion was made †. However, *Joſeph* by this means gained the love and eſteem both of the king and people.

The Egyptians *ſell their lands and themſelves for corn,*

and are tranſplanted from one end of the kingdom to the other.

The fifth part of the product of their lands aſſigned to the crown.

[d] Ch. xlvii. ver. 22. Antiq. lib. 1. c. 7. [e] Vid. Hebr. Chald. & Arab. verſ. † See before, p. 28.

WHILST he was enjoying the fruits of his great ſucceſs and policy, his family at *Goſhen*, whom he failed not to viſit often, did wonderfully encreaſe both in children and wealth. At length *Jacob*, by that time he had lived there ſeventeen years, finding himſelf to grow old and feeble, and that his end could not be far off, ſent for his ſon *Joſeph*, and ſpoke to him to this purpoſe: Though the deſire of ſeeing a ſon, ſo dear to me as you are, raiſed to the height of *Egyptian* glory, joined to the raging famine with which our land was viſited, made me willingly come down into this ſtrange country; yet, *Canaan* being the inheritance which GOD promiſed to *Abraham* and his poſterity, and where he lies interred with my father *Iſaac* and ſome others of our family, in the ground which he purchaſed of the inhabitants; my laſt and dying requeſt to you is, that you will not ſuffer me to be buried here; but that you will ſwear to me to ſee me carried to *Machpelah*, and there depoſited with my anceſtors: your great power with the king of *Egypt* will eaſily obtain you and me that favour, which is the laſt I have to aſk of you. *Joſeph* did not make his father wait long for that ſatisfaction; he promiſed and ſwore to him that he would fulfil his deſire; and *Jacob*, who in all probability had ſat up upon his bed whilſt this ceremony laſted, bowed down his head towards his bed's teſter, in token of adoration and gratitude for the ſatisfaction which his ſon had now given him (C) [f].

Jacob's *requeſt to* Joſeph.

Year of the Flood, 1310. Year before Chriſt 1689.

JOSEPH,

[f] Gen. xlix.

(C) In this place, where *Jacob* is ſaid to have bowed himſelf, or rather, to have worſhipped, towards the bed's head; the *Septuagint*, if it has not been corrupted, ſeems to have read מַטֶּה *Matteh* a ſtaff, for מִטָּה *Mittah* a bed. So that they have tranſlated it, *he worſhipped towards the end of his ſtaff*; and the *Rhemiſh* divines, *he worſhipped the head of his ſtaff* (248). From which, and what the apoſtle to the *Hebrews* ſays (249), that he worſhipped *leaning* on his ſtaff, (where the word *leaning* is added, to expreſs the meaning of the particle עַל *hal* in the *Hebrew*, and ἐπὶ in the *Greek*; both which ſignify *upon*, and preſuppoſe his reſting, or leaning upon, and not worſhipping the top of the ſtaff) they have not ſcrupled to defend the worſhip of the croſs, of which this ſtaff, they pretend, was the type (250). But, without entering into the controverſy, it will be ſufficient, in order to juſtify our verſion, to obſerve, Firſt, that the apoſtle made uſe of the *Septuagint*, and ſo quotes it as he finds it there, and not as it was in the original,

(248) *Bibl. Remens. in loc.* (249) *Hebr. xi.* 21, (250) Do *Annotat. in Heb xi.* 21. *& al.*

which

JOSEPH, who could not long be abſent from the court, took his leave of his father, not without giving ſtrict charge to ſome of the family, that, upon the very firſt appearance of danger, they ſhould immediately ſend for him. Accordingly, as ſoon as word was brought to him that his father was a dying, he took his two ſons *Manaſſeh* and *Ephraim* with him, and went to preſent them to him, begging him, that he would give them his bleſſing before he died. *Jacob*, at the ſight of them, found his ſtrength, as it were, renewed. He ſat up upon his bed, and addreſſing himſelf to him, ſpoke with ſuch chearfulneſs, and in ſuch ſtrong and lively terms, as ſhewed nothing leſs than the dotage or weakneſs of a dying old man. He began with recapitulating all the glorious promiſes which GOD had formerly made to him, concerning his numerous poſterity's inheriting the land of *Canaan*, and concluded with the death of his dear *Rachel*. How tenderly I loved her, continued he, my whole family can teſtify; but I deſign to give her and you a further proof of my affection: you have had two ſons born in this ſtrange land, which, according to the uſual order of inheritance, ſhould have only the portion of grand-children in the diviſion of the promiſed land; but I will do more for them, and they ſhall from this day be called by my name, be eſteemed my ſons, and, as heads of two diſtinct tribes, receive a double lot: thus, inſtead of the tribe of *Joſeph*, they ſhall be called the two tribes of *Manaſſeh* and *Ephraim*. But if you have any more ſons after them, they ſhould only be allotted the portion of grand-children. I have yet one thing more in ſtore for you above the reſt of your brethren, *viz.* the portion which I took out of the hands of the *Amorites* by my ſword and bow. This ſhall likewiſe fall to the lot of your poſterity, when GOD ſhall bring you into that happy land (D). He then deſired his

Joſeph *brings his two ſons to* Jacob.

Ephraim *and* Manaſſeh *are made two tribes in* Iſrael.

which the *Jews* did no longer underſtand. And ſecondly, that he ſpeaks there of a different action, *viz.* *Jacob*'s bleſſing *Joſeph*'s children, which did not happen till ſome time after, whereas here *Jacob* makes *Joſeph* ſwear not to bury him in *Egypt*. Here he ſeems to have kept his bed, and there to have received freſh ſpirits, and to have ſat on it, leaning, perhaps on his ſtaff (251).

(D) There is a threefold queſtion ſtarted from this place, *viz.* 1. What portion this was which *Jacob* gave to *Joſeph*. 2. How he is ſaid to have conquered it by his ſword. 3. If *Shechem* be the place here meant, why he ſays, that he got it from the *Amorites*:

(251) *Compare Gen. xlvii and xlviii. Vid.* Villet. *c.* 47.

Whereas

his two grand-ſons to be brought to him, which *Joſeph* accordingly did, placing the eldeſt at *Jacob*'s right, and the youngeſt at his left hand: But he was ſurprized to find his father croſs his deſign, by croſſing his arms and laying his right on the head of the youngeſt, and his left on that of the eldeſt. He would have hindered it, thinking that it was done by a miſtake; but his father convinced him of the contrary, and, in bleſſing of the lads, which he did with great fervency and tenderneſs, he not only preferred *Ephraim* to *Manaſſeh*, but gave him much the larger and nobler bleſſing. The ſequel of this hiſtory will ſhew how exactly this prophecy of *Jacob* was verified in thoſe two tribes, as well as the next grand one, which he pronounced concerning all the twelve [g].

Jacob *bleſſeth the younger before the elder.*

[g] Gen. xlviii.

Whereas *Hamor* the father of *Shechem* was a *Hivite* (252). As to the firſt; it is generally agreed, that it was the city and territories of *Shechem*; for we don't read of any other conqueſts that *Jacob* made; and accordingly we find *Shechem* mentioned in St. *John*'s Goſpel (253) as the place which he gave unto *Joſeph*. 2. How he could ſay, that he got it by his ſword and his bow, when he ſo far diſallowed his ſons barbarous action towards the *Shechemites*, as even to curſe their reſentment which was the cauſe of it, has puzzled all our antient and modern expoſitors to account for; we ſhall only mention ſome of the moſt notable conjectures about it. 1. Some think it was the ſword and bow of his innocence (254); others of his prayers (255); others of his money (256): others think, that he ſpeaks proleptically, and that it was to be conquered afterwards by *Joſeph*'s poſterity (257): others again think, that *Jacob* had atchieved ſome warlike exploit againſt the *Amorites*, as *Abraham* had againſt the four kings (258). But the moſt general and probable opinion is, that when his ſons had once got that city and territories by the murder of all the inhabitants, he was forced to ſtand up in his own defence, and to keep the poſſeſſion of it by force of arms, 'till he removed to *Bethel*, and to recover it again by the ſame means from the *Amorreans*, who, living intermixed with the *Hivites*, had taken poſſeſſion of it during his abſence. And this is the reaſon why he ſays he got, or recovered it from the *Amorites*, and not from the *Hivites* (259).

(252) *Gen. xxxiv.* 2. (253) *John iv.* 5. (254) Hieron. *tradit. Hebr.* (255) *Chald. Paraph.* (256) Hieron. *ibid.* Auguſt. (257) Jun. & *al.* (258) Cajetan Andr. Maſius. (259) R. Sal. N. de Lyr. Mercer. Villet. Berruyer, & *al.*

FOR

FOR *Jacob*, having now exhauſted his ſpirits, and finding his death approaching, reſolved to conſecrate his few remaining hours in foretelling to his ſons, whom he had gathered about him, what ſhould happen to them in the latter days; and, as no prophecy was ever more punctually fulfilled than this, we ſhall endeavour to give it to our readers in a more modern and intelligible ſtile, than we have it in our verſion, without departing from the ſenſe of the original; and where any difficulty happens in our way, we ſhall acquaint him with it in a marginal note, and endeavour to make it as plain as we can. However, we beg leave to premiſe here, that what *Jacob* pronounces, or rather propheſies, concerning his ſons, is not ſo much to be underſtood as foretold of them, as of their tribes; nor of what ſhall immediately happen to them, but of what was not to have its completion till ſome time at leaſt after their entrance into the promiſed land. Thus, for inſtance, when he ſays, that *Zebulun* ſhall dwell along the ſea-coaſts, or that *Naphtali* is a well-ſpread tree yielding grafts and fair branches; it is plain, that he means by the firſt, that the lot of the tribe of *Zebulun* ſhould be by the ſea-ſide; and the laſt, that the *Naphtalites* ſhould prove in time very powerful and numerous. This is what the event has fully verified, and what ſhall be further proved in the following notes. The good old patriarch, after a moſt pathetic preface to draw their deepeſt attention, began with the firſt-born in theſe words:

Jacob's *laſt bleſſing to his twelve ſons.*

" REUBEN, thou art my firſt-born, and waſt once the
" firſt-fruits of my might and my ſtrength, and as ſuch thou
" waſt entitled to the right of primogeniture, the beſt por-
" tion in the inheritance, to the dignity of the prieſthood,
" and the ſupreme authority over thy brethren: but all
" theſe prerogatives, like the unſtable waters, that paſs by
" and return no more, are gone from thee; becauſe thou,
" little regarding the ſacredneſs of thy father's bed, didſt
" defile it, and alienate it from me [h]; for which crime,
" though thou continue ſtill to be a tribe in *Iſrael*, yet thou
" ſhalt ever be far inferior to the reſt of thy brethren, either
" in number, wealth, or ſtrength (E).

Reuben.

" SIMEON

[h] Gen. xxxv. 22. Vid. MUNST. in loc.

(E) The ſequel of the *Jewiſh* hiſtory ſhews, that the tribe of *Reuben* did ſtill remain in obſcurity, and without any of the marks of diſtinction, which uſed to be annexed to the right of primogeniture, ſuch as a double portion, ſupreme authority, and the prieſthood. Accordingly the *Jewiſh* expoſitors, eſpecially the *Bereſith Rabbah*

Simeon *and* Levi.

" SIMEON or *Levi* might have ſucceeded to the right of " primogeniture, which their brother's inceſt has juſtly " deprived him of, had they not proved ſuch inſtruments of " treacherous cruelty. May my ſoul be for ever preſerved " from ſuch bloody councils, and my honour unſtained from " their horrid guilt: For the fierceneſs of their anger hur- " ried them to commit murder, and the impetuouſneſs of " their fury made them break through all obſtacles that op- " poſed them. Curſed be their fury, for it was violent, and " their malice, for it was inhuman. This cruel diſpoſition " of theirs forces me to divide their tribes, that they may " never be rejoined in *Iſrael* [1]." Thus far the good old patriarch performed a ſevere and ungrateful taſk, and his prophecy againſt thoſe tribes was exactly verified in due time (F). Then caſting his eyes on *Judah*, with a joy equal to the indignation which he had expreſſed againſt his other brethren, he addreſſed himſelf to him thus:

Judah.

" JUDAH, thy name ſignifies praiſe †, and accordingly " thou ſhalt have the praiſe of all thy brethren. They ſhall " fall proſtrate before thee, as before their king and ſove- " reign, and thine enemies ſhall be forced to ſubmit their " necks to thy yoke. Like a young lion ſhall my ſon fall " upon his prey, and like an old lion, or a fierce lioneſs

[1] Gen. xlix. ver. 5, 6, 7. † Vid. ſup. p. 397.

Rabbah, or large comment on *Geneſis*, tells us (260), that he fell from a threefold dignity, *viz.* הבכורה הכהנה והמלכית, primogeniture, prieſthood, and royal dignity. But becauſe thou art fallen, continues the commentator, thy primogeniture is given to *Joſeph* (who accordingly had two portions allotted to him) the prieſthood to *Levi*, and the ſceptre to *Judah*. And where it is ſaid of this laſt (261), *thy brethren ſhall praiſe thee*, he paraphraſes it thus: והיו כל אחיך נקראים על שמך, Thy brethren ſhall be called by thy name, *i. e.* they will not ſay I am a *Reubenite*, or a *Simeonite*, but a יהודי *Jehudi*, a *Jew*.

(F) *Jacob*'s words imply a double diſperſion, *viz.* of the two tribes from one another, and their being interſperſed among the reſt. And accordingly *Levi* had no inheritance among his brethren in the land of *Canaan*, but had a certain number of cities aſſigned to it in every tribe. As for that of *Simeon*, it had properly but a portion of *Judah*'s inheritance (262), if we except ſome few places which they got upon mount *Seir* and in the wilds of the valley of *Gedor* (263).

(260) Bereſh. *Rab. ſect.* 98. (261) *Gen. xlix.* 8. (262) *Joſh. xix.* 1, *& ſeq.* (263) 1 *Chron. iv.* 39 *&* 40.

" ready

" ready to ruſh upon it, who ſhall dare to rouſe him up?
" The ſceptre ſhall not depart from *Judah*, nor the law-
" giver from between his feet, until *Shiloh* be come and the
" people be gathered unto him (G); his portion ſhall a-
" bound

(G) The ſenſe, as well as completion of this noble prophecy, being very much diſputed between the *Jews* and us, we have endeavoured to render the latter part of the verſe more agreeable to the original, which in its plain and obvious ſenſe affirms, that the ſceptre ſhall not depart from *Judah*———till both *Shiloh* was come, and the nations gathered unto, or brought to his obedience. This verſion is further proved by the event; for the *Jews* did not loſe their ſceptre, or *Sanhedrim*, which was their בית דין *Beth din*, or higheſt court of judicature and ſupreme legiſlative power, till the *Heathen* became converts to *Chriſtianity*, of whom *Cornelius* was the firſt (264): And the *Jews* themſelves own, that this ſupreme court did ſtill ſubſiſt from the time of *Moſes*, the founder of it, to the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* by the *Romans*. They likewiſe own, that the word שבט *Sheveth*, which we tranſlate *Sceptre*, doth not always ſignify the royal power of dignity, but ſometimes only the legiſlative; and this has been further proved by two eminent divines (265). The latter *Jews* therefore, finding themſelves pinched by this prophecy, rather than allow the received interpretation of the antients, which is agreeable to ours, have fallen into various abſurd notions, which they are not aſhamed to defend with a zeal peculiar to them. Thus ſome will have the meaning of this paſſage to be, that the *Meſſiah* ſhall not come, till *Shiloh*, the place ſo called, be deſtroyed, or the *Jewiſh* monarchy be at an end (266). Others by *Sheveth* underſtand a tribe, which that word alſo ſignifies, and think the meaning to be, that *Judah* ſhould not ceaſe to be a tribe till the coming of *Meſſiah* (267): in which they have been alſo followed by ſome *Chriſtians* (268); becauſe that tribe did viſibly ſubſiſt as ſuch till the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, but ſo did that of *Levi*. However, many of our modern *Jews* ſtand ſtifly to this ſenſe, and ſcruple not to affirm, that it has ſubſiſted not only to that time, but even to this very day, pure and unmixed. Others add, that it retains ſtill a kind of ſceptre, or royal power, beyond the river *Euphrates*, and that the *Naſſi*, or head of it, is a prince lineally deſcended from *Judah*, whoſe ſplendor, dignity, and power over his own tribe, is little inferior to that of a king (269): but *credat Judæus*. 'Tis certain we have only their bare word for this imaginary kingdom. They likewiſe

(264) *Acts* 10. *paſſ.* (265) *Vid. in* Mede's *works, a ſermon on that text and* Saurin's *Diſcours Hiſtoriques, &c. diſc. XLI.* (266) Aben-Ezra *in loc. & al.* (267) *Vid.* Munſt. *in loc.* (268) Oleaſt. Jun. Villet. *& al. in loc.* (269) Benj. de Tudel. *Itiner & al.*

" bound with ſuch fertile vineyards, fruitful trees, and paſture
" grounds, that he ſhall tie his aſs to the vine and palm-
" tree, and waſh his garments in the juice of the grape,
" and his teeth with the milk of his kine (H) [k].

" Zebulun's

[k] Gen. ibid. ver. 8. & ſeq.

diſagree not only with us, but even among themſelves, about the meaning of the word מחקק *Mechokek*, law-giver. Concerning which we ſhall refer our readers to the two laſt-mentioned divines for further ſatisfaction (270).

As to the word שילה *Shiloh*, though it be almoſt univerſally owned to mean the *Meſſiah*, yet as to its original ſignification there is no ſmall diſagreement. St. *Jerom* reads it *Shaloach* from שלח *Shalach* to ſend, reading ח for ה (271). Others from שלה *Shalah* to be peaceable (272), and underſtand by *Shiloh* a peace-maker. Others derive it from שיל *Shil*, which they will have to ſignify a ſon, becauſe שליה *Shiliah*, or *Shilijah*, ſignifies the ſecundine of a woman (273); but 'tis plain the firſt of theſe is no where to be found in the Old Teſtament, and the ſecond only in one place, where it moſt probably ſignifies the ſecundine (274). A modern critic takes the word *Shiloh* to ſignify the *end*, and the ſenſe of the words to be, that from the time the ſceptre comes into the tribe of *Judah*, it will continue in it till that tribe be at an end (275); but his opinion has been lately confuted, among many others, by the above-mentioned Monſ. *Saurin*, in an elaborate diſcourſe on that ſubject †. Another modern author tells us, that it ought to be derived from *Shulah*, to fatigue, be tired, ſuffer, and to be applied to the ſufferings of the *Meſſiah* (276): but without fatiguing our readers any further, the moſt probable ſenſe of the word, if the change of a letter be allowed, will be that of the *Septuagint*, *Onkelos*, and ſome others (277) who read it שילו *Shelo*, that is, *he to whom it belongs*, ו and ה being often interchanged in the ſacred book *, the ſenſe will be plainly this, that the ſceptre or legiſlative power ſhall not depart from, but be depoſited in the tribe of *Judah*, until the right owner, or he, *ſheló*, to whom it of right belongs, has made his appearance in the world. This ſenſe ſeems the moſt eaſy, natural, and agreeable to the original, as well as the moſt applicable to Christ the king of kings. As for the י redundant in שילו *Shilo*, it is agreeable to the property of the word *Ehævi* as the Grammarians ſpeak.

(H) *Judah*'s lot did exactly anſwer this prediction, it was a fertile land, full of vineyards, fruit-trees, and noble paſture-ground

(270) Mede *and* Saurin *loc. citat.* (271) Hieron. *quæſt. Hebr.* (272) Mercer. *& al* (273) *Vid.* Villet. *cap.* 49. & Saurin *loc. cit.* (274) *Deut. xxviii.* 57. (275) Le Clerc. *in Com. Pentat. in loc.* † Saur. *loc. cit.* (276) Gouſſet *Comm. ling. Hebr. ſub voce* שלה *fatigare. Vid* Calm. *ſub voce* Schilo. (277) *LXX.* Targ Onkel. *in loc.* Mornay *cont. Jud.* Olcaſt. *& al.* * *Vid. 2 Sam. xvi.* 10. & 18. *ap.* Munſt. *in loc.*

for

" ZEBULUN'S (I) dwellings ſhall ſpread themſelves a- Zebulun.
" long the borders of the ſea, and he ſhall ſtretch the num-
" ber of his commodious havens as far as the city of *Zi-*
" *don* [l].

" ISSACHAR, like a ſtrong, but indolent aſs, ſhall Iſſachar.
" chooſe to carry burdens in the midſt of his brethren, ra-
" ther than be deprived of his beloved eaſe, in the pleaſant
" land of his inheritance, and prefer ſervitude and tribute
" before the fatigues of war and conqueſt (K) [m]."

FROM the ſix ſons of *Leah Jacob* paſſes to thoſe of *Bilhah*, *Rachel*'s maid. He begins with intimating, that the ſons of

[l] ibid. 13. [m] Ibid. 14.

for cattle. It was in this tribe that the valley of *Eſhcol*, or the *brook of the grape*, was, a bunch of which was brought by two of the ſpies whom *Moſes* ſent to ſearch the land, as a ſpecimen of the richneſs of that ſoil: here was likewiſe the brook or torrent of that name, along whoſe banks were the moſt delicious paſture grounds: (278) and ſome travellers aſſure us, that there are ſtill very large grapes to be met with in the valley of *Hebron*, which may be probably that along which that torrent runs (279).

(I) *Zebulun* is mentioned next, though *Iſſachar* was elder than he, for which no certain reaſon can be aſſign'd, unleſs we ſuppoſe, that the patriarch had a prophetic eye to the lot which was to fall to *Zebulun*, which was in time to become famous for being the chief dwelling of the *Meſſiah*; for *Nazareth* and *Capernaum* were in that tribe, and himſelf was denominated a *Nazarene* from the firſt of theſe cities (280); but this is a conjecture only. Certain it is however, that if *Jacob* had been preſent at the diviſion of the promiſed land, he could hardly have given a more exact deſcription of *Zebulun*'s lot, than he did then above two hundred and fifty years before it happened: for it extended from the *Mediterranean* on the weſt, to the lake of *Genezareth* on the eaſt ſide.

(K) No leſs wonderful and exact was he in the deſcription of *Iſſachar*'s tribe, and the lot that fell to it. The *Chaldee* paraphraſt, who is alſo followed by the generality of *Jewiſh* Rabbies, gives a quite different turn to this prophecy: they read it thus, " *Iſſachar*, " finding that his lot is fallen in a fertile land, ſhall ſubdue the in-" habitants of it, and bring them under tribute"; but the firſt ſenſe is more agreeable to the original, and verified by the event: for that tribe had the richeſt and moſt fertile ſpot in all the land of *Canaan*, but was often infeſted and ſubjected by ſtrangers, eſpecially in the time of the Judges.

(278) *Num. xiii. paſſ.* Calvin. Mercer. Jun. Grot. *& al.* (279) *Vid.* Calmet. *Comm. in Numb. xiii. ver.* 23, 24. (280) *Matt. ii. ult. & cap. iv.* 13. *& ſeq.*

the handmaids ſhould have the ſame priviledge with thoſe of the miſtreſſes, and be heads and judges of their own tribes.
Dan. Then alluding to the name of *Dan*, a *judge*, he declares, "that he ſhould judge his people, that is, his own tribe, "like the reſt of the twelve;" and then adds, "that like a "ſerpent hid in the highway, or a viper in the ſand, which "doth not openly aſſault its enemy, but bites him by the "heel; ſo *Dan* ſhould overcome more by policy and ſtrata-"gem, than by valour and open force (L) [n]." Here the prophetic patriarch breaks out into an ejaculation, *I wait for thy ſalvation, O* LORD. The meaning of which ſeems to be this, that whether his poſterity were preſerved by their valour or policy, whether they owed their ſucceſs to the drawn ſword of *Judah*, or the hidden ſnares of *Dan*; yet their ſafety and happineſs did chiefly depend on the gracious promiſes of GOD, on whom he did rely. Others think however, that *Jacob*, foreſeeing either the grievous oppreſſions which that tribe was to labour under, as it actually

[n] Ibid. 16. & ſeq.

(L) The word נחש *Nachaſh* in the original ſignifies a ſerpent in general, which having no ſuch qualities as are here deſcribed, the *Septuagint* have tranſlated it by the word *Ceraſtes*, which is a kind of ſerpent, ſo called from its having two fleſhy horns; its inſtinct is to hide itſelf in the ſand, and by faſtening on the horſes heel, to make him overthrow his rider (281). The *Jews* think, that this prophecy was more paticularly fulfilled, when *Samſon*, who was of that tribe, pulled down the large building, which cruſhed him and the *Philiſtines* to death (282). Others, both *Jews* and *Chriſtians*, ſuppoſe, that *Jacob* deſigned to intimate by it, that though *Dan*'s tribe was but ſmall, he having had but one ſon, yet it ſhould produce one of the moſt famous Judges of all *Iſrael* (283): As for thoſe who apply this prophecy to Antichriſt, as if he was to come out of that tribe; becauſe he is omitted in the Apocalypſe in the liſt of the tribes that were ſealed (284); they are ſcarce worth confuting, ſince they may as well fetch him out of that of *Simeon*, which *Moſes* omits when he bleſſes the reſt (285). Beſides, *Jacob* pronounces theſe words as a bleſſing, not as a curſe, to *Dan*, whoſe tribe moreover was diſperſed, if not extinguiſhed, a thouſand years before Antichriſt appeared in the world, if he has yet at all.

(281) *Vid.* Bochart. *Hieroſoic lib.* 1. *col.* 28. (282) *Vid.* Munſt. *in loc.* Villet. *c.* 49. (283) *Chald. Paraph.* Jun. *in loc.* Calmet. *Hiſt.* O. T. (284) Perrer. *contr.* 1. (285) *Deut. xxxiii.*

did

did from the *Amorites* [o], from which nothing but a miracle could ſave them, or their defection from the true worſhip of GOD, that tribe being the firſt that ſet up the public worſhip of idols [p], did breath out this ſhort prayer for their deliverance. However, it is not improbable, that *Jacob* might have a much higher view than any of theſe, and that his comparing *Dan* to a viper might bring into his mind that univerſal ſalvation, which was to be wrought by the ſeed of the woman, which was to bruiſe the ſerpent's head, and to have his heel bruiſed by it [q].

" GAD, continued he, ſhall be often infeſted by bands Gad.
" of robbers and plunderers, but he ſhall conquer them at laſt (M) [r].

" ASHER's portion ſhall make him happy; it ſhall abound Aſher.
" with excellent corn and oil, the bread and dainty meats

[o] Judg. i. 34. Vid. TREMEL. in loc. [p] Ibid. cap. xvii. & xviii. paſſ. [q] Gen. iii. 15. [r] Ibid. xlix. 19.

(M) What was propheſied of *Gad* was likewiſe exactly verified. His lot happened on the other ſide *Jordan*, where he was continually expoſed to the excurſions of the plundering *Arabs*, but, by the continual watchfulneſs and bravery of that tribe, they were not only prevented, but ſometimes alſo caught and plundered in their turn by the *Gadites*. Others indeed underſtand it quite otherwiſe, and it muſt be owned, that the original is ſomewhat obſcure in this place: they read it thus, *Gad*, being girded for the battle, ſhall lead an army and bring it back conqueror, which they apply to *Jephtha*, who is thought to have been of that tribe; but, as this ſenſe is rather too forced, others read it, *Gad* armed ſhall fight at the head of all *Iſrael*; which they think was in ſome meaſure verified, when, having received their portion on one ſide *Jordan*, they offered likewiſe to go and help their brethren on the other ſide to conquer theirs. But beſides that this is alſo far fetched; theſe prophecies ſeem rather to intimate the fate and ſucceſs of the tribes in general, than any particular action or circumſtance of theirs. And therefore we prefer the firſt reading, and think, that the prophecy refers chiefly to the continual conflicts the *Gadites* had with the *Hagarenes*, that is with *Jetur*, *Nephiſh*, and *Nodab*, whom they at length overcame, and took from them in one battle fifty thouſand camels, two hundred and fifty thouſand ſheep, and an hundred thouſand men priſoners (286). This ſenſe is likewiſe more agreeable to the character which *Moſes* gives of that tribe, who compares it to a lion that leapeth upon his prey (287).

(286) 1 *Chron.* v. 20, 21. *Vid.* Mercer. Villet. Jun, *& al.*
(287) *Deut. xxxiii* 22. *& ſeq.*

" that

" that ſhall be made of them ſhall be fit for a king's " table (N) [r]".

Naphtali. " NAPHTALI is like a large tree, well-ſpread, or having " grafts, which ſhoot out pleaſant branches." Or, according to our *Engliſh* verſion, *Naphtali*, like a hind newly eſcaped, or let looſe ſhall excel his brethren in ſwiftneſs, and be remarkable for the ſweetneſs of his eloquence (O) [t].

THESE four laſt were the ſons of the two hand-maids, from whom he paſſes with a ſeeming joy to thoſe of his beloved *Rachel*; and *Joſeph*, whoſe turn came next, heard

[r] Ibid. ver. 20. [t] Ib. v. 21.

(N) The bleſſing ſpoken to *Aſher* is capable of a double ſenſe, and both verified by the event, namely, either that his country ſhould be the moſt fertile, and produce the nobleſt corn in the whole land of *Paleſtine*, which it actually did; or elſe, that it ſhould abound with the fineſt and moſt delicious oil, fit to be mixed in all kinds of paſtry-work, which his portion was alſo remarkable for, inſomuch that its oil was the moſt famed of all *Canaan*'s, as ſhall be ſhewn in the ſequel: for which reaſon we have choſen to word it in ſuch terms as ſhould expreſs the two excellencies of that noble ſoil, rather than to confine the ſenſe to either particular; though *Moſes* in his bleſſing of that tribe ſeems to intimate the latter, when he ſays that *Aſher* ſhould dip his foot in oil (288).

(O) We have alſo given this prophecy in both the ſenſes which the original will bear; but as that which our *Engliſh* verſion gives us is ſomewhat uncouth and unintelligible we have endeavoured to make the ſenſe of it a little plainer; though that reading be the moſt generally received both by antient and modern expoſitors; and the firſt part applied to *Barak*'s overcoming *Siſera*. and the latter to the ſweet words which *Deborah* and he ſang in the noble canticle which was made on that occaſion (289); yet as we have obſerved, that *Jacob*'s bleſſings have a more general ſcope, we prefer the firſt reading, which compares him to a well-ſpread oak, which is agreeable to the original, and more exactly verified by the event; for no tribe multiplied ſo wonderfully as this of *Naphtali*, who had but four ſons when he came into *Egypt*; yet could muſter up upward of fifty three thouſand men fit to bear arms (290) when they came out of it; *i. e.* in leſs than 220 years. Thoſe who make a difficulty againſt our tranſlating the *Hebrew* אילה *Ailah* a great tree, becauſe it is contrary to the *Mazorah*'s punctuation, may find that verſion juſtified by the learned *Bochart* and *Le Scene*, as well as that of the whole verſe (291) which is agreeable to the *Septuagint*, *Chaldee*, and *Arabic* verſions.

(288) *Ibid. ver.* 24. (289) *Judg. c. iv. & v. p. tot.* (290) *Numb. i.* 43. (291) Bochart. *Hieroſ.* Le Scene. *Eſſ. on a new Tranſlat. & al.*

his

his bleſſings pronounced in the moſt pompous and endearing terms.

JOSEPH, ſaid the good old father, ſhall increaſe daily more and more, as his name doth emphatically imply. His beauty attracted the eyes of the fair ſex, the damſels ran upon the walls to ſee him (P); or, according to our verſion, he ſhall multiply like a fruitful bough planted by a well ſide, whoſe branches run up and ſpread againſt the wall. Men armed with the poiſoned darts of rancour and envy, meaning *his brethren*, have cauſed him a world of woe; his ruin would have been unavoidable, had not the Almighty, in whom he truſted, proved his ſtrong ſhield and defence, broken his bonds from off his arms (Q), and brought him out of priſon, to be a father and protector to the houſe of *Iſrael*; for this the LORD, even the GOD of thy father, ſhall bleſs thee with the dew of heaven, and with the fatneſs of the earth, with the fruit of the womb, a numerous poſterity, and the fruit of the breaſt, and plenty of all ſorts of cattle. May all the bleſſings promiſed to me and to my forefathers, be *Joſeph.*

(P) The original has בן פֹּרָת *Ben porath*; which if derived from the root פָּרָה *Para*, he has fructified, as ſome do, the ſenſe will be *Joſeph* is a fruitful ſon; and then the word בנות *Banoth* (daughters) muſt be underſtood figuratively of the branches that run along the wall; but we rather chooſe to derive the word from פָּאַר *Paar*, to make, or be, beautiful, the א being quieſcent in *holeim*, as the grammarians ſpeak, and then the literal ſenſe will be, *Joſeph is a ſon of beauty*; the daughters ran upon the walls to ſee him, and this reading has by far the moſt votes.

(Q) Our *Engliſh* verſion and ſome others render this verſe thus; *but his bow abode in ſtrength, and the arms of his hands were made ſtrong:* but this interpretation is ſomething forced, and the literal ſenſe runs thus; *but he continued in the ſtrength of his bow; and the hands of his arms (not weapons but the arms of his body* יפוזו *Japhuſu* were (not ſtrengthened, as it is there rendered) but broken, ſcattered; which therefore may be more applicable to his fetters, in which ſenſe the *Septuagint*, *Vulgate*, *Chaldee*, &c. have taken it; the ſame word alſo occurs in the firſt verſe of the 68th pſalm; *let* GOD *ariſe, and let his enemies be ſcattered*, is therefore rightly rendered there, and it would have been nonſenſe to have ſaid let his enemies be ſtrengthened, that verſe being the very words which *Moſes* and the *Iſraelites* uſed, whenever the ark was taken up, before they marched from one place to another (292): to which may be added, that the verb פֹּז *Phos*, has ſeldom any other ſignification than that we have given it, which however we ſubmit to the reader.

(292) *Numb.* x. 35.

doubled

doubled upon *Joſeph*'s head, even upon his crowned head, (R); may they out-top and out-ſtretch the everlaſting mountain, and prove to him more fruitful and laſting than they[u].

Benjamin. BENJAMIN, the laſt of all *Jacob*'s ſons, who had been ſo great a favourite of his father, did probably expect a ſuitable bleſſing from him; but whether it were that *Jacob* foreſaw no extraordinary merit or happineſs attending his tribe, or that its being afterwards blended with that of *Judah*, would make it to ſhare in all its bleſſings, he contented himſelf with deſcribing him by his fierce and warlike diſpoſition, who wolf-like ſhould ſhed the blood of his enemies, and in the evening divide their ſpoil (S). Having thus pronounced his prophetical bleſſing to every tribe (T), he reminded them, eſpecially *Joſeph*,

[u] Ibid. ver. 22. & ſeq.

(R) We have here likewiſe ventured to depart from the *Engliſh* verſion, which renders the words נזיר אחיו *Nazir Achauf*, *him that was ſeparate from his brothers*; for though the verb נזר *Nazar* ſignifies *to ſeparate*, whence the word *Nazarite* comes, and *Joſeph* was really ſeparated from his brethren when he was ſold into *Egypt*; yet it is not probable, that *Jacob* would have couched ſo barbarous and unnatural an action in ſuch ſoft terms, when the original abounds with the moſt expreſſive: beſides *Nazar* doth rather ſignify a ſeparating upon a religious account; it is therefore more probable that he uſed the word *Nazir*, which ſignifies *crowned*, in alluſion to the ſuperintendants of the king's houſhold, in all the eaſtern empires, who were called *Nazirs*, and probably wore ſome kind of diadem about their heads by way of diſtinction and grandeur (293). This ſenſe will be more agreeable likewiſe to the ſolemn and pompous ſtyle, which the patriarch uſes throughout all *Joſeph*'s bleſſing.

(S) The warlike and untameable diſpoſition of this tribe was ſufficiently verified afterwards in many inſtances, but more particularly the two following ones; namely, firſt, by the fierce battles which they fought againſt the united force of all the other tribes, though for a very bad cauſe, the *Levite*'s abuſed concubine (294), wherein they came off conquerors twice, tho' vaſtly inferior in numbers (295): and ſecondly, by the war, which the houſe of *Saul*, who was of that tribe, had with *David* and the houſe of *Judah*, for the kingdom (296); however, 'tis certain, that they are deſcrib'd in ſcripture as the fierceſt warriors, and experteſt archers in *Iſrael*.

(T) Some critics have cavilled at the words of *Moſes*, *he* (Ja-

(293) *Vid.* Calmet. *Hiſt. Old. Teſt in loc.* (294) *Judg. xix.* (295) *Ibid. c. xx.* (296) 1 *Sam. paſſ.*

cob)

Joſeph, that they ſhould bury him with his anceſtors in the cave of *Machpelah*; and they having renewed their promiſe to him, he laid himſelf again in his bed, and ſoon after expired [w], being 147 years of age, ſeventeen of which he ſpent in *Egypt* in the land of *Goſhen* (V).

THE

[w] Gen. xlix.

cob) *bleſſed every one of them with a ſeparate bleſſing* (297); whereas they think the three firſt might have been more properly called curſes than bleſſings; and this has given others and us unneceſſary trouble of anſwering them. Some authors have been too fond of having recourſe to the ſubtilties of the ſchools to elude this difficulty: thus St. *Ambroſe* tells us, that they being rather propheſies than bleſſings, muſt therefore be bleſſings becauſe they are propheſies (298): and another *Romiſh* author (299) ſays, that they were called bleſſings from the greateſt part being ſuch; whereas it is ſaid, that he bleſſed every one (300): others therefore have bethought themſelves of that thread-bare ſolution, that the ſame word in the original ſignifies to bleſs and to curſe, which has been applied to other caſes as well as this, and to as little purpoſe. Thus, when *Job*'s wife bids him bleſs GOD and die, they have thought that ſhe meant curſe GOD, and die; whereas 'tis plain ſhe only ſpeaks ironically to him, and means nothing but that he bleſſes GOD in vain; ſince he would die as well as thoſe that let it alone. As for *R. Salomon*'s anſwer, we mention it only for its abſurdity and impiouſneſs, who ſays, that *Jacob* deſigned indeed to bleſs all his ſons, but that he was ſeized with a phrentic fit at the beginning, which made him curſe the three firſt that came to hand. It will be ſufficient to ſay, that he bleſſed them all, though not alike; and if his ſevere rebuke to the three eldeſt, and the puniſhment he pronounced againſt them, did bring them to a ſenſe of their wickedneſs, it was a bleſſing to them, though not a temporal one; tho' even in this laſt ſenſe he may well be ſaid to have bleſſed them likewiſe, ſince he aſſigned each of them a lot in the inheritance of the promiſed land, which he had power to have deprived them of; and as *Moſes* did afterwards bleſs them, 'tis plain, he did not think that they had received a curſe from their father.

(V) Beſides theſe propheſies of *Jacob*, which *Moſes* has preſerved to us, and which have been ſufficiently verified by their events, the *Jews* attribute ſome other works to him, ſuch as the treatiſe, entitled, *The Ladder to Heaven*; in which there is an explanation of that which he ſaw in a dream at *Bethel*; and which the *Ebionites* adopted as canonical; and a teſtament called by his name, *The Teſtament of* Jacob, reckoned by Pope *Gelaſius* among the *Apocry-*

(297) *Gen. xlix.* 28. (298) Ambroſ. *de benedict. Patriarch. Jacob. cap. ii.* (299) Perrer. (300) *Ver.* 28.

AND now *Joseph*, who had hitherto suppressed his grief, began to give it full vent; he fell upon his dead father, bathed his face with tears, and expressed all the filial sorrow that such a loss could inspire; at length, remembring his dying charge, he went to get his body embalmed, and to make all other preparations for his funeral. The *Egyptians* on their part mourned for him as long as the days of his embalming lasted, *viz.* seventy days, the ceremony of which was performed as follows; the body was sent to the physicians or embalmers, who first took out the brain and entrails, and washed them in palm-wine, impregnated with strong astrin-

phas. The *Jews* do likewise use some prayers every night, which they pretend to have been composed by him: they affirm, that he wrote the fourteen gradual psalms, and some others, whilst he lived with *Laban*; all which fables are only fit for a *Jewish* creed. However, as to the great praises which they give him, no one can blame them for it; and the author of *Ecclesiasticus* has justly summed up his character in few words, *chap xliv.* 25, 26. Some divines, especially of the church of *Rome*, look upon him not only to have plainly foretold the coming of the *Messiah*, but to have been likewise a kind of type of him in his laborious and troublesome life; in his flights and travels; in his marriage with *Leah*, the figure of the *Jewish* synagogue; and afterwards with his beloved *Rachel*, the figure of the christian church.

The *Mohammedans* allow him to have been not only a prophet, but also the father of all the prophets, who were all descended from him except *Job*, *Jethro*, and *Mohammed*. They likewise believe, that the royal dignity did not depart from his posterity till the times of *John the Baptist* and JESUS CHRIST, and that the twelve tribes of the *Jews* did spring from him, as their own twelve tribes did spring from *Ishmael*. *Jacob* gave name to two places, *viz.* the well and the ford of *Jacob:* the former was still known by that name in our SAVIOUR's time, and we read of a famous church formerly built there in the form of a cross, and dedicated to St. *John the Baptist*; and that the well was just before the rails of the communion-table, to which sick folks resorted in great numbers to drink some of its waters for the recovery of their health. As for the ford of *Jacob* it is not easy to guess whereabouts it was; but as for those who think, that he forded the *Jordan* near the place where it empties itself into the sea of *Tiberias*, they seem to have gone much out of the way, and it is more likely, that he crossed somewhere near *Bethshan*, since he came back by that way, when he returned from *Mesopotamia*, and that he crossed the *Jabbok* at *Mahanaim*, and went from thence to *Peniel* and *Succoth*, which are near *Bethshan*, and his prayer, *that he had passed over that river only with his staff, and now with two bands*, makes it probable, that he came back the same way he went.

gent

gent drugs; after which they began to anoint the body with oil of cedar, myrrh, cinamon, and caſſia, and this laſted thirty days. They next put it into ſalt of nitre during the ſpace of forty days longer; ſo that they allowed threeſcore and ten days to compleat the ceremony[z]. This method however was only uſed for perſons of the greateſt rank; the meaner people had a cheaper way, but *Joſeph* was too ſenſible of his father's merit to ſpare any coſt on him. His being in deep mourning making him unfit to appear at court, he begged of ſome of *Pharaoh*'s officers to acquaint him of his father's death, and with his laſt commands, who made no difficulty to grant his favourite's juſt requeſt, and ordered moreover the chief officers of his houſhold, and the grandees of the kingdom, to accompany the funeral pomp. All *Jacob*'s family went likewiſe along with it, none ſtayed behind but their wives and little ones. The cavalcade conſiſted of a great number of chariots, and a vaſt multitude of men on horſeback. As ſoon as they had croſſed the river *Jordan*, and were entered into the land of *Canaan*, they made a halt of ſeven days at the threſhing-floor of *Atad*, and there performed a funeral ceremony, which made the *Canaanites* call the place *Abel-Mizraïm*, or the mourning of the *Egyptians*. They then continued their march 'till they arrived at *Machpelah*, where *Iſrael*'s ſons depoſited him in the cave, and then returned to *Egypt* with the reſt of their company. It was then that *Joſeph*'s brethren began to fear his reſentments for the former wrongs they had done him; to prevent which as much as they could, they ſent an humble meſſage to him, that it was their father's earneſt requeſt to him, that he would forget all paſt injuries, and take them ſtill under his protection. Such an injurious and undeſerved ſuſpicion might have had a quite contrary effect than they deſired, had he been of a leſs generous temper; but *Joſeph* was ſo far from reſenting it, or enquiring into the validity of this pretended laſt requeſt of their father, which he never had heard of before, though he was the proper perſon to whom it ſhould have been made, that he could not refrain his tears, whilſt the meſſenger was acquainting him with the concern and dread his brethren were in: to remove which he ſent immediately for them, and received them with the ſame affection as when *Jacob* was alive; he excuſed and comforted them, and gave them ſuch freſh aſſurances of his future love and protection, that they went joyfully home to their families, though pro-

[z] See before, p. 264.

bably very much amazed at the greatneſs of his ſoul, a virtue to which they ſeem to have been utter ſtrangers.

HE outlived his father about ſixty years, and when he found his death approaching, he ſent for his brethren and told them, with the ſame prophetic ſpirit that *Jacob* had done before, that GOD would, according to his promiſe, bring their poſterity out of *Egypt* into the land of *Canaan*: he charged them therefore not to bury him there, but to lay his body in a coffin, and depoſit it in ſome place where they might find it, and carry it away with them, and bury it in the ſpot of ground which *Jacob* had given to him by his laſt will. He gave up the ghoſt ſoon after [z], and his brethren took care to fulfil his laſt requeſt, having firſt got him embalmed, after the manner of the *Egyptians* (W). The

[z] Ibid cap. ult.

(W) The *Jewiſh* rabbies have been very fertile in their inventions, in adding many particulars to the life and death of this great man, of which there is not the leaſt footſtep in ſcripture. An inſtance of the firſt kind is the bloody fight, which he had with one *Tzepho*, the ſon of *Eliphaz*, at his father's funeral, who would have withſtood their burying him in that cave of *Machpelah*, diſputing their title to that ground, whom *Joſeph* and his men having overcome, carried away with them into *Egypt*, and kept him there a priſoner as long as *Joſeph* lived; but as ſoon as he was dead, *Tzepho* found means to eſcape into *Italy*. This ſtory is quoted by ſome learned rabbies (301) out of *Joſephus Ben-gorion*, by which name the *Jews* call *Joſephus* the hiſtorian. After his death, they tell us, the magicians of *Egypt* told *Pharaoh*, that if he had a mind to keep the *Hebrews* in his dominions, he muſt hide the body of *Joſeph* in ſome place where they ſhould never find it; for it would be impoſſible for them to go out of *Egypt* without it: upon which his body was ordered to be put into a ארון של חק ניכרים cheſt that weighed 500 talents, which, even according to the *Syrian* talent which is but 12 pound, amounted to 6000 pound weight, which they carefully laid in the bottom of one of the branches of the *Nile*, after they had turned the courſe of it another way, whilſt they ſunk it in the mud: and that *Moſes* was forced to work a miracle to get it out and carry it away (302). Some tell us, that his coffin was carefully laid up in the king's treaſury, becauſe his magicians had foretold, that if ever it was carried out of *Egypt*, the

(301) R. Abr. Sepharhadi. R. Moſ. Gerund. (302) *Elle Haddevarim Rabba. ſect.* זאת הברכה *See alſo the life of* Moſes, *publiſhed by* Gaulmain *in* French *p.* 32. *and his notes, l.* 2. *c.* 2.

land

The ſequel of the ſtory ſhews how punctually their poſterity fulfilled the latter part of his will, taking his body with them, and burying it in the place which he had appointed (X). He was 110 years old, when he died, an

land would fall into moſt terrible darkneſs, and be plagued with an infinite number of other evils (303): beſides theſe *Jewiſh* fables, *Joſeph* has likewiſe been thought to have inſtructed the *Egyptians* in all thoſe ſciences which they became ſo famous for, by applying to him that verſe in the pſalms, *that he might inſtruct his* (Pharaoh's) *princes, and teach his ſenators wiſdom.* In a word, he has been taken for *Serapis*, *Oſiris*, *Adonis*; for *Mercury*, *alias Hermes*; for the famous *Thaut*, or *Hermes Trismegiſt*, the reputed inventor of arts and ſciences (304): on the other hand, ſome heathen authors (305) tell us, that he learned ſeveral magic arts in *Egypt*, and in particular that of interpreting ſigns and dreams, and there is a book of magic ſtill extant, which has been falſely attributed to him, entitled *Joſeph's Looking-glaſs*: it is mentioned by *Trithemius*, *Naude*, and others. He is thought to have been the inventor of the art of meaſuring, and contriver of land-marks; which latter is more than probable, becauſe he was forced to diſtribute the lands again to the *Egyptians*, after the famine was over, which might put him upon excogitating ſome kind of boundaries to them. And *Artaphanes*, quoted by *Euſebius*, tells us, that the *Egyptians* had their fields all in common, 'till he taught them to divide and bound them, that every one might cultivate his own inheritance; adding, that he likewiſe invented the art of meaſuring, which procured him the reſpect and admiration of that people (306); they do ſhew to this day in *Egypt* ſome wells, baths, and other works of that patriarch, but thoſe eaſtern nations have added ſo many ridiculous fancies of their own to hiſtory, that they do not deſerve to be credited (307).

(X) Notwithſtanding what has been ſaid in the laſt note, we ſhall venture to tell our readers upon the teſtimony of St. *Jerom* (308) that the *Iſraelites* raiſed a moſt noble monument to *Joſeph*'s memory, which was ſtill to be ſeen in his days. It ſtood in *Shechem*, in the field which *Jacob* bought of *Hamor*, and which he afterwards gave to him, in which field *Joſeph* was actually buried (309).

Mohammed in his *Koran Sarat* XII. gives us a long hiſtory of *Joſeph*, which he has ſtuffed with many fabulous circumſtances, and which the eaſtern people have ſtill more enlarged upon (310). The *Mohammedans* pretend to have ſeveral books of his amours with *Zo-*

(303) *Teſtam. XII patriar. in vit.* Simeon. (304) *Vid.* Calmet *Hiſt. O. T. c. xxxv.* (305) Juſtin *ex* Trog. *lib. xxxvi.* (306) Artaph *ap.* Euſeb. *de præpar. lib. ix. cap. xxiii.* (307) *Vid.* Calm. *loc. citat.* (308) Hieron. *qu. hæbr in Geneſ.* (309) *Joſh. ult.* 32. (310) *Vid.* Marace. *notes on the Alcoran.* Herbel. *Diction. in the word* Jouſouph.

leikhah,

an age which came very ſhort of that of his anceſtors, and might probably be owing to his being forced to a different

leikhah, *Pharaoh*'s daughter, his maſter *Potiphar*'s wife, which they make uſe of to kindle the love of GOD in their hearts, it being among them what the canticles are with the *Jews* and *Chriſtians*, that is, an allegory of the love of GOD and a pious ſoul. As for *Mohammed*'s hiſtory of *Joſeph*, though it differs much from that of *Moſes*, yet the reader may not think it amiſs to have a ſketch of it. It is to this purpoſe (311) *Joſeph* having acquainted his father with his dream of the ſun, moon, and 12 ſtars falling down before him, *Jacob* forbid him to tell it to his brethren, leſt the devil ſhould put it into their heads to conſpire againſt him, adding, that *Joſeph* would be the choſen one of GOD, *&c.* but his brethren, ſeeing that he was better beloved than they, reſolved to murder him; to which end they perſuaded their father to ſend him into the fields with them, under pretence that it would be a diverſion to him, promiſing at the ſame time, that they would take great care of him: *Jacob* anſwered, that he was afraid leſt they ſhould be careleſs of him, to which they replied, are you afraid the wolves ſhould come and eat him in our preſence, or that we ſhall not have ſtrength enough to defend him? The father being thus prevailed upon, they took him next morning along with them, and flung him into a well; they came home that ſame night, and told him, that whilſt they were playing and running a race, and *Joſeph* was watching over their garments, a wolf had come and devoured him; and finding that *Jacob* was hard to credit their ſtory, they ſhewed him *Joſeph*'s bloody ſhirt; upon which *Jacob* told them, that they had done the deed, and would certainly anſwer for it before GOD; after which he endeavoured to bear his loſs patiently.

A caravan, which chanced to go by that very day, and wanted ſome water, let down their bucket into the well, and *Joſeph* laying hold on it was drawn out; they cloathed him forthwith, and carried him into *Egypt*, where they ſold him for a little ready money. The perſon who bought him gave him in charge to his wife, telling her, that he would one day prove uſeful, and be inſtead of a ſon to them. By that time he had attained the twentieth year of his age, his miſtreſs *Zoleikhah* became ſo exceſſively in love with him, that ſhe ſhut him up one day in her chamber, and declared her paſſion to him: *Joſeph* rebuked her for it, and ran towards the door, but before he could open it, ſhe caught hold of his ſhirt, and tore it off his back: her huſband happened to be behind the door, and ſhe no ſooner ſaw him, but ſhe began to make a loud complaint of an attempt made by *Joſeph* againſt her chaſtity, whom ſhe therefore deſired to be ſeverely puniſhed, appealing to a child that was there in its cradle, for the truth of what ſhe ſaid: the

(311) *Biblioth. Orient.* Jouſouph ben Jacub.

child

ſerent way of living from theirs, having continued 80 years in that pinacle of grandeur, to which *Pharaoh*, or rather his great

child readily anſwered, that if the ſhirt was torn before, he was guilty and ſhe innocent; but if it was torn behind, he was innocent, and ſhe accuſed him falſely. The ſhirt upon examination, proving to be rent behind, acquitted *Joſeph*, and diſcovered the ill intention of his miſtreſs,

The whole city was ſoon filled with the noiſe of this adventure, and *Zoleikhah* being informed that the ladies ſpoke of it much to her diſadvantage, reſolved to invite them to a feaſt, and whilſt they were eating, to introduce *Joſeph* to them. She did ſo, and he no ſooner appeared, but his beauty did aſtoniſh them beyond meaſure; inſomuch, that, not knowing any longer what they did, they cut their fingers inſtead of their meat, and whiſpered to one another, that he muſt be an angel and no man! By this means ſhe put a ſtop to their reflections; but it was not long before ſhe made another puſh at her ſervant, though with as little ſucceſs; which ſo enraged her, that ſhe got him ſent into priſon, where he expounded the buttler and the baker's dream. Here he continued confined nine whole years, after which he was fetched out to interpret *Pharaoh*'s dream, which he did ſo much to his ſatisfaction, that he was made ſuperintendant of all his finances.

Mohammed goes on afterwards with the ſtory of his brethren coming to buy corn; of his ſtopping his brother *Benjamin*, and of his diſcovering himſelf to them; and adds, that *Joſeph* hearing that his father had wept ſo much for him, that he had loſt his ſight, he gave them one of his ſhirts, and bid them go home, and lay it over his face, and he would recover his ſight; after which he charged them to come back to him with their whole family.

By that time the Caravan was got half way homewards, *Jacob* told thoſe that were with him, that he ſmelt the ſmell of his ſon *Joſeph*, deſiring them not to laugh at him, for he was ſure of what he ſaid. Accordingly a few days after one of his ſons brought him *Joſeph*'s ſhirt, and as ſoon as he laid it over his face, his ſight came to him again: he made all the haſte he could to go down into *Egypt* with his family, and all he had; where *Joſeph* met him, and taking him by the hand, deſired him not to be afraid of coming into *Egypt*. He then made him ſit down, whilſt his brethren did fall proſtrate before him, which made him take notice to his father that now his dream was fulfilled. Thus far *Mohammed*, whoſe followers further add, that *Joſeph* was 17 years old when he was ſold; that the king who then reigned was *Rian* the ſon of *Valid*; that he was likewiſe called *Pharaoh*, which ſignifies a deſpotic monarch; that *Joſeph* did afterwards inſtruct him in the knowledge of the true GOD; but that his ſucceſſor, named *Rabous*, the ſon of *Maſſaab*, proved a wicked prince: that the *Iſraelites* continued 430 years in *Egypt*, from the time of *Jacob*'s firſt coming

down,

great wiſdom and merit had raiſed him. However, he had the pleaſure to ſee of his offspring to the third generation, which none of his fathers did, *viz. Shuthelah* and *Tahan*, the ſons of *Ephraim*, and *Eran* the ſon of *Shuthelah*; as likewiſe *Machir* the ſon of *Manaſſeh*, and *Gilead Machir*'s ſon. Theſe five are thoſe whom the *Septuagint* verſion adds to the number of the ſeventy that came down into *Egypt* though 'tis plain they were not born 'till ſome time after *.

How the *Iſraelites*, after the death of their great patron and protector, became by degrees as dreadful and odious to the *Egyptians*, as they grew numerous and powerful, 'till they were at length brought under moſt cruel ſlavery, will be ſeen in the next ſection. In the mean time we hope, our readers will not be diſpleaſed, if we make a ſhort retroſpection on their forefathers, and add ſome few obſervations on the ſimplicity of their religion and manner of living, which were neither ſo obvious, nor could be interſperſed in their hiſtory, without too frequently interrupting the thread of it. Sure it is, that if we examine them impartially, compare them with thoſe of the moſt polite and celebrated nations of antiquity, ſuch as were the *Egyptians*, *Greeks*, *Romans*, and many others, and make a candid allowance for the diſtances of time, place, and other obvious circumſtances, they will appear to be the moſt natural and perfect pattern of civil ſociety, and of a happy life. If therefore their poſterity, after they became poſſeſſors of that happy land, did ſo ſtrangely deviate from them, as it will appear by the ſequel of this hiſtory that they did, it can be attributed

* See before, p. 431, (B).

down, to their being delivered out of it by *Moſes*, who took care to carry away the bones and coffin of *Joſeph*, which had lain buried in the bottom of the *Nile*.

Ebn Batrik, otherwiſe called *Eutychius*, patriarch of *Alexandria*, tells us, that *Joſeph* married *Azimah*, the daughter of the *Kahen* of *Aen Shem*, that is, the *prieſt*, or *diviner of the fountain of the ſun*, which was the name of the city of *On*, called alſo by the *Greeks*, *Heliopolis*. He aſſures us likewiſe, that the *Nilometer*, which is in the city of *Memphis*, the deſcription of which has been given before, *Vol. I. p.* 392, *&c.* and the canal in the city of *Cairo*, for the diſcharge of the waters of that river, were *Joſeph*'s own works. In a word they attribute to him all the curious wells, ciſterns, aqueducts, and public granaries, as well as ſome obeliſks, pyramids, and other antient monuments, all which are ſtill called by his name, and pretend, that he had ſomething ſhining like a ſtar upon one of his ſhoulders, which was an indelible character of the gift of propheſy, and a ſure token of his future grandeur.

to

to nothing but to that unavoidable degeneracy, which their long and horrid thraldom had cauſed in them, which took ſuch deep root, that neither their forty years wandering in the wilderneſs, during which time a new generation was, as it were, ſprung up, nor the wholeſome laws, which providence had calculated for their welfare, nor the example of their forefathers, which *Moſes* had ſet before them in ſuch lively colours; nor, laſtly, all the heavy judgments, which their invincible obſtinacy brought upon them, could effectually cure.

IT muſt be owned, however, that unleſs we can diveſt ourſelves of that fond partiality which we have for the cuſtoms of our own times and country, we ſhall be apt to condemn, not only thoſe of the antient patriarchs, and of the many nations who have cloſely followed them, but likewiſe all thoſe who have commended them for it: that part of their religion which conſiſted in the butchering of a number of living creatures; their plainneſs and ſimplicity; their wandering and laborious life; their ſeeming contempt of arts and ſciences; their real one of eaſe, luxury and high titles; all theſe and many more, will be apt to be cenſured by the lump, and every deviation from it will be looked upon as an improvement in ſociety, and a refinement of their dull inſipid taſte, which ſome will be apt to attribute to the increaſe of arts and ſciences, and others more abſurdly to religion. But it is not to ſuch partial judges that we appeal, for the juſtneſs of theſe remarks, but to the more thinking and unprejudiced ſort, whoſe judgment is not warped by emulation, cuſtom, and example.

AND here we need remount no higher, than where we began our hiſtory, that is, to *Abraham*. He had converſed with ſome of the antediluvian patriarchs, and was well acquainted with their way of living; or rather he had been educated in it, and was ſo great an admirer of it, that he preferred it to that of thoſe nations he lived amongſt, and brought up his children the ſame way. For here we muſt remember that in thoſe days every family did as it were compoſe a kingdom or free eſtate, of which the chief was in all reſpects, if we except the name and a few needleſs and troubleſome ceremonies, ſupreme and abſolute monarch, and as ſuch made either war or peace, and alliances offenſive or defenſive with his neighbouring kings, as he thought fit [a]: if there was any difference between them, it was only this, that the latter did begin betimes to live in walled and for-

[a] Gen. xiv. 13. ibid. xxvi. 26. & ſeq.

tified towns, whereas the former choſe to live more at large, and after the primitive way. In other reſpects it is plain, they were inferior to none of the contemporary princes, though they deſpiſed thoſe pompous titles, and other marks of royal grandeur, which their neighbours ſo much affected.

THEIR riches conſiſting chiefly, in a prodigious quantity of cattle [b], ſuch as ſheep, oxen, camels, and aſſes (horſes we read of none), they were obliged to have a proportionable number of ſervants and ſlaves to look after them. Accordingly we find, that *Abraham* was able to arm upwards of three hundred of his men-ſervants to *Lot*'s reſcue, beſides thoſe he left behind to guard his ſubſtance, and his old men, women, and children [c]. As for gold, ſilver, jewels, and ſuch like valuable things, we do not find, that he was poſſeſſed of any, 'till after his return from *Egypt*, where *Pharaoh* had heaped thoſe rich preſents on him, though they might probably barter ſome of the wool of their flocks for bullion, which was already current in thoſe days; but neither this, nor his other kinds of riches, did exempt him or his poſterity from a laborious life, to which their chooſing to live in tents for the benefit of often ſhifting their habitations for the ſake of their numerous herds, did unavoidably oblige them. To this paſtoral life they likewiſe joined agriculture, as often as the fruitfulneſs of the country, the time of their ſojourning in it, and other concurring circumſtances permitted it. Thus we find *Iſaac* ſowing his land in the country of *Gerar*, where the ſituation and the king's friendſhip invited him to make a conſiderable ſtay [d]; but it is plain, they always gave the preference to the former, whenever the two kinds proved incompatible; and how laborious that was in thoſe hot countries where water was ſcarce, and where it rains ſo ſeldom, may be gathered from the complaint which *Jacob* made to his father-in-law [e]. Neither was the fair ſex exempt from bearing their ſhare in it; and though *Abraham*'s poſterity doth not afford us any inſtance of it in his own family, where we meet but with one female, *viz. Dinah*, *Jacob*'s daughter, and ſhe only remembered for her fatal curioſity; yet if we look back into thoſe of his kindred, whom he left in *Padan-aram*, we ſhall find, that neither their birth, youth or beauty, exempted them from going to the well with their pitchers, and watering their

[b] Gen. xiii. 6. & ſeq. ibid. xxxii. 16, & ſeq. [c] Gen. xiv. 14, &c. [d] Gen. xxvi. 11, 12, & ſeq. [e] Gen. xxxi — 40, & ſeq. vid. ſupr. p. 403.

flocks

flocks at proper ſeaſons. This we find to have been the caſe of *Rebekah*, *Rachel*, and other fair damſels of that country, and of *Jethro*'s daughters ſome hundred years after them. And how diſtaſteful ſoever this primitive ſimplicity may appear to our preſent age, yet *Homer* [f] will tell us how much, and how long, it was imitated by the *Greeks*, whoſe politeneſs is to this day ſo juſtly admired; inſomuch, that the chief employment of the ſeven ſons of *Eetion*, king of the *Cilicians*, was the keeping of their father's flocks [g]; and we find that kind of life extolled, not only in *Sicily* and *Greece*, but likewiſe in *Syria*, and other countries above 1500 years after *Abraham*, in ſome of the moſt beautiful paſtorals of antiquity.

THIS laborious life ſeldom failed to keep both men and women in a good ſtate of health; and as they never wanted a good appetite, nor a good digeſtion, ſo they were the more ſimple in their way of living: the milk of their kine, the fruits of the earth were their common diet; a kid, a fatted calf, or a diſh of veniſon, was reckoned a rich feaſt; and one would think, that *Homer* had drawn the pictures of his Heroes in his *Odyſſes*, after that of the patriarchs, ſo far was he from thinking ſuch a life unworthy of the greateſt men. Whoever conſiders that *Jacob* had been his mother's favourite, and conſequently more tenderly brought up than his brother *Eſau*, will no doubt wonder at his being ſuffered, at the age of forty, to take a journey of above 500 miles, for ſo far it was at leaſt from *Beerſheba* to *Padan-aram*, without a ſervant, or any other conveniency for travelling than his bare ſtaff; but yet it appears, that he had been ſo well enured to that laborious life, that he made no difficulty of laying himſelf down in the open field, as ſoon as night came upon him, and taking the firſt ſtone that came to hand to ſerve him for a pillow [h]. That he took care to breed up his ſons in the ſame hardy way, is plain by his ſending his favourite *Joſeph* at the age of 16 as far as *Hebron*, to enquire after his brethren, which was above 80 miles from *Mamre*, where he dwelt. Neither did *Joſeph*'s hearing, that they were removed about 30 miles farther, diſcourage him from continuing his journey 'till he had met with them [i].

THIS laborious life did not only contribute very much to their health and vigour, but was likewiſe an effectual means to lengthen their days, and to make their deaths ſweet and eaſy. If we except *Iſaac*, who is deſcribed rather as a con-

[f] HOMER. Iliad Δ. [g] Idem. Iliad Z. [h] Gen. xxviii, 11. [i] Ibid. xxxvii. 17.

templative than a laborious man [k], and began to fail in his ſtrength much ſooner than the reſt; we read of no diſeaſes they were ſubject to, nor of any phyſicians they needed, except to embalm their dead bodies. All thoſe, whoſe age is ſet down by *Moſes*, lived to above 150 years, except *Joſeph*, whoſe courtly way of living may probably have ſhortened his days [l].

THEIR conjugal temperance was in no ways inferior to their other virtues, how far otherwiſe ſoever it may appear at firſt ſight: *Abraham* lived in a country where polygamy was allowed, and a numerous offſpring eſteemed one of the greateſt earthly bleſſings; he ſaw himſelf unfortunately yoked to a barren woman, and though maſter of vaſt poſſeſſions, yet choſe to make his ſervant his heir, rather than to marry another; neither doth he take *Hagar* to his bed 'till he is promiſed an heir that ſhould come out of his loins, and is perſuaded to it by his wife [m]. The children he had of *Keturah*, after *Sarah*'s death, ſhew that his continence was far from being the effect of old age and impotency. *Iſaac* and his promiſed poſterity had the nobleſt title to all the bleſſings that were denounced to *Abraham*; *Rebekah* proves barren for a conſiderable time, and had but two ſons at laſt, and yet we do not find, that ever he expreſſed a deſire of taking another wife [n]. *Jacob* indeed was unwarily drawn in to marry two ſiſters, and afterwards to take their maids to be his concubines; but whoever conſiders how contented he would have been with *Rachel*; alone that *Leah* was, as it were, forced upon him; that *Rachel*'s barrenneſs, and deſire of children, and his fondneſs for her, made him accept of her handmaid; that when he had once done it for one ſiſter, he could not decently refuſe it to the other [o]; that it was the cuſtom of the country for the wives to adopt their handmaids children, and that it was looked upon as conſiſtent with the laws of conjugal fidelity; whoever, I ſay, conſiders all theſe, will not lightly tax him with incontinency upon that account: however, it is plain, that the jealouſies and diſcords between the two ſiſters, and probably between the miſtreſſes and their handmaids, gave but little encouragement to his ſons to follow his example, ſince we do not read of one that did not reſt contented with one wife. *Judah* indeed is juſtly taxed with incontinency, but it muſt be remembered, that his adventure with *Tamar* was wholly accidental, and unſought

[k] Ibid xxiv. 63. xxvii. 1 & ſeq. [l] Gen. xlix. 26. [m] Gen. xv. 2. ibid xvi. 2. [n] Ibid. xxv. 21, & ſeq. [o] Ibid xxix, & xxx. paſſim.

for

for by him, and that he did not give himſelf that liberty, 'till after his wife's death [p]. However, we are far from undertaking to vindicate all their actions, much leſs do we intend to write panegyrics upon them; for which reaſon we ſhall forbear expatiating upon their extraordinary hoſpitality to ſtrangers, their faithfulneſs to their allies, and many other eminent virtues they were conſpicuous for; and ſhall content ourſelves with adding a few words concerning their religion, and ſhewing that that joined to their primitive ſimplicity, afforded an excellent pattern for a civil and a happy life; and that every deviation of theirs from it doth indeed give us a lively inſtance of the early depravity of mankind, but caſts no reflexion on their excellent and admirable rule of life, which gave every head a full and abſolute ſway over his whole family, obliged him to breed them up in the knowledge and fear of the true GOD, and a ſtrict obſervance to his laws, which was the moſt effectual means to make them live in that peace and plenty, that eaſe and tranquillity, for which they are ſo juſtly admired.

As for their religion, it was not only the freeſt from idolatry and ſuperſtition, but the ſimpleſt and pureſt in the world, or, at leaſt, that the world was then capable of. It conſiſted chiefly in a ready obedience to GOD's commands, under whoſe immediate guidance they continually were, in a firm reliance on his promiſes under all dangers and difficulties, and in a thankful remembrance and acknowledgment for all his bleſſings and deliverances. This laſt part ſeems to have introduced the religious cuſtom of tithes, if they were not of a much older date: accordingly we find *Abraham* giving the tenths of all the ſpoils of his late gotten victory to *Melchizedek* [q], and *Jacob* vowed the like portion of all his poſſeſſions to GOD, if he would bleſs and bring him back ſafe to his father's houſe [r]. How theſe were at firſt paid, or to whom, is not eaſy to gueſs, whether to *Shem* or *Eber*, or any of their deſcendants, who ſtill held the high prieſthood; or, as is moſt likely, by conſecrating a tenth part to religious uſes, ſuch as building of altars, rearing of pillars and monuments, and offering of ſacrifices to GOD, ſince ſuch things as are conſecrated to GOD's worſhip are, in the language of ſcripture, ſaid to be given to GOD. Theſe ſacrifices have indeed ſomething in them that is ſhocking and unnatural, as we obſerved before, and when we conſider how ſoon they began, and how univerſally they ſpread themſelves, reaſon will be at a loſs how to account for their introduction and progreſs, any

[p] Ibid. xxxviii. 12 & ſeq. [q] Gen. xiv. 20. [r] Ibid. xxviii. ult.

other

other way than by ſuppoſing them to be of GOD's own inſtituting, as types of that grand ſacrifice which CHRIST was to offer up for the ſins of the world: but this is rather a point of divinity than hiſtory, and ſo out of our ſphere. In all other caſes, it is plain, their religion was pure, ſimple, and uniform, and might have continued ſuch after their deliverance out of *Egypt*, had not their degeneracy and ſtubborneſs obliged their divine law-giver to clog it with a numerous train of rites and ceremonies, in order to prevent their intermixing thoſe of other nations with their own, as the ſequel of their hiſtory will ſhew. We ſhall only add, that as other nations ſeem to have received from the antient patriarchs the ceremony of ſacrificing beaſts to their gods; that is, of ſubſtituting an innocent lamb, ſheep, *&c.* in their guilty ſtead, without retaining the notion of the deſign, or typical inſtitution of them; ſo it is very probable, that the intended ſacrifice of *Iſaac*, by the father of the faithful, by which he gave ſuch a glorious teſtimony of his faith, and reliance on GOD's promiſes, may have given birth to the bloody cuſtom of ſacrificing of children, which became afterwards ſo univerſal, not only among all other nations, but even among the *Iſraelites* themſelves. The notion of its being enjoined to that patriarch, only as a trial of his faith, might wear off by degrees, and nothing more be remembered of it than the great applauſe and bleſſings he received upon that account; from which they might conclude as it were *a fortiori*, that if his bare intention proved ſo meritorious, much more would the real ſacrificing of their own children be; and when they had once imbibed the notion, that the main merit of ſuch a bloody ceremony conſiſted chiefly in the ſtifling all ſenſe of humanity and natural affection, it was eaſy for them to infer, that the more they did ſo by the cruel torments they put the poor infants to, the more it would enhance the value of the ſacrifice; but this we ſubmit to the reader's judgment.

SECT.

SECT. II.

The hiſtory of the Jews *from their* Egyptian *bondage, to their entrance into the land of* Canaan.

The great increaſe of the Iſraelites *in* Egypt.

WE return now to the *Iſraelites* in *Egypt*, who did ſo prodigiouſly increaſe both in number and in ſtrength, during the 215 years of their abode there [a], (A) that the jealous *Egyptians* had already long ago looked upon them as a dangerous, if not formidable people. And indeed if we conſider to what a prodigious multitude theſe ſeventy ſouls, which came down with *Jacob*, were increaſed, inſomuch that *Moſes* tells us, they amounted to 600,000 men, from twenty years and upwards [b], all able to bear arms; beſides thoſe under 20 years of age, old men from ſixty to a hundred and upwards, for they lived even much longer than that, and women, which may be reaſonably ſuppoſed to have been much more numerous than the men, who were allowed a plurality of wives. I ſay, if we conſider this wonderful increaſe (which in a proportionate and moderate computation, allowing them to have brought 70 wives with them, (which is the utmoſt that can be ſuppoſed) will be as 140 to 280,000, that is as 20,000 to one) we ſhall not wonder at *Egypt*'s fearing, leſt they ſhould in a ſhort time cover the whole face of it. Neither need we have recourſe to miracles, as the *Jews* do [c], for this prodigious increaſe (B). We have

[a] Exod. i. 7. [b] Numb. i. 46. [c] Vid. ABEN-EZRAH, & MUNSTER in loc.

(A) *Moſes* was ſo ſurprized at this wonderful increaſe of his people, when he came to take an account of them, that he makes uſe of four of the ſtrongeſt verbs in the whole *Hebrew* tongue to expreſs it, *viz.* פרו *pharù, they fructified,* or *multiplied like the fruit of trees*; ישרצו *jiſrezzù, they multiplied like fiſhes*; רבו *rabbù, they daily increaſed in number*; יעצמו *jabatzmù, they grew ſtronger and ſtronger* (1). Had their hard bondage ſuffered them to have increaſed as much in wiſdom and greatneſs of mind, they had not given him ſo much trouble, as we find they did, both in *Egypt* and in the wilderneſs.

(B) St. *Auſtin* (2) thinks, that this prodigious increaſe of the *Iſraelites* was altogether miraculous, in which many of the *Jews* agree with him. *Aben-Ezra* tells us, that they brought forth 3 or

(1) *Exod. i. 7.* (2) Aug. *de civit. lib. xviii. cap. 7.*

4 at

have already given in the first volume some tables * of the probable increase of mankind in any number of years; and if this seems to out-do that calculation, it must be remembered, that they had a peculiar promise for it, and a peculiar blessing from GOD attending them. Neither was their courage or strength less to be feared than their number. The sons of *Ephraim* had already given a proof of it to the *Egyptians*, when they made that bold, tho' unsuccessful, attempt upon the *Gathites*, in one of the cantons of the land of *Canaan*, even before their father's death, who, as we hinted before, lived upwards of 90 years in *Egypt*. This adventure, though not recorded by *Moses*, has been preserved to us by the author of the first book of *Chronicles* [d], and might easily let the *Egyptians* see, what the united force of twelve such fructifying tribes might do in process of time, when one single one, of so short a standing, could venture upon such a hazardous enterprize. However that be, it is not easy to fix the time when their bondage began, nor how long they had groaned under it, when *Moses* was born; sure it is, that from, or even before, that time they began to be more and

The sons of Ephraim's *incursion on the* Gathites.

* Vid. Vol. I. p. 223. [d] 1 Chron. vii. 21. OSIAND in loc.

4 at every birth; and affirms that a woman may bring forth as far as seven children at once (3). This he seems to have taken from *Aristotle* (4), or from *Trogus*, who says, that in *Egypt* the women were sometimes delivered of 7 children at once: but, without having recourse to such prodigious births, which happen but seldom, we need but suppose, that the *Israelites*, both men and women, were very fruitful, that they began soon, and continued long in begetting, which has been shewn in the former section to have been the fact. We see no impossibility for 70 males, in the compass of 215 years, to have multiplied to this degree, even at the rate of one child every year; for, according to *Simler*'s computation, 70 persons, if they beget a child every year, will in 30 years time have above 2000 children; of which admit that one third part only did come to procreate, in thirty years more they will amount to 9000; the third part of it will in 30 years more be multiplied to 45,000: according to which moderate calculation, in 210 years, the whole amount will be at least 2,760,000. If therefore there was any thing miraculous or extraordinary in all this, it was, that they should be able to multiply at that rate, notwithstanding their hard labours and cruel bondage.

(3) Aben.Ezra. *ap.* Munst. *in loc.* Pelican & *al.* (4) *Histor. animal. lib. vii. c.* 4.

more cruelly oppreſſed by the *Egyptians*, whoſe unheard of treatment towards that oppreſſed people, might be owing to more cauſes than one; ſuch as their contempt of all nations but their own; their hatred of the *Iſraelites*, both as ſhepherds and as *Hebrews*, who killed and lived upon thoſe beaſts that were worſhipped in *Egypt*; the great difference of religion; envy to ſee them ſo ſucceſsful and the like; but the main, and indeed ſufficient motive mentioned in the text, was, their being grown more mighty than the *Egyptians*, and the danger there was, leſt upon any war they ſhould join with their enemies, and drive them out of the land [e]. This laſt made ſuch an impreſſion upon them, that though they were reſolved to cruſh them as much as poſſible, if not totally to deſtroy them; yet they did not dare to come to an open rupture with them, but made it their chief endeavours to weaken them by degrees, by hard labours, taxes (C), and all kinds of oppreſſion, as the ſequel of this hiſtory will ſoon ſhew.

They are hated by the Egyptians.

THIS

[e] Exod. i. 9, 10.

(C) It is to be obſerved, that the original words שָׂרֵי מִסִּים *Sarè Maſſim*, which we tranſlate *taſk-maſters*, do properly ſignify *tax-gatherers*; the burthens are mentioned afterwards under another name; ſo that they laid heavy tributes upon them to impoveriſh, and heavy burthens to weaken them. *Philo* tells us (5), that they were made to carry burthens above their ſtrength, and to work night and day; that they were forced to be workers and ſervers; that they were employed in brick-making, digging and building: that if any of them dropped dead under their burthens, they were not ſuffered to bury them. *Joſephus* tells us moreover (6), that they were made to dig trenches and ditches; to drain rivers into channels; to wall whole towns, caſting up dikes and banks to keep off inundations; nay to erect phantaſtical pyramids; that they obliged them to learn ſeveral laborious trades, and confined them to perpetual reſtleſs labour. Another author tells us (7), that, in order to render them more odious to the *Egyptians*, they made them go differently apparelled. But, without troubling ourſelves further than with what *Moſes* tells us, we ſhall find their work hard enough (8); they were forced to work in clay and brick, and compelled at length to go and ſeek out for ſtubble inſtead of ſtraw, without the leaſt diminution of their taſks, of which if they chanced to come ſhort, which could not poſſibly be avoided, their overſeers were ſeverely beaten for it (9). Thus they tried by theſe three ways to bring them under, *viz.* by ex-

(5) Philo *in vit.* Moſis. (6) *Antiq. l. ii. c.* 9. (7) Eupolem. *apud* Euſeb. *præp.* (8) *Exod. i.* 14. (9) *Exod. v.*

Their cruel bondage. THIS terrible perſecution, if we may be allowed to call it by that name, began under the reign of a new king [f], who knew not *Joſeph* (D), or had forgot the great ſervices which that

[f] Ibid. ver. 8.

acting a tribute to leſſen their wealth, laying heavy burthens on them to weaken their bodies, and thereby to prevent their generating and increaſing.

(D) There was nothing extraordinary in this forgetfulneſs, taking the words of *Moſes* in their literal ſenſe, if we conſider, that kings were then only elective, and all the ſubjects looked upon as their ſlaves (10). Archbiſhop *Uſher* mentions ſeven kings between *Joſeph*'s death and this who knew not *Joſeph*, *i. e.* in about 60 years, which was more than ſufficient to obliterate all his ſignal ſervices. Some indeed thinking this impoſſible, there being ſtill ſo many monuments extant of them, have underſtood *Moſes*'s words in a leſs ſtrict ſenſe, as if he had not forgot, but refuſed to acknowledge them. Thus St. *Paul* is made to ſay (11), that he knew not that it was the high-prieſt that cauſed him to be ſmitten, when every child might have known him both by his particular dreſs, and the place where he ſat: whereas it is thought, that he meant, he did not acknowledge him to be the high-prieſt, becauſe he had obtained the mitre by bribery (12); but as *Moſes* calls this a new king, probably becauſe he was of another family, if not a ſtranger, there will be no reaſon to depart from the literal ſenſe. Who this new king was is not ſo eaſily agreed. *Cajetan* thinks him to have been an *Aſſyrian* born, from the words of the prophet (13) *My people went down into* Egypt *to ſojourn there, and an* Aſſyrian *oppreſſed them*. But we don't find, in the *Egyptian* chronicles, any *Aſſyrian* kings either before *Moſes*, or for above 1000 years after. Neither could it be *Mephres*, in whoſe ninth year *Joſeph* is ſuppoſed to have died, and the bondage to have begun (14), becauſe *Levi* outlived *Joſeph* above 23 years (15); whereas the thraldom did not commence 'till all the patriarchs were dead. Some therefore ſuppoſe, that it was *Amenophis*, becauſe *Euſebius* thinks, that *Moſes* was born in the 18th year of his reign, and ſo doth St. *Jerom* (16). This king is alſo called *Memnon*, the ſpeaking ſtone, whoſe ſtatue did uſe to ſpeak at the ſun-riſing, and is thought by ſome to have continued 'till our ſaviour's time (17). Archbiſhop *Uſher*, after *Mercator*, thinks, is was *Rameſes Miamun*, the latter part of whoſe ſurname ſeems to have been deduced from the forepart of *Amen-Ophis*, by which name ſundry of his predeceſ-

(10) Diod. Sicul *l. ii. c. i. Gen. xlviii.* 19, 20. (11) *Act. xxiii.* 5. (12) Le Scene *Eſſay d' une nouvelle verſion & al.* (13) *Iſai. lii.* 4. (14) Vincent *in loc.* (15) *Exod. vi.* 16. (16) Euſeb. Hieron. *in Chron.* (17) Perrer. Simler. *& al.*

ſors,

that glorious miniſter had done, both to the crown and nation of *Egypt*. This we need not wonder at after ſo many years, when *Ahaſuerus* could ſo ſoon forget *Mordecai*, who had ſo lately ſaved his life [g]. Though it muſt be owned, that had *Joſeph*'s merit been never ſo freſh in their memory, yet that prince's conduct, if politically conſidered, had nothing ſtrange or uncommon; ſince it would rather have been a prodigy, if his gratitude to a man, that had been dead above fifty years, had prevented his taking all the cautious meaſures to ſecure his own kingdom, againſt the danger it ſeemed threatened with from a people, who from an indigent family were become ſuch a numerous and formidable hoſt. The religion of the *Iſraelites* ſo oppoſite to *Egyptian* idolatry; their ſtrict union among themſelves; the great riches they had heaped up during *Joſeph*'s life; their indefatigable induſtry in feeding their numberleſs herds, in trade and agriculture; their bodily ſtrength and warlike temper; in all which and many other reſpects, they ſeem to have been far ſuperior to the *Egyptians*: all theſe I ſay, did ſufficiently juſtify *Pharaoh*'s fears, if not

[g] Eſther vi. 1, 3.

ſors, as well as his ſon after him, were called. This king the above mentioned Primate affirms to have reigned 62 years and 2 months; during which, being frighted at the number and ſtrength of the *Iſraelites*, he began to oppreſs them with a cruel bondage, laying upon them, beſides their continual labour and tillage of the ground, the building alſo of royal magazines, ſtorehouſes, and the whole cities of *Raamſes*, or *Rameſes*, and *Pithom*; the former of which took its name from the king, and the latter probably from the queen (18), but we ſhall find a great difficulty here, *viz.* how to reconcile that learned prelate with what *Pliny* ſays (19), that this *Rameſes* reigned in the time of the *Trojan* war, that is, about 300 years after the death of *Moſes*. Upon the whole the reader is deſired to remember, what we ſaid in the hiſtory of *Egypt* concerning the difficulty of adjuſting their chronology, and particularly who thoſe kings were under whom the *Iſraelites* ſuffered this ſlavery †. As for thoſe who pretend, that the *Iſraelites* continued above 400 years in *Egypt*, as *Genebrard* (20), or that they groaned under that ſlavery all that time, as *Joſephus* (21), they'll ſend us ſtill farther to ſeek for a king that will fit them; but we hope, we have ſufficiently proved their error in our notes in the former ſection, *p.* 363. *not.* K, and made it more than probable, that they did not continue there above 215 years.

(18) Uſher's *annal. p.* 12. (19) Plin. *lib. xxxvi. c. viii.*
† *Vid. ſup. p.* 30. *not.* (I). (20) Genebrard *chronogr. p.* 11. *ſub. An. M.* 2660. (21) *Antiq. l. ii. c. ix.*

in ſome meaſure to authoriſe thoſe violent meaſures which he took againſt them (E). We have ſeen in our days chriſtian princes take as cruel and inhuman precautions againſt their own natural ſubjects, of whoſe fidelity and loyal attachment they had much greater proofs, than ever the kings of *Egypt* had from the children of *Iſrael*; and yet theſe perſecutions have been juſtified, nay canonized, whilſt *Pharaoh*'s have been branded with the worſt of epithets, and are not mentioned without horror.

HAD indeed the *Egyptian* court been leſs a ſtranger to the *Iſraelites*, they would have had little cauſe to fear being driven out of their own country, againſt which theſe were ſo far from deſigning any attempt of that nature, that they never looked upon themſelves but as ſojourners for a while, ſtill waiting for the happy day when GOD ſhould call them out of it, to go and conquer another land. But perhaps they wiſely concealed this ſecret from the *Egyptians*, who would be too loath to loſe the ſervice of ſuch a numerous people, not to prevent their going by all poſſible means. Beſides, had it been known, there was ſtill that danger of their joining with their enemies, upon any war or invaſion, in order to facilitate their eſcape. *Pharaoh* indeed makes the great advantage of their ſervitude a pretence for not letting them go where *Moſes* deſired [h]; but had that been all, it is not likely, he would have taken ſuch effectual methods of depriving himſelf of it, by totally deſtroying them: for when he found, by the experience of at leaſt ten years, that neither the hardſhips he laid upon them, nor all the cruelties which his officers and people uſed towards them, could prevent their multiplying as faſt as, if not faſter, than ever [i], he

[h] Exod. xiv. 5. [i] Ibid. c. i. 12.

(E) *Joſephus*, not thinking all theſe ſufficient to alarm the king of *Egypt*, tells us (22), that there was a certain ſcribe famous for his predictions, who went and told him, that there was a *Hebrew* child to be born about that very time, that would prove a ſcourge to the *Egyptians*, and advance the glory of his nation, and that, if he lived to grow up, he would be eminent for his virtue and courage, and make his name famous to poſterity: that *Pharaoh* was ſo ſtartled at this prediction, that he ordered the *Egyptian* midwives, under pain of death, carefully to attend the labour of all the *Hebrew* women, and to deſtroy all their males. But, as *Moſes* doth not hint any thing like it, the reader may as ſafely reject as admit it.

(22) *Ibid.*

ſent

ſent for the two chief *Hebrew* midwives, *Shiphrah*, and *Puah*, (F) and ſtrictly charged them, that when they performed

Pharaoh's *cruel orders to the* Hebrew *midwives.*

(F) Though *Moſes* mentions but two midwives, yet we muſt not ſuppoſe, that they could ſuffice to ſuch a vaſt number of women. Some therefore think, that theſe two only attended on the nobler ſort of *Hebrew* women, whoſe children *Pharaoh* chiefly intended to cut off (23), whereas his charge was to kill all the males, none excepted. Others think that the *Hebrew women being ſtrong and eaſily delivered* (24), might probably ſhift with two midwives; but it is to be conſidered, that this was not ſo much the real fact, as an excuſe of the midwives for not obeying the king's orders. It is therefore more probable that theſe two were the chief ones, who had the charge and direction of all the reſt (25); and that there was ſuch a precedency or ſuperiority among the midwives, whatever *Cajetan* ſays to the contrary, appears very probable at leaſt from what *Plutarch* tells us, that among the *Grecians*, there were ſome, to whom the care of that buſineſs was committed, and that public ſchools were kept for that purpoſe (26). Several learned expoſitors, eſpecially among the *Romiſh* (27), following the *Septuagint* and *vulgate* verſions, which read המילדות העבריות *Hamialedoth haghibrioth, the midwives of the* Hebrew *women*, inſtead of the *Hebrew midwives*, as the grammatical conſtruction rather requires, have fancied, after *Joſephus* (28), that they were *Egyptian* midwives, as being moſt likely to obey the king's bloody command, and that the *Iſraelites* had no midwives among them. This laſt is wholly improbable, and contrary to ſeveral places of ſcripture; beſides, their being influenced by the fear of GOD to diſobey the king's order, is more applicable to the *Hebrew* than to the *Egyptian* midwives. Laſtly, their names, which were wholly *Hebrew*, ſhews them to have been ſuch; for the word *Shiphrah* comes from שפר *Shaphar*, which ſignifies *to be*, or *to make beautiful*; and therefore the *Jewiſh* etymologiſt gives us this reaſon for her being called ſo, *viz.* becauſe שמשפרת את היולד *ſhe ſhaped the babe into form.* The other was called *Puah*, from פעה *to cry out*, either becauſe they generally make the women to cry out luſtily, that they may be the ſooner rid of their burthen; or becauſe they are moſt accuſtomed to the cries of the mothers and the children. And whereas *Joſephus* ſays, that *Hebrew* women would have been too partial to their people, the ſame reaſon did hold againſt *Pharaoh*'s ſetting up *Hebrew* taſk-maſters over them, which yet we find he did, and the fear of death might as eaſily influence the one as the other nation to obey the king (29). As for thoſe who think,

(23) Cajet. *in loc.* (24) *Exod. i.* 19. (25) Pelican. Vatabl. Outran. *& al.* (26) *Vid.* Jun. *in analys.* Villet *& al* (27) Perrer. Aret. Simler. *&c.* (28) *Ant. l. ii. c. ix.* (29) S. Aug. *lib. contr. mendac. cap. xv, xvi.*

with

performed their office to the *Hebrew* women, they ſhould deſtroy all the males, and let the females take their chance. But theſe women, who feared GOD and abhorred ſuch a cruel office, neglected the king's commands, and ſaved all the children that were born, males as well as females. *Pharaoh*, being extremely provoked at it, commanded them to be brought before him, and in a threatening tone aſked them, how they dared to diſobey his orders? The women had not their anſwer to ſeek, for they readily told his majeſty, that the *Hebrew* women did not, like the *Egyptian* ones, want a midwife to deliver them, being luſty and ſtrong, and bringing forth more like the beaſts of the foreſt than like women (G); ſo that their children were born before they could come to them. *Moſes* tells us, that their piety and mercy did not go unrewarded, and that GOD bleſſed them with a numerous poſterity [k] (H): not becauſe their having told a lye

They are reproved for their diſobedience,

and rewarded by GOD *for their piety.*

[k] Ibid. ver. 21.

with ſome *Hebrew* rabbies (30), that theſe two midwives were *Jochebed*, *Moſes*'s mother, and *Miriam* her daughter, and that they are here only ſurnamed in alluſion to their office; they are not worth confuting, ſince *Miriam* could not be above ſix or ſeven years old when this order was given, as we ſhall ſee by and by.

(G) The word חיות *chaioth*, which we tranſlate *lively*, doth likewiſe ſignify wild beaſts, and may be taken in that ſenſe in this place, ſeeing the midwives wanted to throw the fault upon the pregnant women, who, like the beaſts of the field, needed no help to be delivered. A great deal of learned duſt has been raiſed about this anſwer of the midwives; as, 1. Whether it was, ſtrictly ſpeaking, a lye. 2. Whether, and how far, it was excuſable in them. 3. Whether the reward mentioned by *Moſes* was given them for the lye, or for their mercy, or both. It is plain, this anſwer of theirs was the effect of their fear of the king's diſpleaſure, and not of that merciful diſpoſition which they ſhewed towards the poor children: this laſt was the virtue here rewarded, whatever betided them for the lye they told, if it was really ſuch; for it is very probable, that the *Hebrew* women, who were kept more ſtrictly than the looſe and maſterly *Egyptian* dames, might have much eaſier labours than they, and ſo have leſs need of midwives. Their anſwer might therefore be true in part, though not in the whole, and as to their ſtretching the truth a little beyond its due bounds, upon a good deſign, they had the examples of *Abraham* and *Iſaac*, who made their wives paſs for their ſiſters, though they were only ſo in a far fetched ſenſe.

(H) Our *Engliſh*, and ſeveral other verſions, having followed the *Hebrew* too literally, have rendered this place, *the lord made*

(30) Rab. Abr. Sepharad. & *al.*

them

lye to the king, made them worthy of no better than a temporal reward, excluſive of any other, as ſome antient fathers have thought [1]. But *Moſes* records this temporal recompence, as

[1] GREGOR. lib. viii. moral.

them houſes; which though it may imply the ſame ſenſe we have given it, yet it is too obſcurely expreſſed, and has led ſome expoſitors, for want of attending to the *Hebrew* idiom, into ſome abſurd notions. Thus St. *Jerom* underſtands it of houſes in heaven (31); others of ſtrong houſes built by the *Iſraelites*, to defend them againſt the rage of *Pharaoh* (32); others, thinking them to have been *Jochebed* and *Miriam*, have underſtood it of the kingdom and prieſthood, which was afterwards ſettled upon their poſterity; becauſe *Jochebed* was mother to *Aaron*, and *Miriam* to *Caleb* (33); but, beſides that *Miriam* was too young for ſuch an office, it is not certain ſhe was *Caleb*'s mother; on the contrary, *Joſephus* tells us (34), that ſhe was the wife of *Hur*. Some again taking them to have been *Egyptians*, have underſtood it of their being incorporated into the common-wealth of *Iſrael* (35), as *Rahab* afterwards was. Others think that their families were enriched by a particular bleſſing (36); but the trueſt ſenſe is, that their houſes or families were greatly increaſed. For the word בן *Ben*, a ſon in the *Hebrew*, comes from בנה *Banah*, to *build*, becauſe he is as it were the builder of the houſe or family: in this ſenſe *Sarah* gives her maid to *Abraham*, that ſhe might be built, that is be made a mother by her (37). Accordingly the *Pſalmiſt* (38) ſays, *who maketh the barren woman* to become *a houſe* or family, and to be *a joyful mother of children* (39).

There is ſtill one difficulty more in the text, which is, that the word להם *lahem*, *to them*, is of the maſculine gender; whereas if it had related to the midwives, it ſhould have been להן *lahen*, from which ſome have imagined, that it refers to the *Egyptians* who built themſelves ſtrong houſes to put the pregnant *Hebrews* in, that they might not elude the king's deſign: but if that had been the caſe, he muſt rather have built large cities to have ſufficed the vaſt multitude of *Hebrew* women. Others think that it was the *Iſraelites*, and not the midwives, that were ſo multiplied; becauſe, ſay they, women cannot be ſaid to build families, but men (40); but the contrary of this is plain, by the bleſſing which was given to *Ruth* (41), that *ſhe might prove like* Rachel *and* Leah, *which two did build the houſe, or family of* Iſrael. We rather therefore think it more probable, that the *Mem* is put for the *Nun*, which very often happens, and the maſculine for the femi-

(31) Hieron. *in cap. lxv Iſai.* (32) Sepharadi *in loc.* (33) R. Salom. & *al.* (34) *Ant. l iii. c.* 9 (35) Vatabl. Pined. &c. (36) Auguſt. Theodor. (37) *Gen. xvi* 2. (38) *Pſ. cxiii.* 9. (39) D. Kimchi, Perrer, Le Scene, &c. (40) Simler. Jun. Villet *in loc.* (41) *Ruth. iv.* 11.

nine,

as beſt ſuiting the carnal people he had to do with, who ſeem to have had little thought of another life, if they could but make themſelves comfortably happy in this.

The Iſraelites *commanded to drown all their male-children.*

HOWEVER, *Pharaoh*, finding that theſe underhand ſtratagems proved ineffectual, reſolved to act more openly againſt the *Iſraelites*, and to make the parents become the executioners of their own children. To this end he iſſues out an order, under the ſevereſt penalties, that every *Hebrew* male-child that was born, ſhould be caſt into the *Nile*, and that none but the females ſhould be ſuffered to live; by which the people ſaw themſelves obliged either to drown their own children, or to ſee it done by the *Egyptians*, as ſoon as they were diſcovered, and themſelves ſeverely puniſhed for not obeying the king's edict. Such a bloody command could not but cauſe the greateſt conſternation in the afflicted *Iſraelites*, too prone naturally to deſpond and deſpair of GOD's promiſes. They thought themſelves on the eve of their deliverance from the hardeſt of ſlaveries; a glorious deliverer was promiſed to them, whom they now ſee condemned to die as ſoon as born. But GOD, whoſe deſigns could not be fruſtrated either by the private artifices or open violence of the king of *Egypt*, made him the inſtrument of bringing up that very child whom he took ſuch pains to deſtroy.

AMRAM, the ſon of *Kohath* and grandſon of *Levi*, had married *Jochebed*, the daughter of *Levi*, his own aunt (I), by

nine, as we find it in the next chapter (42), where the maſculine relative is applied to *Jethro*'s ſeven daughters, and many other places beſides (43); and that the maſculine pronoun is given to the midwives by way of excellency, which is no uncommon thing in the ſacred tongue.

(I) We have ventured to call *Jochebed Amram*'s aunt, though the *Septuagint*, *Vulgate*, and after them many learned expoſitors, both *Papiſts* and *Proteſtants*, have thought, that ſhe was no more than his uncle *Kohath*'s daughter, and conſequently his couſin-german, becauſe the marriage of an aunt was afterwards forbidden in the *Levitical* law (1). For though the word דוד *Dod* in the original, doth ſometimes ſignify an uncle's ſon (2), and דודה *Dodah*, an uncle's daughter or couſin-german; yet, ſeeing *Moſes* tells us (3), that ſhe was born unto *Levi*, and accordingly calls her *Amram*'s aunt (4), in another place, we thought we might ſafely give her that name

(42) *Exod. ii.* 17. (43) Vatabl. Piſcat. Munſt. & *al. in loc.*
(1) Nic. de Lyr. Moutan. Cajetan. Perrer. Caſtal. & *al. in loc.*
(2) *Jerem. xxxii.* 12. (3) *Numb. xxvi.* 59. (4) *Exod. vi.* 20.

after

by whom he had had two children before the king's edict, *viz.* *Miriam* and *Aaron* (K); but *Moſes* not being born till ſome time after the promulgation of it, and he proving a lovely and beautiful child, GOD inſpired them with a more than ordinary reluctancy to obey it; ſo that they ventured to keep him privately during the ſpace of three months (L), till

Moſes *is born*, Year of the Flood, 1428. Year before Chriſt 1571.

and concealed three months.

after many learned men (5). And here we cannot forbear taking notice of a miſtake, which *Calmet* muſt have been led into by ſome *Amanuenſis*, who mentions the learned *Uſher* in the number of thoſe who think, that ſhe was but firſt-couſin to *Amram*; whereas the contrary appears by the very place quoted by him, where that prelate calls her *Levi's daughter, and Amram's aunt and wife.* Some *Hebrew* writers (6) pretend, that ſhe was born about the time that *Jacob* came down to *Egypt*; at which rate ſhe muſt have been 135 years old when *Moſes* was born, that is, above 40 years older than *Sarah* was when ſhe bore *Iſaac*: but had *Moſes*'s birth been ſo miraculous, we need not doubt, but he would have recorded it as well as that of *Iſaac*. It is therefore more likely, that *Levi* begot her in *Egypt* in the 100th year of his age, which was nothing wonderful, ſeeing *Abraham* begot ſeveral children of *Keturah* after the 137th of his; and *Jacob* begot *Benjamin* when he was 107; and as for *Jochebed*, ſhe may be ſafely ſuppoſed to have bore *Moſes* when ſhe was 68 years old, nothing being more common than for the *Hebrew* women in thoſe days to bear children at, and even after, that age (7); and then we need not to go ſeek for another *Jochebed*, to make her coincide with the time of *Moſes*'s birth, as ſome have done, ſince whatever other of that name were found, ſhe muſt be *Amram*'s aunt, as the text calls her in the places above quoted.

(K) Though *Moſes* doth mention nothing of the age of his ſiſter, either when ſhe was born, or when ſhe died, yet it is plain, ſhe was the eldeſt of the three, becauſe ſhe was old enough to watch *Moſes* when he was expoſed; whereas *Aaron* was but three years older than he; but that ſhe ſhould be ſo old as the *Jews* make her, *viz.* to have been one of the two midwives mentioned in a former note, is both improbable, and contrary to the opinion of our chronologers and expoſitors, who make her but ten years old at moſt when *Moſes* was born.

(L) This pious concealment is ſufficiently juſtified by St. *Stephen*, and the epiſtle to the *Hebrews* (8), not only on the account of the child's beauty, which is alſo mentioned by *Juſtin* out of *Trogus*, but alſo upon the account of their faith, they looking upon him as the future deliverer of their nation. However, *Joſephus* (9) tells us, that *Amram*, finding his wife with child, and being ſolicitous about

(5) *Chald. Paraph.* Jun. Munſt. Pagnin. Simler. Uſſer. *& al.* (6) Calm. *Hiſt. V. T. lib. ii p.* 296. *not. b.* Uſſer. *Annal. ad An. Mund* 2385. (7) Vatabl. *in loc.* (8) *Act. vii.* 20. *Hebr. xi.* 13. (9) *Ant. lib. ii. c. ix.*

at laſt, fearing the extreme danger of a diſcovery, which would have proved fatal both to the child and themſelves, they were forced, though with the utmoſt regret, to expoſe him like the reſt. However, nature, ſhrinking at the thoughts of his immediate death, made them contrive to make him a ſmall ark of bull-ruſhes, or rather of the flags of the tree of which the *Egyptians* made their paper [m], which was ſtrong enough to hold out the water, and ſmooth enough to receive the pitch and tar with which it was beſmeared, and by its lightneſs fitteſt to ſwim with the child's weight. This ark being daubed with pitch within and without, they put the child in it, and, committing him to the mercy of the waves, or rather to the care of providence, they left *Miriam* his ſiſter, who was then about eight years of age, at a convenient diſtance to watch and ſee what would become of him. The reeds and flags, with which that river abounds [n], ſoon

and expoſed to the common fate,

[m] JOSEPH. Ant. l. ii. c. 9. [n] Iſai. xviii. 2. HERODOT. lib. ii. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. 1. & al.

the king's edict, prayed earneſtly to GOD to put an end to this dreadful perſecution, and that GOD appeared to him and told him, that he would ſhortly free his people from it, and that the ſon, that ſhould ſhortly be born to him, ſhould prove the happy inſtrument of their glorious deliverance, and eterniſe his own name thereby; —— that this made them conceal him as long as they could, but fearing a diſcovery, they reſolved to truſt him to the care of providence, ——— who accordingly conducted *Pharaoh*'s daughter to the river's ſide, and inſpired her with ſuch ſentiments of pity, that ſhe adopted him for her ſon. He calls that princeſs *Thermuthis*, and after him *Epiphanius* in *Panario*, and others: *Artaphanes* (10), *Meris*, and the *Alexandrian* chronicle *Myrrina*. *Joſephus* adds further (11), that *Thermuthis* having ſent for ſeveral wet nurſes one after another, the child did ſcornfully turn away his head from their breaſt; and that *Miriam*, who was then preſent, told that princeſs, that if the nurſe and the child were of different nations, her milk would never agree with it, but that if an *Hebrew* woman was fetched, he would probably take the breaſt from her. Upon which ſhe was bid to go for one, and quickly brought the child's mother, whom he fell a ſucking moſt heartily, to the admiration of the princeſs and all the by-ſtanders. Thus far *Joſephus*. The *Jews* obſerve further, that the word river here uſed, is not נהר *Nahar*, which ſignifies a great river ſuch as the *Nile* was, but יאור *Jeor*, which ſignifies a river, or rather canal, that is drawn from the great one to water the country (12); and as the land of *Egypt* abounded every where with the latter, the *Iſraelites* needed not to go far for a place to drown their children in.

(10) *Ap.* Euſeb. *præp. lib. ix. cap. iv.* (11) *Ant. loc. cit.* (12) *Ibid.*

ſtopped

ſtopped the cradle from being carried by the current, and here it was that GOD ſent him a happy deliverance from all future dangers on account of the king's edict.

WHILST his ſorrowful mother was retiring from him, providence directed thither the princeſs, whom he had made choice of to breed him up as her own. It was *Pharaoh*'s daughter, who, being come to the river with deſign to bathe herſelf, ſpied the ark as ſhe was walking along the ſhore. Her curioſity ſoon made her ſend one of her retinue to fetch it to her. It was not long before her ſurprize at the ſight of ſo beautiful a child, was ſucceeded by an irreſiſtible love and pity for him, whoſe cries and tears would have reached a heart leſs gentle and pitiful than hers. She immediately concluded, that it was the child of ſome of thoſe unfortunate *Hebrews*, who groaned under her father's heavy thraldom; her pity told her, that ſo lovely a boy deſerved a better fate, and that it was her duty, ſince chance had thus thrown him in her way, at any rate to ſave him from the common ruin. *and taken up.*

PROVIDENCE, which conducted all this ſcene, put it into her heart to have him educated as her own ſon, and into young *Miriam*'s head to approach the princeſs, and to offer herſelf to fetch her an *Hebrew* nurſe to ſuckle him. She was no ſooner bid to go, but ſhe flew with all imaginable joy to call the mournful *Jochebed*, who did not make them wait long, before ſhe came and received the dear infant from the hands of the princeſs, and with him an expreſs order, to take the ſame care of him as if it had been her own. At the ſame time ſhe told her, that as ſhe did not know the boy's name, ſhe would give him that of *Moſes*, ſeeing ſhe had drawn him out of the water (M); and having promiſed her an *and brought up by* Pharaoh's *daughter.*

(M) *Moſes* is here thought to have *Hebraized* his name, in order to expreſs the ſenſe of the *Egyptian* one, which had been given him by *Pharaoh*'s daughter †. The word *Mo*, or *Moy*, in the *Egyptian* tongue, according to *Joſephus* *, ſignifies water; and *Yſes* or *Iſes* ſignifies preſerved, and ſo *Mo-yſes*, one preſerved out of the water. But *Aben Ezra* tells us, out of an *Arabic* book, entituled עבודת האדמה, or, *the cultivation of land*; that *Moſes* was called מוניום *Monios*, or *Monious*, which in the *Egyptian* tongue ſignifies drawn out (13); but it is very likely, that if his name had differed ſo much, and had been altogether *Egyptian*, *Moſes*

† *Vid. Vol. I. p.* 339. (H). * *Ant. loc. citat.* (13) Aben Ezra, *in loc.*

an ample reward for her care of him, ſhe returned to the palace, without acquainting any one with the adventure, whilſt the joyful mother went home to impart to her huſband the news of this happy accident.

THIS ſignal care of providence failed not to make them look upon *Moſes* as a child deſigned for ſome glorious purpoſe, and to give him an education ſuitable to the idea they had conceived of him, whilſt he ſtayed with them. They brought him in due time to *Pharaoh*'s daughter, who adopted him for her ſon, and had him brought up in all the kinds of learning which that country was famous for [q] (N). However,

His education.

[q] Act. vii. 22.

would have taken notice of it, as he doth of the new name that was given to *Joſeph*, or as *Daniel* doth his own, and that of his three friends. It is therefore moſt likely, that the word *Moſeh* is derived from the verb משה *Maſſah*, which ſignifies to draw out, and is taken in that ſenſe by the *Pſalmiſt*, *Pſalm* xviii. ver. 17. ימשני ממים רבים *he ſhall draw me out of many waters*. Which verb might probably be common both to the *Hebrew* and *Egyptian* tongues, both in ſound and ſignification (14), only with this difference perhaps, that in the *Egyptian* it may be in the paſſive, and ſignify drawn out; whereas in the *Hebrew*, it is the participle active, drawing out, and may allude to his bringing the *Iſraelites* out of their bondage.

(N) *Clemens Alexandrinus* tells us (15), that *Moſes* was taught arithmetic, geometry, phyſic, muſic, and hieroglyphics, otherwiſe called enigmatical philoſophy: to which *Philo* adds (16) aſtronomy, which he learned from the *Chaldeans*, and the *Aſſyrian* characters, from the *Aſſyrians*; and that they ſent for the beſt maſters from *Greece*, to inſtruct him in all liberal arts and ſciences: but that was not a time for the *Egyptians*, who excelled the reſt of the world in all ſorts of learning, to ſend for maſters from *Greece*, which rather ſtood in need of *Egyptian* teachers; ſo that when *Moſes* is ſaid to have been inſtructed in all the learning of *Egypt*, it plainly implies, that he had the beſt and moſt learned education, that the whole world could then give him. If it be aſked how the *Egyptians* came by all thoſe ſciences, as we can affirm nothing certain or new concerning it, we ſhall content ourſelves with referring the reader to what has been ſaid of it, in the deſcription of that country in a former chapter. An antient author, quoted by *Clement* biſhop of *Alexandria*, and by *Euſebius* (17), calls *Moſes* the firſt of all the ſages or wiſe-men, and ſays, that he was the firſt in-

(14) Simler. Oſiander. *in loc.* Villet *in Exod. ch. ii. quæſt.* 17. (15) Clem. Alex. *lib. i.* (16) Philo *in vit.* Moſis. (17) Eupolem. *ap.* Clem. Alexandr. *ſtrom. lib. i. & ap.* Euſeb. *præp. lib. ix. cap. xxvi.*

ever, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that his parents had ſo well inſtructed him in their religion, and taken ſuch care to let him know both what relation they bore to him, and what hopes they had conceived of his being deſigned by heaven to be the deliverer of his nation, that he made no other uſe of the education which the princeſs gave him, but to confirm himſelf more and more againſt the ſuperſtitions and idolatry of the *Egyptians*, and to make himſelf fit to anſwer thoſe ends, for which he ſeemed deſigned by providence. It was this noble motive, which made him ſympathize with the oppreſſed *Hebrews*, and prefer the reproachful and deſpiſed name of *Iſraelite*, to all the pomp and glory of *Pharaoh*'s court [r]. It was this generous love to his people, which made him venture to viſit and commiſerate them, and, where it was in his power, to relieve them from their intolerable oppreſſion, though at the hazard of his own life. For having obſerved one day an *Egyptian* uſing an *Hebrew* with ſome uncommon barbarity, being perhaps one of thoſe cruel taſk-maſters, whom *Pharaoh* had ſet over the *Hebrew* ones, and who uſed to beat them, upon the leaſt default of thoſe that were under their inſpection; *Moſes* was ſo exaſperated at it, that he had only patience enough to look about and ſee that the coaſt was clear, before he fell upon him, killed him, and buried his carcaſs in the ſand. If what *Joſephus* tells us [f] be true, that he had before this time been at the head of *Pharaoh*'s troops, and made ſeveral ſucceſsful campaigns againſt the *Ethiopians*, who had ravaged and plundered ſome provinces of *Egypt* (O), we ſhall not wonder *He kills an Egyptian.*

[r] Hebr. xi, 24, &c. [f] Ant. lib. ii. c. x.

venter of the art of grammar, which he taught to the *Iſraelites*, from whom the *Phœnicians* received it, and the *Greeks* from them.

(O) A great deal of pains has been taken to find *Moſes* ſuitable employment for thoſe forty years of his abode in *Egypt*. *Joſephus* has given us ſeveral remarkable particulars of his life during that time, which having nothing contrary to the text, but ſeeming rather to have been univerſally known and believed by the *Jews* of his time, the reader may perhaps be glad of an abſtract of them. He tells us, that the princeſs *Thermuthis*, having no children of her own, and having adopted *Moſes* on the account of the ſingular beauties of his body and mind, brought him to her father who took him into his arms, and received him with great tenderneſs, and taking his crown off his head, laid it on that of the boy's; but *Moſes*, inſtead of being pleaſed with it, took it off, flung it to the ground, and ſet his foot upon it: whereupon the ſame prieſt, who had foretold his birth, cried

wonder at his martial temper ſhewing itſelf upon ſuch an occaſion as this; but, as we are not ſure, that what this hiſtorian ſays is really fact, ſeeing *Philo*, who had purpoſely wrote *Moſes*'s life, and had as great opportunities of being informed of

cried out, that he ought to be put to death immediately, and that *Egypt* could not be ſafe otherwiſe. But *Thermuthis* ſoon ſnatched him away, the king no ways oppoſing it, and left the old prophet to rave at his leiſure, who ceaſed not to contrive means to be rid of a perſon ſo dangerous to the kingdom.

After this *Moſes*, being grown to man's eſtate, had an opportunity offered him of ſhewing his courage and conduct. The *Ethiopians*, who inhabited the upper lands, on the ſouth ſide of *Egypt*, had made many dreadful incurſions, plundered, and ravaged all the neighbouring parts of the country, and beat the *Egyptian* army, which *Pharaoh* had ſent to oppoſe them, in a ſet battle, and were become ſo proud of their ſucceſs, that they began to march towards the capital of *Egypt*. In this diſtreſs the *Egyptians* had recourſe to the oracle, which anſwered, that they muſt get an *Hebrew* general at their head. As none was more promiſing than *Moſes*, the king deſired his daughter to conſent, that he ſhould go and head his army; but ſhe, after having firſt expoſtulated with her father, how unreaſonable it was for the *Egyptians* to implore the aſſiſtance of a man, whom they had been ſo long plotting againſt, did not give her conſent, 'till ſhe had his promiſe and oath, that no attempt ſhould be hatched againſt her ſon. *Moſes*'s firſt care, as ſoon as he was at the head of the *Egyptian* army, was to reach the enemy as ſoon as poſſible, and inſtead of going up the *Nile*, as was uſual before, he choſe to croſs the country, and thereby ſhorten the way, and ſurprize the *Ethiopians*, who could not expect him to come by that way, becauſe that whole country was infeſted by flying, and other poiſonous ſerpents, which did even poiſon the very air; but *Moſes* found out a method to rid his army of that danger, by carrying with him a vaſt number of birds called *Ibis* in iron cages, whoſe nature is to devour all ſorts of ſerpents, and to be friendly to all other creatures. His project ſucceeded to admiration, and the birds being once let looſe, made a ſpeedy end of all thoſe venemous creatures, and opend to him a quick and ſafe paſſage to the enemies army, which having taken at unawares, he cut it all in pieces. He afterwards entered their country, took ſeveral of their cities, and obliged them to retire into the city of *Scba*, called afterwards *Meroe* by *Cambyſes*, where he cloſely beſieged them. The place being ſtrongly fortified, and ſituated in the middle of an iſland, kept him employed ſome conſiderable time, and the ſiege would in all probability have laſted much longer, had not *Tharbis*, the king of *Æthiopia*'s daughter, fallen in love with him, as ſhe ſaw him fighting, with the utmoſt gallantry and valour, from the top of the city wall. She therefore ſent privately to him to let

of all the particulars of it as *Joſephus* had, is altogether ſilent about it, and *Moſes* himſelf is ſo far from mentioning any ſuch warlike proweſs, that he rather deſcribes himſelf as a man of the utmoſt meekneſs and patience; we ſhall be forced to ſuppoſe, that he was ſtirred up by ſome divine impulſe, as being the perſon choſen by heaven to be the deliverer of *Iſrael.* This ſeems to be hinted at by St. *Stephen* *, and we may probably ſuppoſe, that the injury done to the *Hebrew* was of ſuch a nature, that it deſerved death; or that it could not be prevented but by the death of the *Egyptian.* However that be, *Moſes* was not ſo ſafe as he thought himſelf, for endeavouring ſoon after to compoſe a difference between two *Hebrews*, whoſe cruel ſlavery could not hinder them from injuring one another, the moſt guilty of the two gave him a very ſaucy anſwer, aſking him, whether he deſigned to kill him as he had done the *Egyptian* (P)? Finding, therefore, that

* Acts vii. 35.

let him know, that the city ſhould be ſurrendered to him, upon condition that he ſhould marry her immediately after. *Moſes* conſented to the conditions, and, having taken poſſeſſion of the place and of the princeſs, returned with his victorious army to *Egypt*, where, inſtead of reaping the fruits of his lawrels, the ungrateful *Egyptians* accuſed him of murder to the king, who, having already taken ſome umbrage at his valour and great reputation, was reſolving to rid himſelf of him. *Moſes*, having ſome ſuſpicion of it, made his eſcape, and, not daring to go by the common roads for fear of being ſtopped by the king's guards, was forced to go through a great deſert to reach the land of *Midian* *. Thus far *Joſephus*, from whoſe account we may gather, that there were three motives why *Pharaoh* and his people ſought *Moſes*'s death. Namely, 1. their envy at his great ſucceſs and conſummate wiſdom in this warlike expedition. 2 Their jealouſy leſt he ſhould attempt to make ſome dangerous inſurrection in *Egypt*. And laſtly, the propheſies which that country was threatened with from an *Hebrew*. To which *Philo* (18) adds a fourth, namely, his being too great a friend and favourer of the *Hebrews*, whom *Pharaoh* did already look upon as his moſt dangerous enemies.

(P) A jeſuit, who has lately writ the hiſtory of the people of GOD, thinks it highly probable, that theſe two quarrelling *Hebrews* were that *Jannes* and *Jambres*, mentioned by the apoſtle (19) to have withſtood *Moſes*, becauſe they would not acknowledge him to have been a proper judge of their quarrel, though GOD had

* *Ant. lib. ii. cap. x. & xi.* (18) Philo *in vit.* Moſis. (19) 2 *Tim. iii.* 8.

made

that the fact was known, and fearing, leſt, if it ſhould come to *Pharaoh*'s knowledge, he would ſuſpect him of being too much in the intereſt of the *Iſraelites*, and puniſh him for the death of the *Egyptian*, he was forced to fly into the land of *Midian*; not daring to rely too much upon the protection of his adoptive mother, or having perhaps already diſclaimed her adoption, as ſome are inclined to think. It is ſuppoſed, however that he had made uſe of that princeſs's intereſt long before, to get that bloody edict againſt the *Hebrew* male children recalled, ſince the ſequel of the hiſtory ſhews, that that order had not been put in force for ſome time. It was well for him, however, he left *Egypt* ſo ſoon; for the news of the ſlain *Egyptian* was brought to the king, and in all likelihood aggravated with the blackeſt circumſtances by the courtiers, who could not but hate a man in ſo high eſteem as he was; ſo that if *Pharaoh* could have caught him, he would infallibly have put him to death: but *Moſes* was out of his reach, having paſt thoſe great deſerts that lay between *Egypt* and *Midian* (Q), and being ſafely got near hoſpitable *Jethro*'s

made him the judge of all his people (20). What induces him to think ſo is, that their names are *Hebrew* ones; for which reaſon he thinks, that they could not be the *Egyptian* magicians whom *Pharaoh* made uſe of in oppoſition to *Moſes*. But in order to make theſe names *Hebrew*, he muſt with ſome *Jews* call them *Jochanan* and *Mambri*, or *Jonah* and *Jambri* (21); but we ſhall ſhew in the ſequel of this hiſtory, that theſe two men, let their right names be what they will, were the magicians who mimicked ſeveral of *Moſes*'s miracles, though they could not follow him throughout.

(Q) We muſt remember not to confound this land of *Midian*, of which an account has been already given *, with another of that name, whoſe chief city was alſo called *Midian*, and might be a colony of the other, which was ſituate by *Arnon* and *Areopolis*, according to St. *Jerom*, who tells us, the ruins of it were ſtill to be ſeen in his days (22). Whereas this, which *Moſes* went to, was in *Arabia Petræa*, whoſe metropolis was called *Petra*, not far from mount *Horeb*, where he kept *Jethro*'s flocks (23); which mountain was either near that of *Sinai*, or more probably *Sinai* and *Horeb* were two tops of the ſame mountain (24); the former of which St. *Paul* places in *Arabia* (25); though it is more probable, that

(20) Berruyer *Hiſtoire du people de Dieu. Tom. ii. p.* 25. (21) Buxtorf. *Lexic. Talmudic.* Fabric. *de Apocryph. Vet. Teſt.* * *Vide ſup. p.* 110. *& ſeq.* (22) Hierom. *loc. Hæbraic.* (23) *Exod. iii.* 1. (24) Joſ. *Antiq. l. ii. c. xii.* (25) *Galat. iv.* 25.

Horeb

thro's habitation. At his arrival in that country he met with much ſuch another adventure as *Jacob* had in *Padan-Haram* *, at the well where the damſels uſed to come to water their flocks. An account of which, and of his forty years abode there, has been given in the hiſtory of the *Midianites* [t]. *and is forced to fly into* Midian.

How he ſpent his time in thoſe forty years retirement, ſave that he kept *Jethro*'s flocks, is what he has not thought fit to acquaint us with. Thoſe who ſuppoſe that he wrote the book of *Job* during this interval, have certainly this ſtrong argument on their ſide, that it appears to have been written before the deliverance of the *Iſraelites* out of *Egypt*; otherwiſe it were abſurd to ſuppoſe, that either *Job* or his friends, conſidering what kindred and country they were of, could be

* Gen. xxix. 9. [t] Exod ii. paſſ. Vid. ſup. p. 114 & ſeq.

Horeb was the common name of the whole ridge of mountains on which *Sinai* was ſituated; and that it was called *Horeb*, or as the original has it *Choreb*, from the exceſſive drineſs of it (26). *Philo* adds (27), that it was full of buſhes, and that at the bottom of the mountain grew that in which GOD appeared to *Moſes*, which the original calls סנה *Sinah*, which ſignifies a buſh or ſhrub, that is ſo full of thorns, that the birds cannot pearch in it without being ſtripped of their feathers. The *Hebrews* ſay, that mount *Sinai* had that name from it (28). However that be, this mount is alſo called the *Mount of* GOD, not from any religious worſhip that had been performed there before that time, as *Joſephus* thinks (29), or becauſe of its height and ſupereminency, as ſuch things are frequently ſo called in ſcripture, as the cedars of GOD, *&c.* (30), but it is ſo named by anticipation, as it became famous upon many accounts; ſuch as 1. GOD appearing to *Moſes* in the buſh. 2. His being afterwards worſhipped there, and ſhewing himſelf by the moſt wonderful viſible ſigns at the delivery of the law (31). 3. The ſtriking the rock with *Moſes*'s rod (32). 4. *Moſes* lifting up his hands to make *Joſhua* prevail againſt the *Amalekites* (33). 5. The law being given to *Moſes* there (34). 6. His faſting twice forty days and nights (35). 7. Bringing the two tables of ſtone from thence (36). 8. The noble viſion which the prophet *Elijah* had there (37), and ſome others of leſs conſequence.

(26) Cajetan. Villet. Jun. *in loc. & al.* (27) Philo. *in vit.* Moſis. (28) *Vid.* Munſt. *in loc.* (29 *Ant. lib. ii. c. xii.* 30) *Pſal. civ.* 16. (31) *Exod. iii.* 2. *& cap. xix. & xx. paſſ.* (32) *Numb. xx.* 11. (33) *Exod. xvii.* 11. (34) *Exod. xxiv. & ſeq. paſſ.* (35) *Ibid. xxxiv.* 28. *Deut. ix.* 9. (36) *Exod. xxxii.* 15, 16, *& alib.* 37) 1 *Kings xix.*

either ſo ignorant of the wonders which God had wrought in favour of that oppreſſed people, or ſo forgetful of them, as not to have urged them in the ſtrongeſt terms, during their long and intricate controverſy about the various diſpenſations of providence. And indeed, were not *Job* ſo often mentioned by *Ezekiel* † with *Noah* and *Daniel*, much might be ſaid for thoſe who look upon this hiſtory as a parable, or rather a dramatic piece, written on purpoſe to comfort the afflicted *Iſraelites* under their heavy bondage. But the words of the prophet will not admit of ſuch a ſuppoſition.

We have already taken notice in the hiſtory of *Edom* [u] ‡, how uncertain and unſatisfactory every thing is that relates to the genealogy of this holy man, or the author of his hiſtory; but as ſome of our readers have expreſſed a deſire to know all the probable particulars that can be gathered on that ſubject, we ſhall beg leave to ſubjoin them here in few words.

A digreſſion concerning Job.

The moſt antient monument we have concerning the genealogy of *Job*, and which has been received and allowed by *Ariſteus*, *Philo*, *Polyhiſtor* [w], and ſeveral antient fathers of the *Greek* and *Latin* church [x], is an addition to that hiſtory, which is to be met with at the end of the *Greek*, *Arabic*, and *Vulgate* verſions, and affirmed to have been taken from the antient *Syriac* one, to this purpoſe; that *Job* dwelt upon the confines of *Idumæa* and *Arabia*; that his firſt name was *Jobab*, and that he married an *Arabian*, by whom he had a ſon named *Ennon*. As for *Job* he was the ſon of *Zerah*, and the fifth in deſcent from *Abraham* by *Eſau*, and reigned in *Idumæa*. The order of the kings, that reigned before and after him, is as follows; *Balac* the ſon of *Beor* reigned in the city of *Denebah*; after him reigned *Job*, called alſo *Jobab*; who was ſucceeded by *Aſom* prince of *Teman*. His ſucceſſor *Hadad* the ſon of *Bedad* was he, who overthrew the *Midianites* in the plains of *Moab*; the name of his city was *Jethem*. *Job*'s friends, who came to viſit him, were *Eliphaz* king of *Teman*, of *Eſau*'s poſterity; *Bildad* king of the *Zeucheans*, and *Zophas* king of the *Mineans*. Thus far the additions, which have been preſerved by *Theodotion*, in his verſion of the book of *Job* [y]. If this genealogy be admitted,

† Ezek. xiv. 14. 20. [u] ‡ Gen. xxxvi. 33, 34. Vid. ſup. p. 137. [w] Apud Euseb. præp. l. ix. c. xxv. [x] Vid. Fred. Spanheim in vit. Job. c. iv. Mercer, Pineda, Dieg. de Stunica & al. comm. in Job. [y] Vid. Calm. diſſert. in Job.

and

and that *Job* is the ſame with *Jobab*, mentioned in *Geneſis* [z], and *Chronicles* [a], it will follow, that he and *Moſes* were cotemporary, being both but three generations removed from *Iſaac*, thus;

Iſaac,

Jacob	*Eſau*,
Levi,	*Reuel*,
Amram,	*Zerah*,
Moſes,	*Jobab* or *Job*.

IT will likewiſe be plain, that he reigned in the city of *Denebah* or *Dinhabah*; for ſo the author of the firſt book of the *Chronicles* expreſly affirms; but how to find ſuch a city in the land of *Uz*, ſeeing *Euſebius* and St. *Jerom* place *Denebah* in the land of *Moab*, between *Areopolis* and *Heſhbon* [c]: whereas they affirm the land of *Uz*, or the place where *Job* dwelt, to have been according to the antient tradition of the inhabitants of *Paleſtine*, the city of *Aſtaroth Kernaim* on the other ſide *Jordan*, upon the brook *Jabbok*, between *Mahanaim* and *Edreis* [d], is not ſo eaſy to determine. However that be, thoſe who embrace the notion, that *Job* is the *Jobab* mentioned in thoſe two places of ſcripture above quoted, and conſequently, that he was cotemporary with *Moſes*, have with much ſtraining pumped out two paſſages in his hiſtory, which, they pretend, do make expreſs mention of *Pharaoh*'s pride and overthrow, and of the *Iſraelites* paſſing through the *Red-ſea*. The firſt is, where *Eliphaz* ſays of the wicked, that *trouble and anguiſh ſhall make him afraid, and prevail againſt him, as a king ready to the battle* [e]. Which words they apply to *Pharaoh*'s pride and hardneſs of heart, though 'tis plain, by what goes before and after thoſe two verſes, that *Job*'s friends ſpeak only of the wicked in general, ſuch as he ſuppoſed him to be from the afflictions which had befallen him. The other text is, where *Job* ſays, that GOD *divideth the ſea with his power, and by his underſtanding ſmiteth through the proud* [f]. And this they think to allude to the paſſing of the *Red-ſea*, and to *Pharaoh*'s overthrow in it. But here, beſides that the word in the original doth more properly ſignify to *ſtill* than to *divide*, it is plain from the tenor of the whole chapter, that *Job* ſpeaks only of the wonderful power and

[z] Gen. xxxvi. 33, 34. [a] 1 Chron. i. 43, 44. [b] Ibid. [c] Loc. Hæbr. [d] Id. ibid. [e] Job. xv. 24, 25. [f] Ibid. xxvi. 12.

providence of GOD in general, and not of this miracle in particular. Besides, it is hardly probable, as we observed a little before, that had this conference between *Job* and his friends happened after so remarkable a deliverance as that of the *Israelites*, a more ample and express mention should not have been made throughout the book, than we find in these two obscure passages; especially if we consider, that *Job*'s desire of vindicating his own integrity, did naturally lead him to it; and that the afflictions, as well as the deliverance, of the *Israelites*, were a full confutation of what his friends alledged against him, that if he had not been guilty of some great crimes, GOD would never have inflicted such heavy punishments on him[g]. Neither do we see any necessity for making *Job* to have lived since this miraculous deliverance of the *Israelites*, in order to adjust the genealogy abovementioned, since it will be sufficient to suppose, that those four generations on *Esau*'s side, were by some few years shorter than those on *Jacob*'s, which is not at all improbable, seeing the latter were remarkable for their long lives [h], and then it will be possible enough for *Job* to have seen an end of all his sufferings before *Moses* left the land of *Midian*; in which case, he being justly supposed to be the most antient writer, he has been likewise thought the author of his history, by the majority of writers. That his poetic genius was equal to this excellent performance, those few *Canticles*, which he has left us in the *Pentateuch* [i], will not permit us to doubt of. However, there is one main objection against this notion, which is, that if *Jobab* be the same with *Job*, and he cotemporary with *Moses*, it will be impossible for the latter to have outlived him by so many years as to be able to give us an account of his death, and of his numerous posterity; for it is said, that *Job* lived an hundred and forty years after his sufferings were ended, and that he saw his son's children to the fourth generation: whereas *Moses* lived but forty years in the land of *Midian*, and forty more after he was come out of it. This difficulty therefore cannot be removed, but by supposing, that the three or four last verses of the book were added afterwards by some inspired person, in order to make the history complete; in the same manner as *Joshua*, or some other, added the account of *Moses*'s death and burial at the end of *Deuteronomy*: but how far this supposition may be allowed, we choose to submit to our reader's judgment.

[g] Vid. particularly cap. xxii. 25, & alib. pass. [h] Vid. sup. p. 459. [i] Vid. Exod. xv. Deut. xxviii. 31.

BEFORE

BEFORE we cloſe this digreſſion, we ſhall beg leave to ſay ſomething of the book itſelf. Though ſome learned men have thought it to have been writ originally in *Syriac* or *Arabic*, either by *Job* himſelf, or by one of his friends [k]; yet it is now univerſally allowed to have been written in *Hebrew*. What has given birth to the former notion is, its being ſo blended with *Syriac* and *Arabic* expreſſions and idioms, as makes it very difficult to be rightly underſtood [l]. It is juſtly ſuppoſed to be written in verſe, from the loftineſs of the ſtile, the ſublimeneſs of the thoughts, the livelineſs and energy of expreſſion, the grandeur of its imagery, and variety of characters; though the metre and cadence of it be altogether looſe and unconfined. Thoſe who have been moſt converſant with it, will readily allow, that antiquity cannot produce a more lofty and magnificent, a more florid, eloquent, pathetic, and learned performance, whoever the author of it was. A bold critic indeed [m] has not ſcrupled to tax him with oſtentation, and with making a vain ſhow of prophane learning and poetic fiction, and for putting ſuch expreſſions in the mouth of that holy man, as are not only incompatible with his character, but even of a dangerous nature, being in his opinion, more fitted to corrupt than to edify his readers. But it is certain, that that learned author was only acquainted with the *Greek* verſion of it, which abounds, it muſt be owned, with expreſſions that allude too much to the fables and fictions of the poets. Had he been acquainted with the original, he would eaſily have acquitted it of ſuch an unjuſt imputation. Beſides, it muſt be remembered, that the eaſtern nations had a much more lively, ſtrong, and paſſionate way of expreſſing their thoughts than we; ſo that it is impoſſible to come at their true meaning, or to make a right judgment of thoſe hyperbolical expreſſions, without lowering them very much from their literal ſignification. The *Jews* have added ſeveral particulars to the hiſtory of *Job*, ſuch as that he was a king and high prieſt in *Idumæa*, and that he had married *Dinah*, *Jacob*'s daughter [n]; which latter can hardly be credited, unleſs we ſuppoſe him to have been of much older date than *Moſes*. The *Eaſtern* writers, eſpecially the *Arabians*, have very much improved upon them, according to cuſtom; but we need not trouble our readers with a further detail of them,

[k] Vid. CALM. Diſſ. in Job. [l] HIERON. præfat. in Job. [m] THEOD. MOPSUEST. Vid. Synod. V. OEcum. Collat. iv. art. 63. [n] Chald. Par. il MAIM more Nevoch. & al.

thoſe

those who are desirous to be informed in that particular, may consult *Herbelot*'s *Bibliotheca Orientalis* [o].

We return now to our *Jewish* Law-giver in the land of *Midian*, whom we may reasonably suppose to have had such convincing reasons to look upon himself as the deliverer of his afflicted people, that he could not but have many anxious thoughts about them during that long interval, and think the time long, till he saw that glorious promised deliverance happily fulfilled. Nay, this long delay seems to have made him conceive quite other notions, as if God had either made choice of some other instrument to work out their deliverance, or had been provoked by their sins to suspend it for some longer time. For when God was pleased to appear to him at the end of forty years, in a burning bush, upon mount *Horeb*, and by his own voice, as well as by the miracle of the bush not having one leaf consumed, though all over in a bright flame (R), evidences that it was the God of *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, that spoke to him, and commanded him to go into *Egypt*, and to execute his designs there; *Moses* did not leave one plea untried to be excused from the difficult

God appears to him in the burning bush.

[o] Bibl. orient. Sub Art. Ajub.

(R) The word flame in this place is לבת *Labath*, and not *Lahebah*, which is the common word for the flame; and though some *Jews* do think with us, that it signifies the same thing, yet others will have it, that it is put for לב *Leb*, or לבב *Lebaf*, which signifies the heart or middle of any thing, and that it is here used to express, that it was only the centre of the bush that appeared inflamed. The large comment on *Exodus* adds, that God was pleased to appear in that manner at this time, to convince *Moses* (who was afraid lest the *Israelites* should one time or other be destroyed by the *Egyptians*, if they were not so already during his forty years absence), that as the bush remained unconsumed in the midst of the flames, so should *Israel* in the midst of all their fiery trials (38). As to the time when this vision was seen by *Moses*, St. *Stephen* (39) tells us, it was about forty years after his flight out of *Egypt*; that is, in the eightieth year of his age; for so old he was when he came and stood before *Pharaoh* (40); and it was in the fortieth year of his age, that going to visit his brethren, he committed the fact which obliged him to fly the kingdom, and to go *ab aulâ ad caulam*, from the court to the cart. It was in this retirement that he is supposed to have wrote the books of *Job* and *Genesis*, for a comfort to his afflicted brethren (41).

(38) Elleshemoth Rab. *in loc.* Philo. *loc. citat.* (39) *Acts vii.* 23. (40) *Exod. vii. 7.* (41) Perrer. *ex* Philon. Villet & *al*

task,

taſk, whilſt GOD was graciouſly pleaſed to diſpel all his fears, to clear all his doubts, and to give him ſuch promiſes of his miraculous aſſiſtance, as would have emboldened the moſt fearful, which was not *Moſes*'s caſe.

THE divine viſion (S) began with telling him, that the afflictions, under which the *Iſraelites* groaned, were grown to ſuch a height, and the cruelties of their enemies ſo enormous, that the time was now come both for their deliverance, and for their receiving that happy promiſed land, as a recompence for their long patience and ſufferings; bidding him at the ſame time to go to *Pharaoh*, and in his name to demand

Commands him to return into Egypt.

(S) We need not repeat here what has been ſaid before about theſe apparitions, whether they were angels ſpeaking in the perſon of GOD, which we think we have ſufficiently confuted, or GOD himſelf, or, as the moſt received opinion is, CHRIST the SON of GOD. All that need be added here is, that this, which appears now in the buſh, is the ſame who was afterwards to be the captain and guide of the *Iſraelites* in the deſert; that is, not an angel, or GOD the FATHER, but CHRIST himſelf, as St. *Paul* affirms (42); for neither the FATHER nor HOLY GHOST are ever called by the name of angel, *i. e.* a meſſenger or perſon ſent: whereas the SON is called the *Angel of the Covenant* by the prophet *Malachy* (43), as a title of his office, though not of his nature (44). As for thoſe who think not only that it was an angel (45), but pretend to gueſs, that it was *Michael* that appeared here, as he did afterwards to *Joſhua* (46), and to *Daniel* (47); it is plain their conjecture is not only contrary to what we have quoted out of the apoſtle, but even abſurd, if not impious. For can they prove that *Michael* was a created angel, ſeeing that name ſignifies one like unto GOD, and can only be applicable to CHRIST? can a created angel be ſtiled the captain of the LORD's hoſts, as he is called in *Joſhua*, or the prince of the people of GOD, as he is in *Daniel*, which office and title the apoſtle tells us (48), belong only to CHRIST, who is the captain or prince of our ſalvation? did ever any angel ſuffer himſelf to be worſhipped, as that which appeared to *Joſhua* did? ſuppoſing, therefore, that it was the ſame that appeared to *Moſes*, *Joſhua*, and *Daniel*, as *Perrerius* thinks (49), yet it will be far from following, that he was a created angel or miniſtring ſpirit; on the contrary it will be plain, that it was CHRIST the king of men and angels, bleſſed for ever (50).

(42) 1 *Cor. x.* 4. (43) *Malach. iii.* 1. (44) Theodor. Otiand. Simler, *& al.* (45) Aug. *de Trinit. lib. iii. c. xi. & Tractat.* 3 *in Johan N.* 17. 18. Hieron. *epiſt. ad Galat. iii.* Greg. *moral. lib. xxviii. cap. i.* (46) *Joſh. v. paſſ.* (47) *Dan x. paſſ.* (48) *Hebr. ii.* 10. (49) Perrer. *& al.* (50) Villet *in cap. iii, Exod. quæſt.* 6.

their

their diſmiſſion, and aſſuring him, that thoſe who ſought his life were now all dead, and that he had now nothing to fear from the *Egyptians*. In vain did *Moſes* plead his weakneſs and inſufficiency for ſuch a work, GOD told him, that it was not to be performed by an arm of fleſh, but by his own irreſiſtible power, which ſhould manifeſt himſelf in ſuch miraculous deeds, that not only *Egypt*, but all the world ſhould be aſtoniſhed at them. Here *Moſes* objected further, that he very much doubted, whether the *Iſraelites* had not ſo far forgot the GOD of their fathers, that when he came to acquaint them with his Commiſſion from him, they would be apt to aſk what his name was, in which caſe he would be at a loſs what anſwer to make to them (T). Here GOD was pleaſed to anſwer

(T) The Cabaliſtical *Jews*, and after them *Joſephus* (51) and ſome *Romaniſts* (52) think, that *Moſes* did not ask for the name of GOD, but for the true pronunciation of it, which they think had been loſt through the wickedneſs of mankind: for which reaſon the former affirm, that the word עלם *Holam*, uſed by GOD preſently after (53), being written without a ו *Vau*, ſhould not be rendered *for ever*, but *hid*, from the root עלם *halam*, *to hide*, not conſidering, that if that was the caſe, it ſhould be written עלום *Halum*, and not *Holam*. Upon this account the name יהוה is by all the *Jews* called *Shem Hamphoraſh*, the unutterable name, which *Joſephus* in the place juſt now quoted ſays, was never known or heard of before GOD told it to *Moſes*, and adds, that he dares not ſo much as mention it: for which reaſon they never pronounce it, but uſe the word *Adonai*, or *Elohim*, or plainly the word *Haſhem*, *the name*, to expreſs it. Thus in their letters and common diſcourſe, inſtead of ſaying, the LORD bleſs or protect you, they ſay, *the Name bleſs you*, &c. and they think, that the words uſed by *Daniel* in his prayer (54) למען אדני *Lemaghan Adonai*, do not mean, as we underſtand them, for the ſake of the LORD or the MESSIAH, or, as we expreſs it, for CHRIST's ſake, but for the ſake of the word *Adonai*, which they were obliged to uſe 'till the MESSIAH came, and taught them the true pronunciation of the name יהוה: not but their high-prieſt did pronounce it *Jehovah* once a year on the day of expiation, from the time of their return from the *Babyloniſh* captivity to the laſt deſtruction of the temple; but they had but few diſciples near them that could learn its pronunciation, and during the time of the bleſſing in which this name was repeated, the prieſts and levites did ſing louder than ordinary, that none elſe might hear it. But even then they were very far from thinking

(51) *Ant. lib. ii. c.* 12. (52) Genebrard. Bellarmin. Berruyer *Hiſt. du peup. de Dieu. Tom.* 2. *p.* 36. (53) *Exod. iii.* 15. (54) *Dan. ix.* 17.

it

anſwer a queſtion which he had formerly refuſed to *Jacob* *, though

* Gen. xxxii. 29.

it the right pronunciation of the *Tetragrammaton* ; for they think, that any man that could once attain it, might ſhake heaven and earth with it, work the greateſt miracles, and dive into the deepeſt ſecrets of the Deity. They tell us, that *Moſes* had it engraven upon his rod, and by virtue of that ineffable word wrought all thoſe mighty wonders in favour of his people : that *Noah* could ſteer the ark which way he pleaſed by it, and that JESUS CHRIST having ſtolen it out of the temple, or, as others affirm, brought it with him from *Egypt*, and clapped it between the skin and the fleſh of his thigh, had obtained the power of working all his miracles, which they ſay any man elſe might do, that could pronounce that name right (55).

They add, that *Simon* ſirnamed the *Juſt*, one of their high Prieſts, who flouriſhed about the year of the world 3702, and died 3711, *i. e* about 289 years before CHRIST, was the laſt that knew it ; but that the number of prophane people encreaſing, they thought it beſt to ſubſtitute another name to it, conſiſting of twelve letters, which the high prieſt made uſe of when he bleſſed the people (56). *Tarpho*, a noted Rabbi, ſuppoſed to be the ſame with the *Trypho* of *Juſtin* martyr, tells us, that being got one day near the high prieſt, to hear this bleſſing, he found, that he only muttered the name of GOD in an articulate manner, whilſt the *Levites* did drown his voice with their ſinging, that it might not be learned, and abuſed by the wicked. But ſince *Simon Juſtus* it has been wholly loſt, not to be recovered again, 'till the MESSIAH come. In the mean time the *Talmud* has left a moſt horrid curſe againſt thoſe that ſhall dare to utter it, becauſe they think the very angels themſelves are not allowed to pronounce it.

The truth is, thoſe who think that *Jehovah* is the right pronunciation are far enough from being ſure of it. It is plain that the antients did write it very differently from them. *Sanchoniatho* ſpells it *Jevo* (1) ; *Diodorus Siculus* (2), *Macrobius* (3), *Clement* of *Alexandria* (4), St. *Jerom* (5), and *Origen* (6) pronounced it *Jao*. The *Samaritans*, and after them *Epiphanius* (7) and *Theodoret* (8), *Jave*, or *Jabe*. Others of the antients write it, *Jaboh*, *Javo*, *Jaon*, *Jabo*, and *Jabod*. Among the moderns, *Capellus* is for pronouncing it *Javo* ; *Druſius*, *Jave* ; *Hottinger*, *Jehva* ; *Mercer*,

(55) *Vid.* Midras Tehileim in *Pſal. xii.* Druſſ. *de nomine Tetragrammat.* (56) Maimonid. *More Nevochim. Part I. c. lxii.* (1) Sanchoniat. *ap.* Euſeb. *præp. lib. x. c.* 9. (2) Diod. Sic. *Bibliot. lib. ii.* (3) Macrob. *Saturnal. lib. i. cap. xviii.* (4) Clem. Alex. *Stromat. lib. v.* (5) Hieron. *or ſome other under his name, in Pſal viii.* (6) Orig. *contr. Celſ. lib. vi.* (7) Epiph. *Hæreſ.* 40. (8) Theodoret. *in Exod. quæſt.* 15.

though in ſuch terms as might eaſily make him ſenſible of the irregularity

Jehovah; *Caſtalio*, *Jovah*, and *Le Clerc*, *Jæwoh* or *Javoh*. Something like theſe the *Romans* had in their *Jovis*, to which *Varro* ſeems to allude when he ſays, *Deum Judæorum eſſe Jovem*, that *Jove was the God of the* Jews, as St. *Auſtin* alledges out of him in the firſt book of his defence of the goſpel, c xxii. The *Moors* likewiſe call GOD *Juba*, or *Jubah*, and the *Mohammedans Hou* (9), which with them ſignifies the ſame as *Jehovah*, *i. e.* he who is; which name they write at the beginning of all their patents, paſſes, and the like, and do often repeat in their prayers. Some of their devotees will ſometimes repeat that word ſo often, and with ſuch quickneſs and vehemence, that they drop down with giddineſs. However, it is plain, that the four letters of which that great name conſiſts may be pronounced in all the above-mentioned ways, and ſeveral others, according to the vowels that are joined with them. Thus much for the pronunciation of יהוה.

As to the uttering of it, beſides what we have already obſerved out of the *Talmud* and *Joſephus*, we have ſtill another witneſs of the *Jewiſh* exceſſive and even ſuperſtitious reſpect for that word, *viz. Philo*, who affirms (10), that, after the ſtoning of the blaſphemer to death in the wilderneſs (11), GOD commanded *Moſes* to publiſh a new law, that *whoſoever ſhould curſe the* LORD *ſhould be guilty of ſin, and whoſoever ſhould pronounce the name of* GOD *ſhould be put to death*; which is the verſion which the *Septuagint* and *Theodoret* have gaven us of the 15th and 16th verſes of the above-quoted chapter: whereas in the original it is, *whoſever curſeth* אלהיו *his* GOD, *or* GODS, *ſhall bear his own ſin*; *and whoſoever ſhall blaſpheme the name of* יהוה *the* LORD *ſhall ſurely be put to death*. This Law, continues *Philo*, is full of the profoundeſt wiſdom, the firſt part of which forbids the curſing or blaſpheming the falſe gods of the *Gentiles*; and the ſecond the uttering of the name of GOD in a vain or looſe manner, or by way of ornament to our ſpeech; which he thinks deſerves the worſt of puniſhments. But as to the firſt part of this law, according to *Philo*'s expoſition, that author ſeems to have forgot, that *Jeremiah* commands the *Jews* (12), a little before they were carried into the *Babyloniſh* captivity, that, when they came thither, they ſhould not only ſpeak againſt the gods of *Babylon*, but even denounce death and deſtruction againſt them all, as being no gods; and that not in their native *Hebrew*, which was not underſtood there, but in plain downright *Chaldee*, the language of that country. And it is obſervable, that this verſe is the only one in that prophet, that is written in the *Chaldee*, all the reſt being in *Hebrew*. But to return from this di-

(9) Herbelot. *Bibliot. Orient. p.* 460. *ſub. voc.* Hou & *p.* 336. *ſub.* Eſma. (10) Philo *in vit.* Moſis. (11) *Levit. xxiv.* 11, & *ſeq.* (12) *Jerem. x.* 11.

greſſion:

irregularity and unreaſonableneſs of it; for, as *Juſtin Martyr*

greſſion: it is not eaſy to determine, whether the ſeventy had loſt the right pronunciation of the name יהוה; whether they purpoſely concealed it under the name of Κύριος LORD, or whether they did make uſe of that *Greek* word at all. For firſt, they could not but be ſenſible, that the word יהוה was no relative word as Κύριος, or LORD, is; for though we can properly ſay, Κύριός μου, Κύριός ὑμῶν &c. *i. e. my* LORD, *our* LORD, &c. yet יהוה has never any pronoun affixed to it: whereas *Elohim* and *Adonai* have as *Elohai*, *Elohenù*, &c. for which reaſon, even St. *Jerom* chooſes to render it by *Adonai*, in *Exod.* vi. 3 and *nomen meum* Adonai *non indicavi eis*, where it is in the *Hebrew* ובשמי יהוה לא נודעתי להם *but by my name* Jehovah *was I not known to them*. Thoſe verſions therefore, which have rendered that word by *Dominus*, as the *Vulgate*, or LORD, as our own, don't ſeem to have ſufficiently attended to what we have juſt now obſerved; for יהוה not being a relative, one ought not to have been rendered by one that is ſo. The *French Geneva* tranſlation has made uſe of a much better word to expreſs it, *viz. L'Eternel*, the eternal Being; which name in the firſt place is not relative, for we cannot properly ſay, *Mon Eternel, vôtre Eternel*, &c.) and ſecondly, expreſſes the etymon of *Jehovah* far better than Κύριος, *Dominus*, or LORD, as we ſhall ſhew by and by. But ſecondly, it is very probable, that the *Septuagint* left this, as well as ſome other names of GOD, ſuch as *Jah*, *Sadæi*, *Zabaoth*, &c. untranſlated, 'till the ſecond reviſion of that verſion; and that they concealed the true reading of יהוה under the *Samaritan* characters (as being leſs underſtood by the reſt of the world than the *Hebrew* or *Aſſyrian* ones were), or under the *Greek* capitals Π Ι Π Ι which bore a reſemblance to the four letters of יהוה, and yet had a ſound ſo different from it, that they would never lead the *Heathen* reader to the true pronunciation of it. St. *Jerom* (13), *Origen* (14), and *Euſebius* (15), aſſure us, that they had ſeen copies of the *Septuagint* written in the two above-mentioned ways, and that, even in their time, the *Jews* choſe to write that name, as often as it occurred, in the old *Samaritan* letters; their reaſon for which was, leſt that venerable name ſhould be abuſed by the *Heathen* to ill purpoſes: though *Origen* adds, that theſe precautions did not prove ſo effectual; but that they made uſe of it in their exorciſms, in their charms againſt diſeaſes, and other ſuperſtitious rites (16). And *Clement* of *Alexandria* informs us (17), that thoſe *Egyptians*, who were allowed to enter into the temple of the *Sun*, did wear the name *Jaou* about their middle. We find likewiſe in ſome magic

(13) Jerom. *præfat in lib Reg. & in Ezek. ix.* (14) Orig. *Fragm. in paleograph. Græc. lib. ii. c. i.* (15) Euſeb. *in Chronic. ad an.* 4740. (16) Orig. *cont. Celſum lib. i.* (17) Clem. Alex. *Stromat. lib. v.*

tyr rightly obſerves, names are given only to ſhew the difference

verſes againſt the gout mentioned by *Trallian* the names *Jas* or *Jaath*. Something like this we meet with in *Pythagoras*'s golden verſes, where there is an oath by Τετρακτὺς, *i. e.* by him whoſe name is ſpelt with four letters (18); as alſo the inſcription, *Tu es*, in that famous frontiſpiece of the temple of *Delphos*, mentioned by *Euſebius* (19), which alludes to the *Hebrew* name of God. Such was alſo that of the *Egyptians*, I am, written over one of theirs (20). *Cicero* gives an inſtance (21) of ſome names of the heathen gods which they did not dare to pronounce, to which *Lucan* adds that the very naming of them would have ſhook the earth (22).

There remains, that we enquire into the ſignification of the name יהוה, in which we ſhall not find ſuch a diſſonancy among expoſitors, as we did about the pronunciation of it. For firſt, they are all agreed, that it is derived from the root היה *hajah*, he has been, and denotes God's ſelf-exiſtence and eternal nature. Accordingly in the place we are annotating upon, he calls himſelf אהיה אשר אהיה *Ehjeh Aſher, Ehjeh*, I am that I am, or rather I am becauſe I am. Where the verb, though it be in the future, yet, according to the genius of the *Hebrew* tongue, is applicable to the preſent or perfect tenſe, and implies his immutability as continuing the ſame that he has been, and is to all eternity (23). It is likewiſe more than probable, that God chooſes to expreſs himſelf in the future tenſe, to ſhew that he is the only Being that can truly ſay, I ſhall or will be what I am, *&c.* (24). *Aretius* makes the two words *Ehjeh* to be proper names (25); but it ſeems to be only in the firſt *Ehjeh* in the ſenſe in which it is taken in the latter part of the verſe. *I am Ehjeh*, has ſent me, and the ſecond *Ehjeh* to be aſſigned as the cauſe of the firſt; namely, I am becauſe I am (26). Neither was this name unknown to the wiſer ſort of heathens, as we have ſeen by ſome of their inſcriptions, to which we ſhall add one more mentioned by *Egubinus*, written on the doors of the *Egyptian* temples, and exactly agreeing with this wonderful name of God, *viz. I am whatſoever was, is, and ſhall be.* According to which *Thales* of *Mileſium*, being asked what God was, replied, *that which always is, and has neither beginning nor end.* Thus *Plato* truly ſays (27), that nothing really exiſts but that which is immutable; for which,

(18) *Vid.* Selden *de Diis Syr. Synagog. ii. c. i.* (19) Euſeb. *præpar. lib. xi. c. x.* (20) Plutarch *Tract. de iis inſcript. forib. Temp. Delph. cap. ii.* (21) Cic. *de Nat. Deor. lib iii.* (22) Lucan. *l. vi. ver.* 744, 745. *ap.* Calmet *ſub voc. Jehovah.* Villet. *c. vi. in Exod. & al.* (23) Greg. Nazianz. *Homeil. in loc. S.* Auguſt. *in loc. Revel. i.* 8. (24) Simler, Villet. *& al.* (25) Aret. *in loc.* (26) Simler. Jun. Pined. Munſt. *& al.* (27) Plato *in Timæo.*

and

ence of things: whereas GOD being one, and there being none

and ſome other of his wiſe ſayings, he is ſuppoſed to have read *Moſes*'s books, or converſed with ſome of his diſciples when he was in *Egypt*; which is not improbable, ſeeing *Ariſtobulus*, who flouriſhed in the *Maccabees* time, writes to *Ptolemy Philometer*, that *Moſes*'s books having been tranſlated into *Greek* in *Alexander*'s time, *Pythagoras* and *Plato* had taken many things from them (28). Some divines, and in particular our learned *Ainſworth*, think, that *Jehovah* is the participle of *hajah* in *piel*, and that it doth not only ſignify to be, but to cauſe to be, or to give being; by which not only his omnipotence, but likewiſe his faithfulneſs and truth are plainly intimated and implied, as being alone able and ſure to make good his promiſes (29). Upon all theſe accounts therefore *Jehovah* is looked upon to be the incommunicable name of GOD, there being no created beings unto whom it can be properly, or indeed at all, applied in any of theſe ſenſes; whereas thoſe of *Elohim*, *Adonai*, *Gibbor*, &c. have been given to angels and men (30).

We ſhall not trouble our readers with all the myſtical notions, which cabaliſts have raiſed from the letters that compoſe this awful name, nor with the preference they give to it, above all the other names of GOD, as being, as it were a monarch upon his throne, and the others only as guards or officers under him (31); but conclude this note with a ſhort enquiry, why the word *Jehovah* is thought ineffable, not only by the *Jews*, but alſo by ſome Chriſtians. Firſt, *Genebrard* confidently affirms, it is neither a *Hebrew* nor Chriſtian word or name; that it is neither received by the fathers, nor by the rabbies, nor ever known or uſed by CHRIST or his apoſtles. But to this it may be anſwered, that they all were forced to uſe the *Septuagint* verſion then in vogue, which every where tranſlates that word by Κύριος LORD, as has been already obſerved. Secondly, *Bellarmin* pretends, that becauſe St. *Jerom*, and *Origen* in his *Hexapala* after him, read it *Adonai*, and that the vowel points are the ſame in both; therefore it ought to be read and pronounced *Adonai*, and not *Jehovah*. But had theſe gentlemen conſidered, that theſe two words are of different originals and ſignifications, and written with different letters; that the one is relative, and the other not; that the one is communicable and the other incommunicable; that the points, or vowels, being almoſt univerſally acknowledged to be of human invention, can be of no authority here; and that their likeneſs, though not ſameneſs, in both theſe names was owing to a ſuperſtitious reſpect which the *Mazorites* had for one of them; that St. *Jerom* might be too much influenced by his *Jewiſh* maſter in this, as well as in many other caſes; and that both he and *Origen* have not ſcrupled to pronounce

(28) *Ap.* Perrer. Villet. & *al.* (29) Simler, Outran, Burratus, Ainſworth, & *al.* (30) Perrer. Jun. Munſt &c. (31) Perrer. & *al.*

it

none other but him, there needs no name to diſtinguiſh him*. GOD therefore ſaid to him I AM THAT I AM, and bid him tell his brethren, that I AM had ſent him to them, that he was

* Dial cont. Tryph.

it *Jao*, as we have hinted above; that their writing it by *Adonai* might be more owing to a ſuperſtitious fear, than to any judgment or conviction of the unlawfulneſs of pronouncing that name; and laſtly, that they have no where ſaid that it was ineffable; had they, I ſay, conſidered theſe things, they could never have fallen into that *Jewiſh* ſuperſtition. As for the general reaſon that is given on all hands by thoſe of that ſide of the queſtion, *viz.* that the right pronunciation having been loſt, whether during the captivity, or at any other time or place, it is unlawful to ſubſtitute any other inſtead of it, it may be ſafely anſwered, that the deſign of words or names being to convey ideas into the mind, of thoſe things of which they are but types, the differences will be very ſmall, whether the pronunciation be right or wrong, provided the idea it conveys be right. And we are much miſtaken, whatever theſe gentlemen ſay, if in this caſe the pronouncing the word *Jehovah*, which conveys the moſt perfect idea we can have of the Godhead, let the pronunciation be never ſo wrong, is not much ſafer than their pronouncing it *Adonai*, which being a word of a vaſtly inferior ſignification, and applicable to every man that has any maſtery or ſuperiority over another, conveys a much more imperfect idea of the Godhead, and is therefore liable to be uttered with leſs awe and reſpect. This is ſo true in fact, that one may obſerve thoſe ſcrupulous gentlemen, eſpecially of the *Jews*, who would be ready to ſwoon at the hearing the name *Jehovah*, pronounce that of *Adonai*, though carrying the ſame idea, with leſs ſeeming reverence than they would that of a king or lord mayor, and one would hardly think they can be in earneſt, when we find them branding their adverſaries with the epithet of *Jehovaiſts*. However, it muſt be owned, that though all the names of GOD ought to be uttered with the utmoſt awe, yet this, if poſſible, with a greater, and that we ought to be cautious not to uſe it without a warrantable occaſion. And when we converſe with *Jews*, or with ſuch chriſtians as are againſt pronouncing that name, if we make uſe of the word *Adonai* in complaiſance to them, it will be much better than to make them uneaſy, or break off converſation by pronouncing it in our own way. The main text which terrifies the *Jews* againſt uttering this ſacred name is that of *Leviticus* (32), where it is ſaid *he that blaſphemeth* (which they read *nameth*) *the name of* GOD *ſhall be ſtoned:* where the word נקב *Nakab*, which in its primitive meaning ſignifies *to pierce*, and is therefore often uſed for wri-

(32) *Levit. xxiv.* 16.

ting,

was the GOD of their fathers, of *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob* (V), and that he would be remembered and acknowledged by

ting, engraving, or enrolling, doth more properly forbid the writing than the ſpeaking it: for *Nakab* never ſignifies *to utter*, unleſs it be in a bad ſenſe, as *curſing*, or *blaſpheming*; and therefore if the prohibition is to be ſtretched beyond that, it muſt be only againſt doing it irreverently or lightly, which is a lighter degree of prophaning; but as they allow that the name may be lawfully writ, though the word *Nakab* doth ſignify alſo to write; nay, ſince they allow, that the high prieſt may and doth actually uſe it in that public bleſſing, which is preſcribed by GOD himſelf (33), Jehovah *bleſs thee and keep thee*, it is plain, the prohibition is not againſt naming, but againſt blaſpheming, or uſing it with contempt or diſdain, or to an ill purpoſe, as to curſe our neighbours and the like; as the word *Kallal*, uſed in the foregoing part of this prohibition, ſufficiently ſhews (34).

(V) It is aſked here why GOD calls himſelf ſo particularly the GOD of *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, ſeeing he was the GOD of all the *Iſraelites*, as well as of thoſe three; for firſt, it could not be upon the account of their ſanctity, nor excellent virtues, ſeeing *Abel*, *Enoch*, and *Noah*, whoſe GOD he likewiſe was, were at leaſt as holy as they; nor ſecondly to hint unto *Moſes* the myſtery of the Trinity, as *Perrerius* imagines (1), becauſe the word of GOD is there thrice repeated; for it is rather repeated four times; *viz.* the GOD of thy father, that is of *Amram*, the GOD of *Abraham*, and ſo on. It is more probable therefore, that they are particularly mentioned, becauſe it was to them that the promiſe of a numerous poſterity, of their being ſtrangers in *Egypt*, and brought out of it, of their inheriting the land of *Canaan*, and eſpecially that of the MESSIAH, had been made.

And now we are upon this text, it will not be improper to enquire, why our SAVIOUR chooſes to alledge it againſt the *Sadducees*, rather than ſome others in the Old Teſtament, which do more fully prove the reſurrection of the body; to this it may be anſwered, that the objection, being made out of the *Pentateuch*, was more fitly anſwered by it, eſpecially to the *Sadducees*, who, as St. *Jerom* tells us (3), admitted of no other books of the Old Teſtament. The main queſtion therefore will be, how theſe words, *I am the* GOD *of* Abraham, *&c.* 2. which ſeem at moſt to prove only the immortality of the ſoul, can be urged here to prove the reſurrection of the body? to which ſome antient fathers anſwer (4), that theſe names being given to them, whilſt they conſiſted of ſoul

(33) *Numb. vi.* 24. (34) Simler, Villet. Munſt. *& al. in loc.* (1) Perrer. *in loc.* (2) *Matth. xxii.* 31. *Mark xii.* 26. *Luke xx.* 37. (3) Hieron. *in Job. xix. & alib.* (4) Iren. *lib. iv. cap. xi.* Chryſoſt. *in Mat. xxii. & al.*

and

by that name throughout all generations, as their great redeemer and deliverer: not, continued he, that *Pharaoh* will let you go at your first or second asking, nor indeed at all, 'till I have convinced him both of my justice and power, by the terrible punishment I shall send upon him and his land, for their oppression of my people; neither shall the *Hebrews* come away altogether unrewarded for their long and cruel servitude; for I will inspire the *Egyptians* with such sentiments of pity and humanity towards them, that they shall part with their sumptuous raiments and choicest jewels to them, and

And to bring his people out of bondage.

and body, and the former of them being here plainly affirmed to be living with GOD, it follows, that the latter cannot be dead, but asleep for a time, and that they will re-united and live again, and both together enjoy the reward of their labour. Others say, that if the immortality of the soul be granted, the resurrection of the body must follow of consequence, by reason of the natural desire which the former has to the latter, without which it cannot be said to be perfectly happy; and this induced *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, and other philosophers, who held the immortality of the soul, to provide her with a constant supply of bodies, either by remigration or returning into its own body again, or transmigration or passing into some other body (5). But the best solution seems to be that of St. *Jerom* (6), that the *Sadducees* believing neither the immortality of the soul, nor resurrection of the body, both which were received by all the rest of the *Jews*, the most effectual way to remove the ground of their error was, to prove by this text the being and living of the soul after death (7).

As to those places where GOD commands *Moses* to put off his shoes, and of *Moses* covering his face, we hope, we need not acquaint the reader, that they were both marks of reverence used then, and since, by all the eastern nations. The first of these, *viz.* putting off the shoes, has a threefold signification in scripture, *viz.* first, it was common and usual to put them off in token of mourning and grief, as *David* is said to have gone from *Jerusalem* barefoot when he fled from *Absalom*; whilst his retinue went with their faces covered in token of respect (8). Secondly, it signified the yielding of one's right to another, and is so prescribed in *Deuteronomy* (9), and practised by *Boaz* (10); the third was in token of respect and reverence, as appears by this command of GOD to *Moses*, and the reason assigned for it, *viz.* that the ground whereon he stood was holy, or sanctified by GOD's immediate presence.

(5) Th. Aquin. *cont. Gent. cap. lxxix.* (6) Hieron. *Com. in Matt. xxii.* (7) Cajet. Villet. *& al.* (8) 2 *Sam. xv.* 30.
(9) *Deut. xxv.* 9. (10) *Ruth. iv.* 7, 8.

make

make them thus far amends for their paſt labours and hardſhips * (X).

AFTER ſuch ample aſſurances, one would hardly expect, that *Moſes* would have ſtarted any new difficulties, at leaſt without receiving ſome ſevere rebuke for it; nevertheleſs he freely owns, that his doubts were far from being wholly diſpelled; he knew the temper of the *Iſraelites* too well, not to foreſee, that they would moſt likely call his miſſion in queſtion. He therefore begged to be informed what he muſt do in ſuch a caſe, and GOD was pleaſed to clear this doubt alſo, by two miracles which he wrought in his preſence. The firſt was by turning his rod into a frightful ſerpent, and then into a rod again. The ſecond was by ſmiting one of his hands with leproſy upon his pulling it out of his boſom, and then healing it again by the ſame way; adding moreover, that if the working of theſe two miracles before the *Iſraelites* did not give a ſufficient ſanction to his meſſage, he ſhould then have liberty to try the ſucceſs of a third, by taking ſome water out of the *Nile* and ſpilling it upon the ground, which would immediately turn the river into blood †.

MOSES had ſtill, he thought, one material objection to make, namely, an impediment in his ſpeech, which, he ſaid, rendered him unfit to ſpeak, either before *Pharaoh* and his court, or even to the *Iſraelites*. He had probably raiſed many more, had not GOD removed this difficulty alſo by telling, that his brother *Aaron*, who was now by his appointment to meet him, ſhould be his interpreter both to *Pharaoh* and to the *Hebrews*, and commanded him immediately to prepare for his journey, and not ſpend any more time in raiſing new

* Exod. iii. † Exod. iv. 9.

(X) That ſome retaliation was due in ſtrict juſtice from the *Egyptians* to the *Hebrews*, for the great ſervices they had done to them, is what can hardly be denied; however, we do not pretend to anſwer all the objections which have been raiſed againſt this action. We think it ſufficient to ſay, that the former were ſpoiled with the ſame juſtice for their unheard of Oppreſſion to the latter, as the *Canaanites* and other nations were deſtroyed for their abominable wickedneſs. GOD indeed alone could appoint thoſe puniſhments, and make uſe of what inſtruments he pleaſed to inflict them; but, ſince *Moſes* gave ſufficient proof of his being authoriſed by GOD, we cannot ſee where the injuſtice is in either caſe, nor the pretended ill tendency of ſuch a precedent, ſince it is allowed on all hands, that it is in no caſe to be followed, unleſs it be evidently commanded by the ſame divine authority.

ſcruples and objections [u]. There was certainly ſomething very ſurpriſing in this reluctancy of *Moſes*, as well as in the patience with which GOD heard him; yet, when he found that he had removed all the obſtacles which his diffidence had ſuggeſted to him, he could not forbear having recourſe to prayers, earneſtly begging of GOD, who certainly knew many among the *Hebrews* more fit for the work than himſelf, to make choice of ſome other to execute his command, and leave him to ſpend the remainder of his days in ſolitude and obſcurity. Had *Moſes* been leſs ſincere, he would hardly have recorded this extreme weakneſs of his, ſo little to his credit; and which nothing could excuſe or extenuate, but this free and ingenuous confeſſion of it. Being therefore afraid, leſt he ſhould incur the divine diſpleaſure by a further refuſal, he made the beſt of his way towards *Midian*, reſolved for the future to be as ready, as he had before been backward, to obey the divine command.

Moſes begs to be excuſed.

WHETHER he acquainted *Jethro* with his commiſſion, or, as he tells us [x], only expreſſed a deſire to go and viſit his brethren in *Egypt*, he eaſily obtained his diſmiſſion from him, and taking his wife *Zipporah* (Y) and his two ſons with him, the

Obeys at laſt and leaves Midian.

[u] Ibid. ver. 13. ad 17. [x] Ibid. ver. 18.

(Y) This *Zipporah*, having afterwards a ſquabble with her ſiſter-in-law *Miriam*, in which *Aaron* took the latter's part, is by them called a *Cuſhite*, or *Ethiopian* (11), though it is plain ſhe was a *Midianite*, being one of *Jethro*'s daughters. To reconcile which, ſome have affirmed, that *Midian* was in the land of *Cuſh*, or at leaſt very near it, from the words of the prophet (12), *I ſaw the tents of* Cuſhan *in affliction*, and *the curtains of the land of* Midian *did tremble*. Others think, that it was not *Zipporah*, but *Tharbis* the *Ethiopian* princeſs, whom *Moſes* is affirmed by *Joſephus* to have married, and whom he would now have forſaken (13). But it ſeems more probable, that *Cuſhite* was a term of reproach or contempt, as *Gipſy* is with us; and that they called her by that name with no other view. The words therefore might be properly rendered thus; and *Miriam* and *Aaron* reflected upon *Moſes*, *upon the ſcore of his* Cuſhite, *becauſe he had taken a* Cuſhite *to wife*, there being nothing more frequent than ſuch repetitions in the Old Teſtament. As for the reaſon of this quarrel, 'tis likely, that *Zipporah* had ſpoken, as they thought, too much in praiſe of her huſband, upon the account of his having converſed ſo often with GOD, which made

(11) *Numb. xii.* 1. (12) *Habak. iii.* 7. (13) Hieron. Perrer. Jun. & *al.*

them

the leaſt of which being too young to walk, he ſet upon an aſs; with this mean equipage, and the miraculous rod in his hand (Z), he marched directly to *Egypt*.

DURING

them reply, *has* GOD *ſpoken to him alone, has he not ſpoken to us alſo?* upon this GOD called them to the tabernacle, ſharply reproved *Miriam* and *Aaron*, and highly extolled *Moſes*'s merit, but not a word is mentioned about his wife.

(Z) Concerning this ſtaff, from which *Zipporah* had her name, the *Jews* tell us a wonderful ſtory; *viz.* that it grew in *Jethro*'s garden, was called *Zaphir*, and had the *Tetragrammaton* written upon it: that it had been created in paradiſe on the ſixth day, and brought away by *Adam*, and had paſſed from him to *Noah*, *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, *Jacob*, and *Joſeph*, and from him to *Pharaoh*. That *Jethro* had been one of his mildeſt counſellers, and daily adviſed him to lighten the burthen of the *Iſraelites*, whilſt *Balaam*, courtier like, peſtered him with contrary counſels: that being forced to fly the court, and retire into the land of *Midian*, he had privately conveyed this miraculous rod away, and ſtuck it in his garden, where it took ſuch deep root, that no force could pluck it up. That when *Moſes* came firſt to him, and acquainted him with what happened to him in *Egypt*, *Jethro* cauſed him to be cloſely confined, intending to ſend him back to the king of *Egypt*. In the mean time *Zipporah* being fallen in love with him, and having acquainted her father with it, he conſented that he ſhould be ſet at liberty and marry her, if he could pluck up the *Zaphir* rod which grew in his garden, and at the ſame time iſſued out a proclamation, that the man that could pull up the plant ſhould have his daughter in marriage. That immediately a great number of luſty men came and tried their ſtrength in vain; for *Moſes* alone was the man that could perform the feat; which he did with wonderful eaſe by virtue of the name of GOD, with the true pronunciation of which he was perfectly acquainted, and ſo obtained *Jethro*'s daughter. They add, that he got the rod into the bargain, by which he afterwards wrought all his wonders in *Egypt* (14). Theſe abſurd fables would hardly be worth mentioning, were it not to ſhew, into what monſtrous extremes of credulity men are apt to fall, who have once denied the plaineſt truths. Were thoſe reverend gentlemens heads as long as their beards, they could never think, that ſuch ſtories can be of any credit either to their great law-giver, or to the inventers of them. Neither have the *Arabians* been more ſparing of their curious, though fabulous, conceits of *Jethro* and his rod. As for *Jethro*, he was, they ſay, the ſon of *Taskir*, the ſon of *Midian*, whom they make the immediate ſon of *Iſhmael* (15), though *Moſes* men-

(14) R. R. Tanchum-Mechit. & Scip. Sgambat. *L. ii. Arch. Vet. Teſt.* (15) Herbelot's *Bibli. Orient. ſub. voc.* Schoaib. *p.* 790.

Aaron's children during his brother's abſence.

DURING *Moſes*'s retreat in *Midian*, *Aaron* his brother had married *Eliſheba*, the ſiſter of *Naaſhon*, both deſcended from *Judah* by their father *Amminadab*, the ſon of *Ezron*. He had already had four ſons by her, *viz. Nadab*, *Abihu*, *Eleazar*, and *Ithamar* [y], the firſt of whom had likewiſe a ſon named *Phineas*, by a daughter of *Putiel* [z]. This was the ſtate of *Aaron*'s family, when GOD commanded him to go to meet his brother [a]; but before he could reach to the mount of GOD (*Horeb*), a dreadful accident was like to have happened to *Moſes*, the particular occaſion and circumſtances of which we are left to gueſs at, he not having thought fit to commit them to writing. The account we have of it being but darkly expreſſed in the original, and having been miſunderſtood and miſtranſlated in moſt verſions, and particularly our own, we ſtill venture to depart from it, (where the original and the authority of thoſe, who, by their diligent application to it, have been able to give it a better light, will bear us out,) not forgetting to make our explication good by proper marginal notes.

He goes to meet him at Horeb.

MOSES was upon his firſt day's journey, as is probably ſuppoſed by the ſmall diſtance between *Midian* and *Horeb*, where he afterwards met his brother, when GOD appeared again to him, and charged him to perform all thoſe wonders

[y] Exod. vi. 23. [z] Ibid ver. 25. [a] Ibid. cap. iv. 27.

tions no *Midian* among the ſons of *Iſhmael* *. They tell us that he made a preſent of this wonderful rod to his ſon-in-law: that he had the gift of propheſy, and was ſent by GOD to preach the Unity of the Godhead to the *Midianites* (16), which as *Mohammed* tells us (17), he confirmed to them by miracles, and that when he went up to the top of a mountain to pray, it lowered its head to receive him. Another of his commentators adds, that *Jethro* made it his chief buſineſs to reprove the *Midianites* for their horrid robberies, falſe weights, and meaſures: but that thoſe incorrigible wretches, inſtead of taking his wholeſome counſels, threatened to drive him and his diſciples out of the country: that GOD provoked at their wickedneſs, ſent the angel *Gabriel* to deſtroy them by an earthquake, in which none were ſaved but *Jethro* and his diſciples, who went afterwards to meet his ſon-in-law in the wilderneſs (18), as we have it in the book of *Exodus* (19). They add, that the advice which he gave to *Moſes* there, got him the name of *preacher to the prophets* (20).

* *Gen. xxv. paſſ.* (16) *Ex. lib. Arab.* Leb. Tarik. (17) Koran Araf. (18) *Comment. in ſupradict. cap.* (19) *Exod. xviii.* 1, & *ſeq.* (20) *Vid.* Calm. *ſub voc* Jethro.

which

which he had ſhewed him before the king of *Egypt*, and to demand of him the diſmiſſion of his people *Iſrael*, whom he calls here by way of excellency his firſt-born, aſſuring him, that he would be with him, and that in caſe of an obſtinate refuſal, which he foreſaw he would certainly meet with, he would ſlay all the firſt-born of *Egypt*. *Moſes* was by this time got to the end of his firſt day's journey and arrived at the inn, when GOD appeared to him again, but with an angry look, and ſtruck him with a terrible diſeaſe (A). *Moſes* doth not tell

Moſes *ſmitten by the angel in the inn.*

(A) The reader may remember, that we have already hinted ſomething concerning this adventure, in the hiſtory of *Midian* †, but reſerved the examination of the particulars of it to this place, to which they more properly belong. The greateſt part of commentators and expoſitors have ſuppoſed, that *Moſes* was troubled with a turbulent wife, which is the caſe of many a meek man, and that ſhe had conceived ſuch an averſion to the ceremony of circumciſion, that he had been forced for peace and quietneſs to neglect the performing it upon his youngeſt ſon, 'till the danger ſhe ſaw her husband or the child in (for the text is not plain which of the two it was) obliged her, not without great reluctancy and ill language, to perform the operation. We ſhall therefore endeavour to ſet this matter in a clearer light, and ſhew, that they have quite miſtaken the ſenſe of the original, and that there was neither quarrel nor ill language in the caſe, but that the ceremony was performed with all the decency and decorum that the ſolemnity of it, and their imminent danger, could poſſibly require.

Firſt then, as to the words, *the* LORD *met him at the inn and ſought to ſlay him*, which the *Septuagint*, *Vulgate*, and ſome other verſions render (21), *the angel of the* LORD, *&c.* it is plain, that they relate to *Moſes*, and not to the child, as *Tertullian* thinks, becauſe if it had been the latter, *Moſes*, rather than his wife, would have performed the operation. This ſhews likewiſe, that the words import no more, than that GOD ſmote him with ſome grievous diſeaſe, which ſo diſabled him from circumciſing the child, that *Zipporah* was forced to do it herſelf, though otherwiſe unfit. Thoſe who are acquainted with the genius of the *Hebrew* tongue know, that the phraſe here uſed ſignifies no more Some antient interpreters have indeed underſtood it in a different ſenſe, ſome thinking, that the angel appeared with a drawn ſword ready to kill *Moſes* (22). Others among the *Jews* telling us (23), that the viſion was a monſtrous large ſerpent which ſwallowed up *Moſes*'s body מרושו ועד המילה from the head to the place of circumciſion, where he ſtuck, by which ſhe gueſſed at the cauſe of his danger, and having forthwith circumciſed the child with the uſual form of התן דמים לי אתה

† *Vid. ſupr. pag.* 116. (21) Pelican, Jun. *& al.* (22) Theodoret. *in loc.* (23) Elleſhemoth Rab. R. Sal. *& al.*

which

tell us, whether the divine anger was occaſioned by his incumbering

(which words we miſtranſlate *a bloody huſband thou art to me*); ſhe obſerved with joy her husband ſpued up again unhurt; upon which ſhe began to exclaim in praiſe of circumciſion, which ſhe ſaw accompanied with ſuch virtue. All that is worth obſerving from this *Jewiſh* comment is, that *Zipporah* expreſſed no paſſion againſt her husband during the whole action, much leſs in the words ſhe ſpoke, ſeeing they were part of a form uſed in circumciſion, as will appear in its proper place.

Secondly, As for the cauſe of God's anger againſt *Moſes*, St. *Auſtin* and ſome others (24) ſuppoſed it to have been becauſe he had taken his wife and children with him, the encumberment of whom did not ſuit with the buſineſs he was ſent about: for which reaſon, ſay they, he diſmiſſed her as ſoon as he was delivered from his danger. But, unleſs there had been ſome indication of God's forbidding it, it is plain, it was his duty to take her and them with him, ſince man is to forſake all other relations to cleave to his wife (25). *Theodoret* thinks (26), that *Moſes* was afraid to go on for fear of *Pharaoh*, but that doth not appear, ſeeing he was on his journey thither. The true reaſon therefore ſeems to be the neglect of circumciſing the child, ſince *Moſes* was delivered from the danger as ſoon as *Zipporah* had done it (27).

Thirdly, it is not eaſy to gueſs, how long, or why *Moſes* deferred the circumciſing of the child. Thoſe who follow the *Jeruſalem Targum*, which ſays, that *Jethro* and *Zipporah* took offence at it (28), ſeem to forget, that *Jethro* was a *Midianite*, deſcended from *Abraham* by *Keturah*, and conſequently, that circumciſion was moſt probably adopted by them, as it was by the *Iſhmaelites* and all other deſcendants of that patriarch. Beſides, they are fallen into this notion by miſtaking the words and action of *Zipporah*, and thinking, that there was a ſharp diſpute between *Moſes* and her about it, which we ſhall preſently ſhew not to have been the caſe. Some think, that *Moſes* did not ſuppoſe circumciſion ſo neceſſary in a ſtrange land, eſpecially his children being only *Iſraelites* by the father's ſide (29). But the moſt learned of the *Jews* rather think moſt probably, that the child was not above eight days old, or ſo much, and that *Moſes*, being in haſte to fulfil God's commands, would not ſtay till ſhe was brought to bed, and took her along with him, though ready to lie in (30). Neither is it plain from the text, that ſhe went that firſt day's journey with a deſign to follow him quite to *Egypt*; for ſhe might only accompany him thus far, thinking to have been back time enough to have lain in at her father's

(24) Auguſt. *Serm. de temp.* (25) *Geneſ. ii.* 24. (26) Theodoret. *in loc.* (27) D. Kimchi, Rupert, Toſtat Perrer. Munſt. Villet, & *al.* (28) Targ. Jeros. *in loc.* Jun. Simler, Pelican. Piſcat. & *al.* (29) Feru & *al.* (30) Aben Ezra R. Tanchum.

houſe.

bering himſelf with a wife and two children, when he was ſent

houſe. Though it fell out otherwiſe, and her labour came upon her ſooner than ſhe expected, being perhaps accelerated by the fatigue of the journey.

Fourthly, We come now to enquire into her behaviour and words after ſhe had performed the ceremony, which have proved the main ſtumbling-block of moſt tranſlations. For firſt, they have underſtood it, that ſhe flung the child's foreſkin at his (*Moſes*'s) feet, though the text doth not ſay whether it was at his, the child's, or the angel's feet, and the words be ſo far from ſignifying *flinging*, eſpecially in anger, that they rather imply a laying the prepuce down in a decent or humble manner: for the literal ſenſe is, *ſhe made it touch his feet.* This has made *Lud. Brugenſis* and ſome others think, that ſhe humbly laid it at the angel's feet, beſeeching him, that for the ſake of that circumciſion-blood ſhe had now drawn, her huſband's life might be ſpared: and that her prayer having been heard, and ſhe ſeeing *Moſes* free from the danger, congratulated him and herſelf with the words in the text, which he renders, *thou art now become, as it were, a new huſband or bridegroom to me by this child's blood* (31). But we are going to ſhew, that the words were neither ſpoken to *Moſes*, nor to the angel, but to the child. Only let it be obſerved here by the by, that it is unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that ſhe ſhould fling the child's fore-ſkin in anger at her huſband, who could not be blamed for the misfortune that had happened to him; much leſs likely is it, that ſhe would have dared to have flung it at the angel, if any ſuch had appeared to him at the inn; whereas, as we hinted before, the words do not imply an apparition, but *Moſes* being ſmitten with a deadly diſeaſe.

Fifthly, As to the words, *A bloody huſband art thou to me*, &c. one of our learned divines has fully proved them not to have been ſpoken to *Moſes* but the child (32). He very judiciouſly obſerves, firſt, that the word חתן *Chatan*, which we tranſlate *huſband*, ſignifies only a *bridegroom*, and it is not likely that *Zipporah* ſhould call him by that name after having been married ſo long, and having had two children by him, that appellative ceaſing immediately after the eight days of the nuptial ſolemnity were over. Another Obſervation he makes is, that this word *Chatan* doth properly ſignify a *ſon-in law*, and ſo expreſſes not the relation the man has to his wife, but to her parents; for which reaſon it never has any affixed pronoun, unleſs it be with relation to the latter. The ſame may likewiſe be ſaid of the word כלה *Calah*, *bride*, or rather *daughter-in-law*; it being uſed only with relation to the huſband's parents, who alone can properly call the married woman כלתי *Calathi*, *my daughter-in law*, but the bridegroom never calls her

(31) Lud. Brug. *in loc. & in Oper. Criticor. Tom. ix.* (32) Joſ. Med. *ſermon on the words.*

by

ſent upon ſo glorious and important a meſſage, or becauſe he had deferred to circumciſe his youngeſt ſon, either out of regard to his tender age, or in complaiſance to his wife, who might fear leſt ſuch an operation ſhould make him unfit to travel for a while, if not endanger his life in that hot country. *Zipporah*, however, taking it in the latter ſenſe, made what haſte ſhe could to get a ſharp ſtone, with which ſhe cut off the child's prepuce, and laid it at his feet, telling him at the ſame time, that *he was now become a joyful bridegroom to her by the blood of this circumciſion.* The ceremony was no

Zipporah *circumciſes her ſon, and* Moſes *is reſtored.*

by that name to ſignify his bride; it being certain, that the *Hebrew* language has no word to expreſs a bridegroom or bride, with reſpect to the relation they bear to one another. It would therefore have been nonſenſe in *Zipporah* to have called him by the name of *Chatan*, which neither expreſſed an old or a new huſband; the queſtion then will be, how it could be applied to the child? and herein the *Hebrew* doctors are beſt able to help us out, who tell us, that it was the cuſtom of the women to call the circumciſed child *Chatan*, חנשים לקרא לבן כאשר יטול חתן (33). *Kimchi* ſays, that it ſignifies originally *one that gives joy*, and is therefore uſed to expreſs the joy that attends a wedding, or the circumciſion of a child (34). Accordingly we find, that the *Arabians* called the circumciſed מחתון *Machtun*, or one that is made a *Chatan*, in the ſame manner as we call a baptized child *chriſtened*. The words then uſed by *Zipporah* ought to have been tranſlated, *thou art* (now) *to me a joyful circumciſed ſon*. To which if we add the laſt obſervation of the ſame learned author that the word לי *Li*, which we tranſlate, *to me*, doth more properly ſignify *here by me*, as it doth in a great many other places of ſcripture, the ſenſe will be ſtill more plainly this; *thou art now here by me made a circumciſed child*, which was the form of words uſed in the circumciſion, and might be more properly rendered, *I do pronounce thee circumciſed*. Neither is it at all improbable, that this word חתן was originally uſed in this form, not only to expreſs the uſual joy of a child's circumciſion, but likewiſe his admiſſion into the alliance made by GOD with *Abraham* and his poſterity, or his ſpouſal with the church of GOD; in both which ſenſes that word is very fitly applied; from which it is moſt probable, that it was at the child's feet that ſhe laid the foreſkin, when ſhe ſpake the words above-mentioned. This is ſo far from being a new or peculiar notion of Mr. *Mede*, that we find ſeveral antient verſions expounding it after the very ſame manner (35); from all which it plainly appears, that there neither was any ſquabble between *Moſes* and his wife, nor any indecency or ill language uſed by her.

(33) *Idem ibid.* (34) D. Kimchi *in Radic.* (35) Chald. Septuagint & *al.*

ſooner over, but *Moſes* was reſtored again, and able to purſue his journey towards mount *Horeb*, whilſt his wife took the two children back to her father *Jethro*, reſolved to wait there, 'till a more favourable opportunity offered to rejoin her huſband.

Joins his brother at mount Horeb.

IN the mean time *Moſes* and *Aaron* met at the foot of mount *Horeb*, and after the firſt embraces of two brothers who had not ſeen, or perhaps heard from, one another during the ſpace of forty years, *Moſes* acquainted him with the commiſſion he had received from GOD. *Aaron* expreſſed a ſenſible joy at the news, and was ſo far from conceiving the leaſt uneaſineſs to ſee his younger brother ſo far preferred before him, that he promiſed to be obedient in all things to the divine will. After this they continued their journey towards *Egypt*, and being happily arrived at the land of *Goſhen*, their firſt care was to aſſemble the elders or heads of the *Iſraelites*, and to impart to them the joyful news of their ſpeedy deliverance; whilſt *Moſes*, to confirm their heſitating belief, failed not to work thoſe miracles before them, by which GOD had commanded him to eſtabliſh his credit and authority among them. Theſe firſt eſſays were received with incredible joy by the whole aſſembly, every one of them bowing themſelves in token of gratitude and adoration to the divine goodneſs, which had at length taken pity of their miſerable ſlavery [b]. But this docile diſpoſition laſted no longer than they thought their deliverance would coſt nothing but miracles, and that the care and danger of it would only fall upon *Moſes* and *Aaron*; but when it came to touch them a little nearer, they became ſo reſty and deſponding, that *Moſes* found them as hard to be perſuaded to embrace their *freedom*, as *Pharaoh* was to grant it to them (B).

Declares his commiſſion to the Iſraelites.

[b] Exod. iv.

(B) Some hiſtorians have ventured to give us the name of this *Pharaoh*. *Apion* calls him *Amoſis*, or *Amaſis*; *Euſebius*, *Chreneris*; but archbiſhop *Uſher* thinks after *Manetho*, that is was *Amenophis* the ſon of *Rameſes-Miamun*, and father of *Seſothis*, called alſo after his grand-father *Rameſes*. He is alſo of opinion, that this *Amenophis* is the ſame monarch whom the *Greeks* call *Belus*, the father of *Ægyptus* and *Danaus*, though the fable-writers have confounded him with *Belus* the *Aſſyrian* and father of *Ninus* (36); the truth is, that we have ſo little light from hiſtory as to this point, that it is very dangerous to affirm any thing about it *.

(36) Uſſer An. *p.* 13. * *See Vol. I. p.* 503, *& ſeq.*

Delivers his meſſage to the king of Egypt.

MOSES and *Aaron*, however, did not delay to open their commiſſion before the *Egyptian* king, but the preamble of it, *Thus ſaid the* LORD GOD *of the* Hebrews, ſounded ſo ſtrangely in his ears, unuſed to ſuch an expreſſion, and perhaps to the naming of any other GOD beſides himſelf, that he could not forbear wondering at their boldneſs, telling them that he knew no ſuch GOD, and that as to the *Iſraelites*, they ſhould not find him ſo eaſy to part with them. This was indeed what they were bid to expect; nevertheleſs they ventured to tell him, that they knew that great GOD of whom they ſpoke, though he did not; and that he had charged them, that they ſhould all go three days journey to celebrate a feſtival to him, and that if they ſhould omit complying with his command, he would ſoon puniſh their diſobedience, either by peſtilence or by the ſword. *Moſes* could not expect, that *Pharaoh* ſhould concern himſelf about their danger upon that account; but he was not perhaps as yet commiſſioned to make uſe of more urgent motives. He was therefore diſmiſſed with his brother *Aaron*, with a ſevere reprimand, for putting ſuch idle notions into their people's heads, and debauching them from their work, bidding them to return to their own taſks, and they ſhould ſoon know the ſucceſs of this wiſe embaſſy. As this proved the beginning of that famous conteſt between *Moſes*, or rather the GOD of *Iſrael*, and the king of *Egypt*, ſo it did likewiſe the fatal ſource of new ſorrows and complaints to the *Iſraelites*. For *Pharaoh* fearing their exceſſive numbers, and thinking, or at leaſt pretending, that idleneſs and wantonneſs were the cauſe of this rambling fit of religion, ordered their taſk-maſters to harden their work ſtill more, and, inſtead of giving them ſtraw to dry their bricks with, to make them wander over the land, ſince they had ſuch an inclination for a change of air, and to gather themſelves ſtubble inſtead of it, without diminiſhing one tittle of their work. This was indeed expecting impoſſibilities from them, but their mercileſs taſk-maſters, not regarding it, failed not to puniſh their overſeers, whenever they found them come ſhort of their appointed taſk. Theſe therefore, not thinking perhaps, that *Pharaoh* could be the author of ſuch a cruel and unreaſonable order, went in a body to make their grievances known to him; but he, inſtead of minding their piteous complaints, only accuſed them of being grown idle and wanton for want of work, and diſmiſſed them with the utmoſt unconcern. They were ſcarce got out of *Pharaoh*'s palace before *Moſes* and *Aaron* met them, probably to enquire of their ſucceſs, but if they had not read it in their

The Iſraelites *burthens encreaſed.*

their dejected looks, they could not fail of hearing of it; for the poor overſeers had no ſooner caſt their eyes on them, but they began to inveigh againſt them in the bittereſt terms, as the authors of this new addition of miſery, which could terminate in nothing but death and deſpair. It would have been in vain for *Moſes* to have offered any thing either in his own defence, or by way of comfort to them at that time; he thought it more adviſeable to apply himſelf to GOD, and in the humbleſt terms to expoſtulate with him for the ill ſucceſs of this firſt meſſage.

MOSES had no ſooner made an end of his complaint, but GOD gave him freſh aſſurances of his love and compaſſion for his groaning people. He bid him go to them, and aſſure them from him, that he would ſpeedily let all *Egypt* ſee that he was their GOD, and would be their deliverer and conductor into that land, which he had promiſed to their fathers, to whom he had indeed appeared, and been known heretofore by the name of *El Shaddai*, GOD Almighty or All-ſufficient, though never 'till now by his great name *Jehovah* (C). But, continued he, I will ſignalize their deliverance, by ſuch tokens of my juſtice on that obſtinate Monarch and his cruel people, that they ſhall be forced at laſt to

Moſes *is bid to go again to* Pharaoh.

(C) Thoſe who conclude from this paſſage, that the name *Jehovah* (37), or the genuine meaning (38), or laſtly the true pronunciation of it (39), had been unknown to the patriarchs *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, &c. and that *Moſes* uſed it by way of anticipation, and ſpoke according to the time in which he wrote, when GOD had made it fully known to his people, ſeem to forget, that *Abraham* called the mountain on which he was to have ſacrificed his ſon *Jehovah jired*. However it muſt be owned, that there is a great obſcurity in the words of *Moſes*, out of which many *Hebrew* and Chriſtian commentators have endeavoured to bring out ſome myſteries, which we ſhould be loath to vend after them. The moſt natural expoſition is, that which renders the *Hebrew* word *Shem* by character inſtead of name, and then the ſenſe will be this; In my character of *El Shaddai*, or omnipotent, was I only known to them; that is, they only relied on my word and all-ſufficient power for the fulfilling my promiſes to them; but now I'll be known by the character of *Jehovah*, or performer of thoſe promiſes (40). *Vid.* our notes under the word *Jehovah*, page 488, not. T.

(37) Kimchi, Aben-ezra, Oleaſter, *&c.* (38) Paul Brug. Rupert. Lyra. Cajetan. Toſtat. (39) Oleaſt. Gloſs. Berruyer, *&c.* (40) Simler, Junius, *& al.*

acknowledge the divine hand that ſmiteth them, and diſmiſs my people, though never ſo much againſt their will. This was more than enough to give new life to *Moſes*, though all too little and inſufficient to adminiſter the leaſt comfort to his unhappy people, who, ſinking under the weight of their oppreſſion, did hardly give an ear to what he ſaid to them. *Moſes* was going away from them, grieved at his heart to behold their miſery and deſpair, when GOD commanded him to go immediately to *Pharaoh*, and to renew his demand in his name, not to detain his people any longer at his peril. But *Moſes* was ſo diſheartened at his ill ſucceſs, that he could not forbear ſhewing an exceſſive reluctancy to obey. Alas, ſaid he, if my words can find ſo little credit with thy own people, how can I expect, that they will be regarded by that faithleſs king, eſpecially conſidering with what difficulty I am forced to utter them. To which GOD was pleaſed to anſwer, behold *Moſes*, I give thee a miraculous, a divine power, over *Pharaoh*, and thy brother ſhall be as thy prophet and interpreter to him. And though I ſuffer his heart to continue hardened (D), 'till thou

(D) We have ventured to depart from our own, and almoſt all other verſions, which make GOD the chief hardner of *Pharaoh*'s heart, that he might inflict the more ſevere puniſhments on him. A notion, which however embraced by the Predeſtinarians, ſeems ſo ſhocking to reaſon, that one would ſooner chooſe to ſay with the fool there is no GOD, than to believe him capable of ſuch manifeſt injuſtice. We ſhall have occaſion to reſume this ſubject in the ſequel of this hiſtory upon another occaſion, and to ſhew, that the *Jews* have been the firſt broachers of this monſtrous doctrine, and, by their verſions and paraphraſes, have led the way to others to render theſe, and many other texts of the old teſtament, in a ſenſe, in which neither the original, nor the whole tenour of ſcripture, nor the notion of a deity, nor even the context in this particular caſe, could bear them out. For who can deny, but what GOD did to *Pharaoh* and the *Egyptians*, was much more proper to ſoften, than to harden, his heart, eſpecially when it is obſervable, that it was not 'til after ſeeing the miracles, and after the ceaſing of the plagues, that *his heart* is ſaid to be *hardened?* we think ourſelves therefore obliged to do juſtice to thoſe learned critics, who have been at the pains of clearing the ſcriptures from charging the great judge of heaven and earth with ſuch foul injuſtice, by proving, even againſt the *Jews*, that the verbs here uſed are in the conjugations *Piel* and *Hiphil*, as they are called by the grammarians, and ſignify often a bare permiſſion, of which they have given us very many unqueſtionable inſtances, which we ſhall not trouble our reader with here, ſeeing he may conſult the authors themſelves whoſe

thou haſt wrought all the miracles I have charged thee with; yet be aſſured, that I will bring *Iſrael* out of their bondage like a triumphant army, and the *Egyptians* ſhall know that I am the LORD. *Pharaoh* indeed will not conſent 'till he is forced to it. For, ſince he refuſed to acknowledge me and hardeneth himſelf againſt my commands, it is but juſt I ſhould ſo far forſake him, that, though my wonders are multiplied before him, and the whole land is aſtoniſhed at them, he alone ſhall continue obdurate and inſenſible of them. Go then, let your mighty works convince that proud tyrant at leaſt, that your meſſage is from a greater and more powerful monarch than he [d]. *Moſes* and *Aaron* did forthwith obey, and, having preſented themſelves before *Pharaoh*, confirmed their meſſage by the firſt miracle, and *Moſes* threw down his rod, which turned immediately into a ſerpent. *Pharaoh*, though ſomewhat ſurpriſed at it, yet failed not to try what his magicians could do, who were no ſooner come but their rods were likewiſe turned into ſerpents, ſo that all the ſuperiority which *Moſes* ſhewed over them at that time was, that, whilſt the king and court were applauding their ſkill, his rod ſwallowed up thoſe of the *Egyptians* (E), However,

Firſt miracle. Moſes's *rod turned into a ſerpent.*

The Magicians do the ſame by theirs.

[d] Exod vii.

whoſe names he will find in the margin (41). From all theſe and many more authorities, it is plain, that the words ought to have been tranſlated, as we have, that GOD *ſuffered the heart of* Pharaoh *to be hardened*, as all thoſe who are never ſo little verſed in the *Hebrew* will readily own. As for thoſe places where it is ſaid, *for this cauſe have I ſet thee up, that I might ſhew my power*, &c. it is plain, they ought to have been rendered; for this cauſe have *I ſuffered thee to ſubſiſt or to ſtand*, &c. that is, I have forbore to cut thee off, or ſpared thee from the common ruin, &c. which bear quite another ſenſe, and only ſhew, that, though he had long ago deſerved to be deſtroyed, yet GOD thought fit to let him ſubſiſt, 'till he had by his many wonders delivered his people in ſpight of all his oppoſition.

(E) The *Talmud* has preſerved us a tradition of a proverbial taunt, with which the *Egyptians* flouted *Moſes*, when he began to work his miracles among them; *thou bringeſt ſtraw to* Affra, a

(41) Arr. Montan *de Idiom Hæbr. N.* 42. Fin. *Can Theol. Cont.* 2. Gerhard *de Provid* Calov. & Rung. *in Exod.* Hunnin. *qu. de Provid.* 57, 91. Meitzer. *diſp: Gieſſ. Tom. p.* 745. Meſner *Anthropol. dec.* 1. Pfeifer *dubia V. T. Cent.* 1. *l.* 87. Pelling & Whitby *againſt Predeſt.* Le Clerc *in loc.* Grot. Le Scene *Eſſay* & *al.*

place

ever this advantage made no great impreſſion on *Pharaoh*, who might attribute it only to his ſuperior ſkill in magic. This

place in *Egypt* where ſtraw abounded; meaning, that he had choſen the wrong place to play his conjuring tricks, in a country that was ſo well ſtocked with conjurers. *Origen* ſays, that they (the *Egyptians*) did not abſolutely deny the miracles of *Moſes*, but only pretended, that they were done by deluſion, and not by a divine power (1). And *Philo* introduces the *Egyptian* magicians ſpeaking to *Pharaoh* and his court to this purpoſe; *why are you frighted, we are not ignorant of ſuch things, ſeeing we profeſs the ſame ourſelves* (2)?

And here, ſince we are entering into a long ſcene of *Moſes*'s miracles, the greateſt part of which were imitated by the magicians of *Pharaoh*, it will not be amiſs to enquire, who the latter were, by what power they did perform thoſe wonders, and why they came ſhort of ſome of thoſe of *Moſes*. As to the firſt we promiſed in a former place to prove that they were *Jannes* and *Jambres* * mentioned by St. *Paul* to have withſtood *Moſes* (3), or as *Pliny* calls them *Jamne*, and *Jotapha* (4), when ſpeaking of the ſect of the magicians, he ſays, that *Moſes*, *Jamne* and *Jotapha*, were the heads and founders of it. They are celebrated in the *Talmud* † under the names of יוחני וממברי *Jochani* and *Mamri*. The targum of *Jonathan* (5) affirms them to have been *Balaam*'s ſons, and that they went along with him to *Balak* king of *Moab*. Some *Jewiſh* authors call them *Jares* and *Jambres*; others *Jochanan* and *Mamre*, and others *Jonah* and *Jombres* (6), and pretend that they were drowned in the *Red ſea* with the *Egyptians*, though others think, that they were not deſtroyed 'till the war which *Phineas* waged againſt the *Midianites* (7). The apocryphal book entitled *Jannes* and *Jambres*, quoted by *Origen* (8), and by *Hilary* the deacon (9), affirm them to have been two brothers; and *Numerius* quoted by *Euſebius* (10) gives us this account of them. "*Jannes* and *Jam-*
"*bres*, interpreters of the myſteries of *Egypt*, were in great re-
"pute at the time when the *Hebrews* were driven out of *Egypt*,
"being in the opinion of all men inferior to none in the art of
"magic. For, by the general voice of the *Egyptians*, they two
"were choſen to oppoſe *Moſes*, ring-leader of the *Jews*, whoſe
"prayers were of all others, moſt prevalent with GOD; and they
"only were able to fruſtrate and undo all thoſe moſt grievous,

(1) Orig. *cont. Celſ. lib. iii* (2) Phil. *in vit.* Moſ. *vid.* Warren *cont.* Burnet, *p.* 40. * *Vid. ſup. Vol. I. p.* 477. (3) 2 *Tim. iii.* 8. (4) *Lib. xxx. c. i.* † Tract מנחות *cap. ix.* (5) *Targ. in Num. xxii.* 22. (6) Buxtorf *Lexic. Talmud.* Fabric. *de Apocr. Vet. Teſt.* (7) *Num. xxv.* 7, 8. (8) Orig. *in Matth. Tract. xxxv.* (9) Ambroſiaſt. *in* 2 *Tim. iii.* 8. (10) *In* Ariſtob. *ap.* Euſeb. *præp. Evang. lib. ix. c. viii.*

"plagues

This miracle therefore was ſoon followed by another, which was turning all the running and ſtanding waters of *Egypt* into

Second Miracle. The waters turned into blood.

" plagues which *Moſes* brought upon *Egypt*, in the open view and " ſight of all the *Egyptians*." Thus much for the names and character of thoſe magicians.

The *Mohammedans*, however, have not failed, according to cuſtom, to ſtuff this part of *Moſes*'s hiſtory with ſome of their fables. We ſhall juſt give a ſhort ſketch of what they have writ of it. They tell us, that *Moſes* having wrought ſome miracles before the king of *Egypt*, and very much ſurpriſed him with them, he was adviſed by his council to amuſe him with fair hopes, 'till he had ſent for ſome of the moſt expert magicians from *Thebaide*. Accordingly *Sabour* and *Gadour*, two brothers renowned for their magic ſkill, were ſent for; but before they repaired to *Pharaoh*'s court, they went to conſult the *Manes* of their father about the ſucceſs of their journey, acquainting him withal, that the two magicians, whom they were ſent to oppoſe, had a rod which they turned into a ſerpent, and devoured all that made head againſt it. Their father's ghoſt anſwered, that if that rod turned itſelf into a ſerpent whilſt they were aſleep, they muſt never expect to prevail againſt them. Upon their arrival at *Memphis*, their firſt care was to inform themſelves about this material circumſtance, and found, that their rod did guard them in the ſhape of a ſerpent whilſt they ſlept, and let none come near them. However, this did not hinder them from appearing before *Pharaoh*, at the head of his other magicians, to the number, as ſome make it, of 70,000. Beſides theſe there were two other excellent ones with their diſciples, and laſtly, the *Egyptian* High-prieſt at the head of all the magicians of that country. All theſe had prepared rods, and cords filled with quick-ſilver, which, being heated by the ſun, imitated the winding of a ſerpent, but they were ſoon deſtroyed by that of *Moſes*, to the great ſurprize of all the beholders, but eſpecially of *Sabour* and *Gadour*, who thereupon renounced their profeſſion and embraced *Moſes*'s religion, and were put to death for it by order of the *Egyptian* king, as holding ſecret correſpondence with *Moſes* (11).

From this account it is plain, that the *Mohammedans* looked upon the wonders wrought by the *Egyptians* rather as *Hocus Pocus* tricks, than ſupernatural works. However, though this opinion has been likewiſe maintained by ſeveral eminent perſons, both *Jews* and *Chriſtians* (12); yet that of St *Auſtin* (13), that they were done by

(11) Herbelot. *Bibliot. Orient*, *p.* 648, & *ſeq.* Monoſah *ap.* Calmet. *ſub. voc.* Jannes. (12) Joſ. *Ant lib. ii. c. xiii.* Juſtin Mart. *quæſt Orthod. xvi.* Tertul. *lib. de anima.* Greg. Nyſſen. Ambroſ. Hieron. *cont. Jovin. lib ii. & al.* (13) Auguſt *lib. xxxvii. quæſt.* 79, 98, & *lib. iii. de Trinitate cap vii.* Theodoret. *in Exod. lib. xviii.* Aquin. Toſtat. Lyra. Brug. Cajet. Uſſer. *Ann. in loc.*

the

into blood; ſo that there was not a drop of water left in the whole land for the *Egyptians* to drink: how long they continued ſo *Moſes* has not told us; for what is added afterwards in the laſt verſe of this chapter, that ſeven days were compleated after the turning of the waters into blood, is rather the ſpace between this miracle and that of the frogs, which they are bid to perform in the beginning of the next chapter. For as the diviſion of the bible into chapters was of later invention, and introduced for the better conveniency of reading it, if we join the laſt verſe of the ſeventh with the beginning of the eighth, it will run thus; *And ſeven days were fulfilled after the turning the waters into blood, and the* Lord *ſpake*, and ſo on, which is the ſame as if he had ſaid, and ſeven days after the turning of the waters into blood God ſpake to *Moſes*. However, this change continued long enough

the power of the devil, has been more univerſally received, and that for the two following reaſons; firſt, becauſe the ſcriptures of the old and new teſtament ſeem to attribute ſome ſuch power to evil ſpirits; and ſecondly, becauſe *Moſes* expreſſes himſelf in ſuch terms as manifeſtly ſhew, that they really imitated him in all thoſe wonders they wrought. For in this caſe of their rods being turned into ſerpents he doth not ſay, that they made them appear to be ſuch by a *deceptio viſus*; but that וישליכו איש מטהו ויהיו לתנינם *they flung down every man his rod, and that they became ſerpents.* And in all the other caſes wherein they imitated him, he expreſſes it thus; ויעשו גם הם and יעשו כן חרטומים *and the magicians did ſo likewiſe*; or, *and the magicians*, even they, *did ſo likewiſe*. If it be aſked why God did ſuffer them to borrow this power from the devil to invalidate, if poſſible, thoſe miracles, which his ſervant wrought by his divine power, the following reaſons may be given for it; namely, firſt, it was neceſſary that theſe magicians ſhould be ſuffered to exert the utmoſt of their power againſt *Moſes*, in order to clear him from the imputation of magic or ſorcery; for as the notion of ſuch an extraordinary art was very rife, not only among the *Egyptians*, but all other nations, if they had not entered into this ſtrenuous competition with him, and been at length overcome by him, both the *Hebrews* and *Egyptians* would have been apter to have attributed all his miracles to his ſkill in magic, than to the divine power. Secondly, it was neceſſary in order to confirm the faith of the wavering and deſponding *Iſraelites*, by making them ſee the difference between *Moſes*'s acting by the power of God, and the ſorcerers by that of *Satan*. And laſtly, in order to preſerve them afterwards from being ſeduced by any falſe miracles from the true worſhip of God (14).

(14) Rupert. Perrer. Simler, Ferus, Villet. Tremel. *& al. in loc.*

to kill all the fiſh, and oblige the *Egyptians* to dig round about the river for freſh water to drink, none of the reſt being fit for that or any other uſe. This miracle was likewiſe imitated by the magicians, but whether upon ſea-water, brought on purpoſe, or ſome freſh water fetched from the land of *Goſhen*, or ſome of that which they had drawn out of their new-digged wells, is not eaſy to gueſs; though it is more probable, that they ſtaid 'till the waters of the *Nile* and other places were reſtored to their former colour and taſte. However that be, *Pharaoh* was not one jot the nearer being convinced [e]; wherefore *Moſes* was again ſent to him to threaten him, that if he did not let *Iſrael* go, his whole kingdom ſhould be ſo filled with frogs, that their ovens, their beds, and tables ſhould ſwarm with them; but *Pharaoh* ſtill deſpiſing their threats, and bidding them defiance, was ſoon made ſenſible of his raſhneſs. His magicians indeed went on to perſuade him that *Moſes* was only ſuch another miracle-monger as they were, by imitating alſo this miracle and bringing a freſh ſwarm of frogs. They might indeed have ſhewed their ſkill to a better purpoſe, if they had tried to have removed thoſe inſects, of which the *Egyptians* did not want this freſh ſupply, but it ſeems they had not power enough to do that. Wherefore *Pharaoh* was reduced to ſend for *Moſes*, and to promiſe him, that he would let *Iſrael* go, if he would but deliver him and his country from that plaguy vermin. Whether there was any ſincerity in this promiſe, or whether it was only forced from him by the preſent calamity, *Moſes* took him at his word, and deſiring him to name the time when he ſhould rid the land of thoſe creatures, did preciſely perform his part; ſo that by the next day, the time appointed by the king, there was not one frog left alive in all the land. But whilſt his ſubjects were gathering them up in heaps, in order to carry them off, their ſtench being like to have bred an infection, *Pharaoh* was thinking how to elude his promiſe, not conſidering, that he only made way for another plague.

Third miracle, of Frogs.

FOR when *Moſes* found himſelf baffled, he touched the duſt with his rod, which was immediately turned into lice, or, as ſome think, into gnats, which ſmall inſect, they ſay, is more common, and their ſting more tormenting in *Egypt* than any where elſe. But our verſion ſeems to us more agreeable to the original, and to the generality of antient and

Fourth miracle, of the Lice.

[e] Exod. vii.

modern tranſlations and expoſitors [f]. Theſe infected man and beaſt in ſuch quantities, that one would have imagined, that all the duſt of *Egypt* had been turned into lice. *Pharaoh* ſent for his magicians, and bid them try their ſkill; but in vain, for either their power proved too ſhort, or was curtailed by a ſuperior hand, ſo that they were forced to acknowledge, that the finger of GOD did plainly diſplay itſelf in this miracle (F). However *Pharaoh* not regarding their words, *Moſes* and *Aaron* met him the next morning, as he was going down to the river, and told him, that his obſtinacy would only bring more and worſe plagues upon him, the next of which would be ſuch mixed ſwarms of flies as would darken the air; that GOD however, would put a difference between his people and the *Egyptians*, and that there ſhould none be found in all the land of *Goſhen*, though the reſt of the kingdom did ſwarm with them; adding, that the next day ſhould bring this new plague upon him. Accordingly, by the next morning, the air was filled with thoſe inſects, whoſe bite was ſo venemous and painful, that the miſchief which they did to *Egypt* became intolerable [g], and forced the king to ſend for *Moſes* and *Aaron*, and to tell them, that he would give them leave to ſacrifice to their GOD, provided it was done within his dominions. To this they anſwered, they could not comply with his command,

Fifth miracle, of Swarms of flies.

[f] CHALD. TARG. JOSEPH. Ant. lii. c. xiv. RABBIN. MONTAN. MUNSTER VATABL. JUN. BOCHART. & al. [g] Vid. Pſal. lxxviii. 45.

(F) What has been ſaid under this head in the laſt note, will eaſily lead us to an anſwer to the next queſtion, why the magicians could not go thorough ſtitch with all the miracles of *Moſes*, and in particular in not being able to bring forth lice, when they had been able to bring ſwarms of frogs and other inſects. For without having recourſe to the common ſolution, that this was a new creation of a new kind of vermin, which therefore could not be imitated by the devil, for which we have no warrant from the text, which expreſly calls them *lice*, it will be ſufficient to ſay, that herein *Moſes* ſhewed his ſuperior power in tying their hands from working a miracle in all reſpects as eaſy as any they had done 'till then. For this was more than ſufficient to extort this confeſſion from them, that he acted by a ſuperior power, and that the finger of GOD was in it (15). *

(15) *Exod. viii.* 19. * *Vid.* Leſley's *eaſy method with the Deiſts.*

without

without imminent danger of their lives, ſeeing they ſhould be obliged to ſacrifice ſuch creatures as the *Egyptians* worſhipped, who would therefore be ready to ſtone them as guilty of the moſt horrid and abominable ſacrilege. They therefore inſiſted upon going three days journey out of the land, that they might ſafely perform their GOD's command. This anſwer, which gave him juſt reaſon to ſuſpect, that they had a mind to go away for good, put him to a terrible nonplus. On the one hand he was very unwilling to hazard the loſing of the *Iſraelites*, and on the other the flies did ſuch an incredible deal of harm, that he heard nothing but complaints on all ſides. At length, being become more ſeemingly flexible, he promiſed, that they ſhould go, provided that it was at no great diſtance from *Egypt*, and they promiſed him faithfully to return again in a little time, and he, to their great ſurpriſe, deſired that they would pray for him. He could not indeed have choſen a more powerful or a more ready interceſſor, had not the tokens of God's clemency, as well as thoſe of his ſeverity, been equally loſt upon him. However, *Moſes* aſſured him, that he would immediately go out, and intreat the LORD for him, and deſired him to keep his word; but no ſooner had his prayer obtained a reprieve, and delivered the kingdom from the plague of thoſe venemous inſects, than the king drew on another by his obſtinacy and breach of promiſe [h].

Sixth miracle, The cattle of the Egyptians *killed by murrain. Seventh miracle, Boils upon man and beaſt.*

THIS next judgment fell, according to *Moſes*'s word, on all the cattle of the *Egyptians*, the greateſt part of which died by the next day, whilſt that of the *Iſraelites* remained unhurt. But this not touching the king near enough, the next that followed was more effectually felt by him. It was a violent and painful boil which brake out upon man and beaſt, by *Aaron*'s throwing a handful of the aſhes of the furnace into the air. *Pharaoh*, according to cuſtom had recourſe to his magicians, who, being themſelves ſmitten with the boils, and being perhaps afraid of ſomething worſe, dared not appear before *Moſes*. Notwithſtanding this, *Pharaoh* continued obſtinate, and choſe rather to endure the ſmart of his boils, than the loſs of *Iſrael*. However it was not long before *Moſes* was ſent to threaten him with a more terrible one, in which the voice of the God of *Iſrael* ſhould be heard in thunder, and his vengeance felt in ſuch dreadful ſtorms of hail, as had not been known ſince the foundation of *Egypt*. He adviſed him likewiſe not to exalt himſelf againſt the

Eighth miracle, of Hail-ſtorm and thunders.

[h] Exod. viii.

Iſraelites, ſeeing their GOD hath hitherto preſerved him from ruin, only to convince him of his almighty power by all theſe ſigns and wonders, and to perſuade him to confeſs and adore him, and prevent thereby the future effects of his wrath; for added he, if all theſe judgments will not humble thee, know, that GOD hath a great many in ſtore againſt thee, which ſhall force thee at laſt to ſubmit, tho' never ſo much againſt thy will. He, who alone did ſet thee on the throne, might indeed have cut thee off from thy firſt refuſal; but, ſince he hath ſpared thee hitherto, remember, it is either to force thee to glorify him by thy ſubmiſſion, or to be glorified by this and future ages, by the puniſhment which thy pride and obſtinacy do force from him, after ſo many gracious invitations and miraculous warnings (G). He gave him but that one day to conſider of it, aſſuring him, that the next day would prove a diſmal one to the *Egyptians*, unleſs he reſolved to diſmiſs the *Iſraelites* before that time, between whom and the *Egyptians* GOD would put ſuch a difference, that the land of *Goſhen* ſhould be entirely free from the terrible puniſhment, with which *Egypt* would be half undone. However, finding the king ſtill too hardened and incredulous to prevent this new judgment, he forewarned him and his court to ſend for ſuch cattle as they had left out in the fields, ſince all that was not under ſome ſtrong ſhelter would certainly be killed by the hail. *Moſes* was no ſooner gone from him, but thoſe who gave credit to his words ſent to have their ſervants and cattle ſafely lodged, whilſt the reſt, lightly regarding it, left them to periſh in the field. For no ſooner had *Moſes* lifted up his rod towards heaven on the next morning, but the thunders, lightnings, and hail followed one another ſo thick, that *Egypt* was half deſtroyed by them. The hail that then fell was of ſuch prodigious bigneſs, that it killed man and beaſt, broke all the trees, and deſtroyed all the barley and flax it chanced to fall upon. The wheat only and the rye eſcaped, becauſe they were not ſufficiently grown, for the barley harveſt in *Egypt* begins about the middle or latter end of *March*, whereas that of the wheat and rye doth not begin 'till ſix or ſeven weeks after. As for the land of *Goſhen*, it was found, upon enquiry, to have been as free from this, as it had been from all the former plagues.

(G) This verſion, wherein we have departed from all others and kept cloſe to the original, the reader may ſee juſtified in a former note †.

† *Vid. ſupra, p.* 508. *Not.* D.

THESE

THESE thunders and lightnings, but eſpecially the hail, which was the more extraordinary, becauſe it ſeldom or never rains in that part of *Egypt*, ſo frighted the proud king, that he ſent for *Moſes* and *Aaron* out of hand, and expreſſed himſelf in ſuch terms to them, as might have paſt for ſure tokens of a real converſion: he owned himſelf an obſtinate ſinner, juſtly puniſhed for his diſobedience, and begged, that they would but deliver him from the noiſe of thoſe dreadful thunders, after which he promiſed not to detain them one moment longer. *Moſes* was too well acquainted with him by this time, to depend upon this promiſe, which, he ſaw, was only extorted from him by his preſent dread. He made no ſcruple to tell him ſo. However, he promiſed him to obtain a ſpeedy ceſſation of them as ſoon as they were gone out, which he accordingly did, and gave the *Egyptians* an opportunity to examine the miſchief that had been done by the hail, which they found to be much greater than they had imagined. This inſpired many of them with a real fear of the GOD of *Iſrael*; but this was not the caſe of *Pharaoh* and his council, who no ſooner perceived that the ſtorm was over, but they returned to their old way[1]. *Moſes* therefore was ſent to ſignify to them what judgment they were to expect next, which was to be ſuch an infinite number of locuſts, as ſhould cover the face of the earth, and eat up what the hail had left undeſtroyed. There were ſome about the king then, who took the liberty to repreſent to him the inconceivable damage which his kingdom had already received; that *Egypt* was already deſtroyed, and that it was high time the *Hebrews* were ſent away to ſerve their God. *Pharaoh* was almoſt perſuaded to let them go, but having ſent for *Moſes* and *Aaron* back to enquire who of them were to go, and who were to ſtay, he was ſo highly provoked at their inſiſting upon taking with them their wives, children, cattle, and all that they had, that he could not forbear upbraiding them with their ill intentions, which, though concealed with ſo much art, and cloaked with the ſpecious pretence of religion and the ſervice of GOD, yet did but too plainly ſhew, that they had no mind ever to return into *Egypt* again. He warned them of the danger they ran themſelves into, and adviſed them to content themſelves with taking only the men with them, and leaving their wives and children behind; and, having threatened them ſeverely, cauſed them to be turned out of doors.

The great miſchief done by it.

MOSES was no ſooner got out, than he lifted up his rod over the land of *Egypt*. This was quickly followed by an

Ninth miracle. Locuſts.

[1] Exod. ix.

eaſt

east wind, which blowed all the night, and brought such a numerous swarm of locusts by the next morning, as had never been seen before; and these, spreading themselves all over the land, did in a little time eat up every blade of grass, and every thing that had escaped the storm of hail. *Pharaoh* did not fail to send for *Moses*, to own his fault, and beg for one reprieve more; but having obtained it by means of a west wind, which blew all the locusts into the sea, he continued as inflexible as ever. This new provocation did not go long unpunished, and *Egypt* was presently after smitten with such horrid darkness, that *Moses* chooses to express it by a darkness that may be felt. During the three days it lasted the *Egyptians* did neither see one another, nor dare to stir out of their place, but continued fixed and immoveable, as if they had been thunder-struck, whilst the land of *Goshen* enjoyed its usual day-light. The horror of this obscurity, which could not be removed by the common methods then used to supply the absence of the sun, caused such dreadful apprehensions in the king and all his subjects, and was so heightened by the dismal outcries of men, women, and children, that their consternation may be much easier imagined than expressed. However, it made so deep an impression upon them, that, as soon as the light was restored to them, *Moses* and *Aaron* were immediately sent for, to prevent, if possible, some further and more terrible punishment. The king, according to custom, told them, that he was willing to grant their request, and that they might go with their wives and children, but insisted, that their flocks should be left behind. *Moses*, after having represented to him the unreasonableness of such a demand, seeing they only knew that they were to offer up a solemn sacrifice to GOD, but were not yet acquainted what kind of beasts he would choose to have sacrificed to him, observing *Pharaoh*'s unwillingness to consent, told him in express terms, that they would take all their cattle with them, and that not a single hoof should remain in *Egypt*. We need not to wonder, if so proud a king as *Pharaoh* was could not hear so bold a demand without the highest resentment. He caused him to be thrust from his presence with the utmost indignation, threatening him, that if he dared to come before him any more, it should certainly cost him his life. Such impotent threatenings had nothing in them that could frighten a man like *Moses*; who therefore contented himself with saying *Amen* to his never seeing him more [k]. However, it is reasonably supposed, that it was in this last interview, that he foretold the

Tenth miracle. Great darkness during three days.

[k] Exod. x.

king

king the finiſhing ſtroke of the divine vengeance, upon all the firſt-born of men and cattle throughout all *Egypt*, which ſhould cauſe ſuch a conſternation among all his ſubjects, that they ſhould come with bended knees to the *Iſraelites*, and beg of them in the moſt ſubmiſſive terms to depart out of their country [l]; whilſt GOD would ſtill ſhew ſuch regard to the latter, that they ſhould enjoy their uſual calmneſs and tranquillity, not a dog daring to open his mouth againſt any of them. *Moſes* had no ſooner finiſhed this laſt prediction, and promiſed him, that, according to his word, he would ſee his face no more, than he retired to his people into the land of *Goſhen*, where the *Iſraelites* celebrated the paſſover that very night [m], according to GOD's command. In this night alſo *Moſes* bid them to borrow what jewels, fine raiment, and other precious things they could, from their *Egyptian* neighbours, aſſuring them from GOD, that they ſhould find them very willing and forward to accommodate them with the beſt things they had [n] (H). How-

The paſſover celebrated.

[l] Exod. xi. 8. & ſeq. Vid. USSER. Annal. p. 14. ibid. VILLET, & al. [m] Idem [n] Exod. xi, & xii.

(H) Before we enter into the inſtitution of the paſſover, which was attended with the laſt and moſt dreadful plague, the death of all the firſt-born, it will not be amiſs to enquire, how long a time *Moſes* took in bringing all the plagues upon *Egypt*, eſpecially, becauſe ſome chronologiſts have ſpun it out to ten (16), and others to twelve months (17); but, beſides that their reaſons are very jejune, and unwarranted by ſcripture, it is more likely, that they happened all within the ſpace of one month; firſt, becauſe their following ſo thick one upon another, would both more viſibly diſplay the power of God, and more effectually work upon *Pharaoh* to diſmiſs the *Iſraelites*; and this ſeems to be hinted at by *Moſes* in a former chapter (18); 2. Theſe plagues were ſo grievous, that, if they had laſted much longer, the *Egyptians* could never have endured them; but, 3, we read that the *Iſraelites* continued full forty years in the wilderneſs (19), that *Moſes* was eighty years old before he appeared the firſt time before *Pharaoh* (20), and that he was 120 years old when he died, that is, at the end of their forty years travel (21), ſo that there could not be much time ſpent in bringing all theſe plagues. However, archbiſhop *Uſher* has included them all within the ſpace of one month, from *Moſes*'s own account, as follows (22).

(16) Boorh. *ap.* Villet. (17) *Judæi fere omnes. Vid.* Uſſer. *An. p.* 13. Genebrard, *& al.* (18) *Exod. vi.* 1. (19) *Joſh. v.* 6. (20) *Exod. vii.* 7. (21) *Deut. xxxiv.* 7. (22) *Annal. p.* 14. *Vid. etiam* Perrer. & Villet. *in loc.*

About

Its first institution. HOWEVER, it must be observed, that this ceremony of eating the passover, as well as the method of doing it, had been prescribed by GOD to *Moses*, and by him communicated to the *Israelites*, during these transactions that passed between him

About the eighteenth day of the sixth month, which, in the year following, and after, was reckoned the twelfth month, was sent the plague of the waters turned into blood, which ended seven days after (23).

About the twenty fifth day came on the second plague of the frogs, which was removed the day following (24); and about the twenty seventh day came on the third plague of lice (25).

About the twenty eighth day *Moses* threatened them with a fourth plague of flies and other vermin, which came on the twenty ninth day, and were all taken away on the thirtieth (26).

About the first day of the next month, which was afterwards made the first month of the year, *Moses*, having foretold them of another plague to come, namely, the murrain upon the cattle, brought it upon them the day following (27).

About the third day the sixth plague of boils brake out upon man, and beast, and upon the magicians (28).

About the fourth day *Moses* foretold them a seventh plague, which he brought upon them on the fifth; which was of thunder, rain, and grievous hail, mixed with fire, with which their flax and barley were smitten (29), but their wheat and rye were not hurt; not being yet out of the ground. Whence *Nic. Fuller*, *lib.* 3. *miscel.* 1. rightly observes, p. 389, that this plague happened in the month *Abib*.

About the seventh day *Moses* threatened them with an eighth plague, and accordingly sent it the day following, that was, of locusts to devour all; which plague he removed about the ninth day (30).

The month *Abib*, which hitherto was the seventh month, was from this time forward made the first month of the whole year (31), for a memorial of their departure out of *Egypt*; from the beginning of which month the *Epocha* of the *Jewish* calendar is from thence forward deduced (32), though the end of the former account fell on the middle of the month.

Upon the tenth day of this now first day of the month, *which was the thirtieth of* April *according to the* Julian *calendar upon* Thursday, was instituted the feast of the passover and sweet-bread, to

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him and the king of *Egypt*, though they are poſtponed to the twelfth chapter, to prevent the breaking of the ſeries of thoſe wonders which GOD had wrought by him. The account, which he has given us of this inſtitution, is prefaced with a command from GOD, that that month, which was then the ſixth of the year, according to the common or civil computation, ſhould from thenceforth be the firſt month in the year in the ſacred calendar (K); and that all the other feaſts of the year, which were afterwards to be inſtituted, ſhould be regulated by that of the paſſover, the celebration of which was to be as follows. Upon the tenth of the month, which was four days before *Moſes*'s laſt meſſage to *Pharaoh*, every maſter of a family was to take a lamb or a kid, of the firſt year, a male without blemiſh, and keep it till the fourteenth of the ſame month. And in caſe his family was too ſmall for the lamb, he was to call in one or more families to the eating of it. It was to be killed and roaſted on the fourteenth day at evening, and eat with unleavened bread and bitter herbs; they were to eat with their loins girded, their ſhoes on their feet, and their ſtaff in their hand. They were to eat it in haſte, as people who are ready and impatient to be gone. The head and the feet were not to be ſevered from it, nor a bone of it to be broken: if any of it was left, it was not to

The order and manner of it.

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Moſes now brings upon them the ninth plague of three days darkneſs (34); and upon the 14th day *which was* May *the 4th, upon* Monday *with us*, which was the laſt time he ſpoke with *Pharaoh*, *Moſes* foretold him the tenth plague that ſhould come upon him, namely the deſtruction of all the firſt-born, which came to paſs the night following, and then, turning him about in great anger, departed from him (35). At the evening of this day was the paſſover celebrated (36).

(K) This month, which is called in the *Hebrew Abib*, and had been till then the ſeventh month, and continued ſo to be in the ſecular year, became from that day forward the firſt month of the ſacred year, in memory of this wonderful departure out of the land of *Egypt* (37); and from the beginning of this month the *Epocha* of the *Jewiſh* or ſacred Calendar was from thence-forward deduced, though the end of the former account fell on the middle of the month (38).

(33) *Exod xii.* 3 *ad* 21. (34) *Ibid. x.* 21, *& ſeq.* (35) *Ib. ver.* 25 *ad* 29. *& c. xi.* 1, 4, 8. (36) *Ib. xii. ad ver.* 28. (37) *Exod xii* 2. *with xiii.* 4. (38) *Num ix.* 1, 2. *with Exod. xl.* 17. *Vid.* Uſſ. *Ann. p.* 14.

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(K) This month, which is called in the *Hebrew Abib*, and had been till then the ſeventh month, and continued ſo to be in the ſecular year, became from that day forward the firſt month of the ſacred year, in memory of this wonderful departure out of the land of *Egypt* (37); and from the beginning of this month the *Epocha* of the *Jewiſh* or ſacred Calendar was from thence-forward deduced, though the end of the former account fell on the middle of the month (38).

(33) *Exod xii.* 3 *ad* 21. (34) *Ibid. x.* 21, *& ſeq.* (35) *Ib. ver.* 25 *ad* 29. *& c. xi.* 1, 4, 8. (36) *Ib. xii. ad ver.* 28. (37) *Exod xii* 2. *with xiii.* 4. (38) *Num ix.* 1, 2. *with Exod. xl.* 17. *Vid.* Uſſ. *Ann. p.* 14.

be kept till the next day, but thrown into the fire and burnt to aſhes, though the eating of unleavened bread was to laſt ſeven days. This injunction about the paſſover was to be perpetual, but on this night they were moreover to ſave the blood of the lamb in a baſon, and ſprinkle the two ſide-poſts and croſs-poſt of their doors with it, that the deſtroying angel might leave their houſes untouched, when he paſſed by to deſtroy the firſt-born of *Egypt*, and execute the divine vengeance on their gods, whether it were their princes, who in the language of ſcripture are often called gods, or thoſe animals which that ſuperſtitious nation did worſhip. This blood upon their door-poſts was to be their ſafe-guard, ſeeing all thoſe which were found unſprinkled with it were to be liable to the common calamity, as well as thoſe who ſhould be caught ſtragling out of their houſes during that whole night.

Unleavened bread. In memory of which great deliverance, they were to keep this feaſt of unleavened bread ſeven days, that is, from the fourteenth day at even until the twenty firſt day at even; during which, whoſoever was found among them eating of leavened bread, whether he was an *Iſraelite* or a ſtranger, was to be cut off from *Iſrael*, that is, was either to be put to immediate death, or to be cut off by the hand of providence; or laſtly, be excommunicated, and thereby reſcinded from all the promiſes made to the ſeed of *Abraham*. The firſt and laſt of theſe ſeven days were to be kept holy and free from all manner of work. Laſtly, no ſtranger was to be admitted to eat of the paſſover, unleſs he conſented to be circumciſed. As for the *Iſraelites*, they were ſtrictly to remember this great and glorious night, and to inſtruct their children in the meaning of this inſtitution, that they might likewiſe perpetuate the memory of it to future ages.

The Iſraelites *obey, and kill the paſſover.* The people, whom ſo many dire judgments on the *Egyptians*, had rendered more tractable, received *Moſes*'s orders with the utmoſt reſpect; and, having paid their adoration to God, went to put themſelves in readineſs to execute them. Theſe commands may be properly reduced to three heads, *viz.* Firſt, To gather themſelves from all the corners of the kingdom into the land of *Goſhen*; it being unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that ſuch a vaſt multitude, amounting to upwards of two millions and an half of ſouls, as we have elſewhere ſhewn *, could be all contained in that little ſpot of ground; ſo that it required no ſmall diſpatch to communicate the orders of their departure to them all. Secondly, To get all the rich things they could from the *Egyptians*; and this required

* Vid. ſup. p. 463. not. (B).

quired ſecrecy, ſince it is not probable, that the *Egyptians* would have proved ſo generous, if they had ſuſpected that this journey was any other than a religious one, that was to laſt but a few days. Thirdly, To eat the paſſover at the time, and with all the ceremonies, that had been preſcribed; and this was to take up ſome time, four days at leaſt. However, providence ſo ordered it, that they were all ready on that night. And the *Pſalmiſt* tells us [n], that, notwithſtanding the great number of their old men, women, and children, there was not one feeble perſon among all their tribes.

THE night, which was to prove ſo joyful to them, and ſo fatal to their enemies, being come, and GOD's commands being punctually obeyed, whilſt both ſides were in the extremeſt tranquillity, the *Egyptians* thinking now all the plagues paſt, and *Pharaoh* flattering himſelf that *Moſes*'s threatening againſt the firſt-born had proved abortive, becauſe four days were elapſed ſince it was denounced, whereas he uſed to give him but one day's warning in the former plagues; and on the other hand, the *Iſraelites* keeping themſelves in the profoundeſt ſilence, knowing what horrid ſlaughter was to be made among the *Egyptians*; in the middle, I ſay, of that very night, GOD ſent his deſtroying miniſters, who ſuddenly diſperſed themſelves all over the kingdom, and ſmote all the firſt-born with immediate death, from the firſt-born who ſat on *Pharaoh*'s throne, to the firſt-born of the impriſoned captive, and even to that of the meaneſt animal in the land. What tongue or pen can deſcribe the horror and amazement, the dreadful outcries, and mournful groans, of that unhappy nation, where every houſe, none excepted, had one or more dead, and, which was ſtill worſe, a firſt-born, the ſtay and hope of the family (L)! How much more diſmal

The firſt-born of the Egyptians *ſlain by the deſtroying angel.*

[n] Pſal. cv. 37.

(L) This at leaſt ſeems to have been the caſe, as well from *Moſes*'s own words, who tells us, that there was not one houſe in which there was not one dead (39), as from his command to all the families of the *Iſraelites* to ſprinkle their door-poſts with the blood of the paſchal lamb; but if it be aſked, how it can be ſuppoſed, that every houſe had a firſt-born, we anſwer, that the *Hebrew* בכור *Bechor* being often uſed to imply ſome excellency in perſons who were not really firſt-born, as in *Ephraim*, it will be more reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that where a family had no firſt born, the principal perſon was ſmitten with death (40), than to ſuppoſe with ſome *Jews* and *Chriſtians*, that *Moſes*'s words are only appli-

(39) *Exod.* xii. 30. (40) Cajet. Jun. Villet. & *al. in loc.*

mal muſt the proud monarch's condition be, who not only ſhared in the common affliction, but ſaw his palace beſieged by crowds of his unhappy ſubjects, who upbraided him with being the cauſe of all theſe dire calamities! The firſt expedient he could think of was, to ſend immediately for *Moſes* and *Aaron*, who, being ſettled at *Rameſes* not far from his capital city, were ſoon brought to him, and found the frighted king, inſtead of his uſual threatening and upbraidings, urgent and preſſing for their departure out of his dominions, with their children, cattle, and all they had, and to have them go, and ſacrifice to their GOD, and implore his mercy for him in their prayers. The *Egyptians* likewiſe were no leſs impatient to ſee their backs, fearing leſt every minute of their ſtay ſhould prove their laſt. The *Iſraelites* found them as ready to lend them the moſt valuable things they had, as themſelves were to borrow them; and *Moſes*, who was too well acquainted with *Pharaoh*'s changeable temper to ſtay till he relaxed, made all the haſte he could to put it out of his power; and, having ſettled the beſt order he could, among that vaſt multitude and in the general confuſion that then reigned, he gave the ſignal for their departure long before break of day. Leaving therefore the *Egyptians* to mourn for, and bury their dead, and loaden with their ſpoils, they began their march under the conduct of providence, and of his ſervant *Moſes*, being to the number of ſix hundred thouſand men able to bear arms, beſides old men, women and children, ſervants, and an innumerable multitude of ſtrangers, who joined themſelves to them, and followed them in their march. They had continued in *Egypt* from the time of *Jacob*'s firſt coming thither to this very day, which was the ſame day of the ſame month and week, *viz.* *Monday* °, the ſpace of two hundred and fifteen years, though *Moſes*, computing it from the firſt coming of *Abraham* into *Canaan*, reckons it four hundred and thirty years, as has been already ſhewn *. There was yet one main thing wanting, *viz.* the ſecuring of a ſufficient quantity of proviſions for all that multitude, and perhaps they expected to have had time enough to have got it before their march; but the *Egyptians* drove them away with

Moſes and Aaron ſent for and ordered to depart.

The number of the Iſraelites *that went out of* Egypt.

° USHER's Annal. p. 14. * Vid. ſupra, p. 363. not. K.

cable to every houſe that had a firſt born (41), or with St. *Auſtin*, that providence did ſo order it at this time, that every houſe had a firſt-born (42).

(41) Aben Ezra, Hug. S. Victor. (42) *Queſt.* 44 *in Exod.*

ſuch

ſuch deſperate fury, that the people were forced to carry their paſte with them unleavened, with which they baked themſelves cakes upon the coals; and what other proviſion they could get they took with them undreſſed, and marched from *Rameſes*, *Moſes*'s dwelling-place, to their firſt encampment at *Succoth* [p]. *Joſephus* tells us [q], that their dough and other proviſion, which they carried from *Egypt*, laſted them a whole month, but it is not likely, that they would load themſelves with ſuch luggage, which in all probability they knew not how to preſerve ſo long from ſtinking, when they had ſo much better things to carry out of the ſpoils of the *Egyptians*. As ſoon as they were arrived at *Succoth*, *Moſes* made them encamp according to their tribes and families, which was likewiſe the order in which they had been directed to march. It is to be obſerved here, that the diſtance from *Rameſes* to the utmoſt borders of *Egypt*, on the ſide of the land of *Canaan*, was not much above threeſcore miles, ſo that *Moſes* could in a few days march have brought them out of *Pharaoh*'s territories, yet GOD did ſo order it, that they were full forty years before they ſet their foot upon the borders of the promiſed land.

Their firſt encampment.

WHILST they continued at *Succoth*, *Moſes* was commanded by GOD to conſecrate the firſt-born of men and beaſts to him, to whom they did of right belong; the firſt-born of men were to be redeemed at the price of five ſhekels, that is, of the ſanctuary, which was worth double the common one, that is, about two ſhillings and ſix pence; ſo that the whole ſum amounted to about twelve ſhillings and ſix pence; which money was afterwards to be given to the prieſts. This redemption was founded not only upon the right which GOD has over all his creatures, but more particularly upon the account of his having ſpared the firſt-born of the *Iſraelites*, when he ſmote thoſe of the *Egyptians*, which was, as it were the ſeal and finiſhing ſtroke of his wonderful judgments on that proud and cruel nation. This law concerning the firſt-born of men did not at all regard the women; for if the firſt-fruits of a marriage proved a female, no redemption was to be paid for her. Secondly, as to that of beaſts, it extended only to the clean, the unclean ones were to be either redeemed by a clean one, as an aſs by a lamb, or to be killed and flung away. They were ordered to teach the reaſon of this law of redemption to their children and grand-

The firſt-born of Iſrael *conſecrated.*

The law concerning it.

[p] USHER's Ann. p. 14. * Vid. ſupr. p. 363. Not. K.
[q] Exod. xii. [r] Antiq lib. ii. c. 15.

children,

children, that their posterity might never be at a loss to account for it, nor the wonders which were wrought in favour of them be forgot. Among all the cares which *Moses* and *Aaron* had, they did not forget to bring *Joseph*'s coffin and bones with them, pursuant to the oath which that patriarch had exacted from them. The *Jews* tell us, they placed them in a new sumptuous cart, or open hearse, which they made to march under the guard and conduct of the tribes of *Ephraim* and *Manasseh* his two children [r]. They likewise affirm, that every tribe did bring the bones of the heads of their family with them; but though they are not always to be credited in matters of this nature (M), and *Josephus* doth not seem to have dreamed of such an act of filial piety, or else he would in all probability have recorded it; yet St. *Stephen* seems to allude to some such tradition among them, when he said, that *Jacob* and the fathers went down into *Egypt*, and were carried over into *Sychem*, and laid in the sepulchre which *Abraham* bought of the sons of *Emmor* [s]. However that were, *Moses* had still another care, which was to settle the order of their march in so regular a method, that there might be no confusion or squabble among that vast and mixed multitude, and that they might be ready to face about and stand in their own

Joseph's bones carried out of Egypt.

[r] Vid. Elle Shemoth Rabbah. Sect. זאת הברכה & Rabbin. mult. [s] Acts vii. 15, 16.

(M) We have already given an account, out of the *Elle Shemoth Rabbah*, of the extraordinary care which the *Egyptians* took, by the advice of their magicians, to bury *Joseph*'s coffin, where the *Israelites* should never be able to come at it ‡. The same comment adds, that whilst these were taken up with spoiling the *Egyptians*, *Moses* had been three or four days seeking for it, and that at length, when he began to despair of finding it, an old woman, whom he met by the *Nile*'s side, told him, that it was in the bottom of the river, near the place where they stood; but that the heavy coffin was sunk so deep by that time, that it would be absolutely impossible for him to fish it out. Whereupon *Moses* having addressed himself to God in a short prayer, and then called aloud to the patriarch *Joseph*, reminding him of his prophesy, and the oath which he had exacted from them about his bones, the coffin swam to the shore, and *Moses* having tied a rope round the middle of it, and put his staff through it, threw it across his shoulder, and marched away to *Rameses* with it.

‡ *Vid supra*, p. 452. Not. W.

defence,

defence, in caſe of a purſuit (N), or of their meeting with any difficulty or obſtruction, from the nations through whoſe territories they were to paſs. However, to prevent theſe, or any other accidents which might make the people run reſty, and take it into their heads to return to *Egypt*, GOD was pleaſed to forbid *Moſes* to take the neareſt way to the land of *Canaan*, that is through that of the *Philiſtines*, and ordered him to wheel about along the coaſts of the *Red-ſea* towards *Arabia petræa*. He likewiſe made them march, not like run- *Order of their march.*

(N) The word, which our verſion renders *harneſſed* in the text, and by *five in a rank* in the margin, in the original is חמושים *Chamuſhim*, which cannot well be rendered literally in *Engliſh*, it ſignifying properly five or fifty, diſpoſed in a fifth order or manner, or in ſome way that has relation to the number five, and has puzzled moſt expoſitors, both *Jewiſh* and *Chriſtians*. Some underſtanding it of their going πεμπάζοντες, or five in a rank (43), which would have made it ſuch a defile in ſuch a numerous army, as would have taken up near an hundred miles in length, according to *Oleaſter*'s computation; others of their being armed with five different ſorts of weapons (44); which is monſtrous, ſince that were enough to have made them ſink under the weight of it. Beſides, it is not at all probable, that the *Egyptians* would have ſuffered them to carry more arms with them than they took by ſtealth; and therefore the vulgate verſion, which tranſlates it *armed*, cannot be maintained, much leſs that of the *Septuagint*, which renders it by πεμπτὴ γενεὰ, the fifth generation, it neither being agreeable to the *Hebrew*, nor indeed true in fact. Thoſe who render it that they marched in five columns, four of which conſiſted of three tribes, whilſt *Moſes* and the elders marched in the fifth, and in the middle of all the reſt (45), are ſtill more out of the way, the thing being impracticable in thoſe mountainous parts. As for thoſe who tranſlate it in battle array (46), they muſt confine the word to the ſix hundred thouſand fighting men, for as for the women, children, and mixed multitude that went with them, which was at leaſt three times as numerous, they cannot be ſuppoſed to have marched in that regular military way. The beſt reading therefore ſeems to be that of *Kimchi* and *Pagninus*, that they went *accincti*, *girded* or *truſſed up*. The word *Chamuſhim* being moſt likely derived from *Chemeſh*, the fifth rib, which is the place of girding, and is often uſed in that ſenſe. But be the meaning of the word what it will, it is certain from *Moſes*'s account, that their march was more like that of a diſciplined army, than that of a band of fugitive ſlaves. *Second encampment.*

(43) Theodot. A. Montan, & *al.* (44) *Rabbin aliquot ap* Munſt. *in loc.* (45) R. Abr. Sepharad. (46) Jun. Simler, & *al.*

aways in confuſion and diſorder, but like a regular army in battle-array, in which order they went from *Succoth* to *Etham*, towards *Arabia-deſerta*, which is therefore called in the original the wilderneſs, near the borders of which *Etham* was ſituate, where they arrived on the ſecond day after their departure out of *Egypt*. This rout *Moſes* made them take, deſigning probably to get to mount *Sinai* by the point of the *Red-ſea*[t]; but GOD made him take another on the next day, and to turn towards *Pi-hahiroth*, which lies between the *Red-ſea* and *Migdol* and *Baal-zephon* (O). Herein GOD was

[t] Exod. xiii.

(O) We know but little of the geography of all theſe places. As for the *Succoth* here mentioned, we muſt not confound it with that which *Jacob* called by that name, when he came out of *Meſopotamia* (47); tho' the former may have been ſo called, in imitation of the latter, upon account of the booths or tents which the *Iſraelites* ſet up there. *Joſephus* calls it *Latopolis*; where he ſays *Babylon* was afterwards built, when *Cambyſes* invaded *Egypt* (48): it is thought by many to be that region which was called *Troglodytis*, by the *Red ſea* (49). As for *Rameſes*, tho' there ſeems to be mention made of two, and they differently pointed, yet if they differ, it is only that the one was a province, and the other the chief town of it (50). *Etham* is ſuppoſed to be *Buthee* of *Herodotus*. And *Pi hahiroth*, the city of *Heroum* on the extreme part of the *Arabic* gulph, or the *Phagroriopolis* placed by *Strabo* (51) near the ſame place. All that we know of *Migdol* is only that it ſignifies a tower; *Baal-zephon* ſeems wholly unknown to the antient geographers. The *Jewiſh* rabbies, and after them *Grotius*, believe it to have been an idol ſet up to guard the confines of *Egypt*. The former add, that it was a brazen dog, and that it diſcovered the flight of the *Iſraelites* by its barking. The truth is, they are too apt to give into etymologies, though they are known to be the moſt uncertain and fallacious helps; according to which *Baal-zephon* ſignifies either the *hidden Lord*, the *northern Lord*, the *centinel Lord*, or in a more figurative way, the LORD, or revealer of ſecrets. But who can depend upon ſuch wild fancies? *Euſebius* takes it, not for a ſtatue, but a town, and places it near (52) *Cly ſma*, though St. *Jerom* has omitted it in his tranſlation. It ſtands upon the moſt northern point of the *Red-ſea*, where the antients, eſpecially the *Jews*, think the *Iſraelites* paſſed it, and where there ſtands to this day a *Chriſtian* monaſtery (53).

(47) *Gen. xxxiii.* 17. (48) *Ant. lib ii.* 15. (49) *Vid.* Simler, Villet. (50) *Id. ibid.* (51) *Lib. xiv ap.* Calm. *Diſſert. in loc.* & Villet. *in loc.* (52) *Loc. Hebr.* (53) *Vid.* Calm *Hiſt. V. T. Comm. in Exod. xiv.* & *Diſſert. on the paſſage of the Red-ſea.*

pleaſed to ſhew his care for them in another miraculous manner; for though he might have notified to them when and whither to march, or where to halt and encamp, as he did his other commands, by the mouth of *Moſes* and *Aaron*, yet, conſidering the untractableneſs of their temper, and how apt they would be to murmur againſt them at every ſuppoſed wrong ſtep, he condeſcended to conduct them by a more viſible way, namely by a pillar of light in the night-ſeaſon, and by a column of ſmoke in the day-time. This column of fire, which ſerved to them inſtead of the light of the ſun, as well as that of ſmoke, never forſook them during their forty years wandering in the wilderneſs; on the contrary, it was their conductor throughout their forty two encampments, and directed them when and whither to march, according as they ſaw it move before them, and to halt when they perceived it to ſtop. But whether it was given to them at their firſt, ſecond, or third march, at *Succoth* or *Etham*, is not eaſy to gueſs at by the text [u].

The miraculous pillar of fire and ſmoke.

They are led by the miraculous pillar.

IT was natural for them, as we hinted before, to have gone from *Etham* round the cape of the *Red-ſea*, and marching a-croſs the wilderneſs, to have gained the eaſt border of *Jordan*, and ſo to have reached to mount *Sinai*; and this ſeems to have been what *Moſes* aimed at, probably with an intention to have offered up ſome ſacrifices there, agreeably to what GOD had formerly told him, when he was ſending him into *Egypt*; but GOD, who knew what was tranſacting at *Pharaoh*'s court, and what meaſures that monarch and his no leſs infatuated ſubjects were taking to purſue them, and bring them back by main force, commanded them to wheel about, and to march from *Etham* towards *Pi-hahiroth*; which is between the ſea and *Migdol*, over againſt *Baal zephon*; and to encamp before it. For by this time the *Egyptians* began to repent of their too great eaſineſs in parting with the *Iſraelites*, and loſing the benefit of their ſervitude; and thinking that they might eaſily catch them intangled between the mountains, and fatigued with their march, had prepared a conſiderable army, together with ſix hundred of the choiceſt chariots, beſides all the chariots of war that could be found in *Egypt*, and a vaſt multitude of officers and ſoldiers, who were all in full march after them. *Moſes* has not given us any further particulars concerning that army; but *Joſephus*, who ſeldom fails to improve the text, whenever it makes for the honour of his nation, makes it amount to ſix hundred chariots, fifty thouſand horſe, and two hundred

GOD *makes them wheel about towards* Pi-hahiroth.

Pharaoh *purſues after*,

[u] Ibid. ver. ult.

thouſand foot *, and *Ezechiel* the poet, quoted by *Euſebius*, hath increaſed it to a million of men. But whatever the army was, *Pharaoh* put himſelf at the head of it, and lead it with ſuch ſpeed, that he overtook them at *Pi-hahiroth*, and incamped there in full ſight of the *Iſraelites*; but whether it were that his army was too much fatigued with their march, or that he thought himſelf ſure of them, there being no viſible way for them to eſcape him, unleſs they flung themſelves into the ſea; or laſtly, that providence prevented his immediate falling upon them; certain it is, that nothing hoſtile was undertaken againſt them that night. However, it is moſt likely that ſeeing them hemmed in, as it were by the ſea on one hand, by impaſſable mountains and his own army on the other, and for want of arms, as well as courage, as incapable of fighting as they were of flying, might think it more adviſeable to force them to yield themſelves priſoners by famine, than to cut them in pieces, as he might eaſily have done, ſince by the one he reduced them to their former ſlavery, but by the other he ran the riſque of loſing a conſiderable part of them.

and overtakes them.

On the other hand, the puſillanimous *Iſraelites* inured to bondage, and ſtrangers to the valuable bleſſings of freedom, could not behold the *Egyptian* army incamped ſo near, without the utmoſt conſternation and dread; and, inſtead of having recourſe to that mighty arm, that had ſo viſibly ſtretched itſelf in their favour, ran in a tumultuous manner to *Moſes*'s tent, and aſked him, whether he thought, that there were not graves enough in *Egypt*, ſeeing he had brought them to be butchered in the wilderneſs? and whether it would not have been much better for them to have continued under their *Egyptian* ſlavery, which how cruel ſoever, they had always told him, was preferable to the danger of falling into the hands of their cruel tyrants after their flight, ſince it was plain now that they had nothing to expect but the moſt cruel death, in that diſmal place. However, this ungrateful language, to which *Moſes* had already been uſed, tho' nothing ſo much as he was afterwards, rather moved his pity than his anger. He conſidered it as the effect of their extreme danger and cowardly temper, and, inſtead of upbraiding them with it, comforted them with the aſſurance, that this would be the laſt time of their ſeeing the *Egyptians*. He exhorted them to ſtand ſtill, and ſee the hand of God fight for them, inſtead of provoking him to withdraw it by their unreaſonable murmurings and deſpair.

Moſes *comforts the deſpairing* Iſraelites.

* Ant. l. ii. c. 15.

He

HE had no ſooner diſmiſſed them, than he went and made his application to GOD, who was immediately pleaſed to order the people to begin their march towards the ſea, directing him at the ſame time to ſtretch out his rod over it, and aſſuring him, that the waters of it would forthwith divide themſelves, and make way for them to go through it as on dry land; whilſt *Pharaoh* and his whole army, venturing to purſue them, ſhould be finally overwhelmed by its waves. *Moſes* obeyed, and whilſt a ſtrong eaſt wind was dividing that arm of the ſea to open a paſſage to them, and the *Iſraelites* were beginning their march towards it, the angel of the LORD, who conducted them in the pillar of fire, removed from the front to the rear of their army, and ſtood between them and that of the *Egyptians*, that *Pharaoh* might not be ſenſible of their moving, and prevent it by falling upon them too ſuddenly. The column of fire produced a double effect, giving light to the *Iſraelites* in their march, and caſting a darkneſs over *Pharaoh*'s camp, to prevent his perceiving what was doing in that of the *Hebrews*. Whilſt theſe were paſſing through the ſea, the ſacred hiſtorian tells us, that the waves aroſe in heaps and ſtood as a wall on each ſide of them (P). By this time the *Egyptians*, perceiving that the *Iſraelites*

The Red-ſea is divided.

(P) Though it were needleſs, as well as endleſs, to trouble our readers with an enquiry into all the particulars, with which the generality of commentators have amuſed themſelves, with reſpect to this wonderful paſſage, concerning which *Moſes* has left us wholly in the dark; it will not be amiſs, we hope, to make a ſhort enquiry into the main and moſt material point, namely, whether it was really miraculous or not; that is, whether the ſea was really divided by a ſupernatural power, or whether *Moſes* and his hoſt did only coaſt ſome part of it, or at beſt croſs only a ſmall nook at low water, and timed it ſo well, that *Pharaoh*, endeavouring to do the like, did periſh in the attempt. This is ſo far from being a new queſtion, that *Artaphanes*, an antient writer (54), aſſures us, that both theſe opinions were held by the *Egyptian* prieſts; that is, the former by thoſe of *Heliopolis*, and the latter by thoſe of *Memphis*. The laſt of theſe has been alſo followed by many eminent men, both *Jews* and *Chriſtians* (55), who, without denying the main part of this tranſaction to be miraculous, have fallen into the notion of the *Iſraelites* not paſſing through the ſea, but only coaſting it along, and

(54) *Ap.* Euſeb. *l. iv. c.* 27. (55) Abenez. *& al. Rabbin. ap.* Fagium Gregor. Turon. *Hiſt. l.* 1. *c.* 10. T. Aquin. *in* 1 *Cor. i.* Toſtat. *qu in Exod. c. xiv.* 19. Lud. Brugens. *in loc.* Genebr. *in Chronic. ad ann* 2239. Grot. *in Exod. xiv. ver.* 19. Vatabl. *in loc.* Le Clerc. *Diſſert. de traject. Mar. Idum. & al. mult.*

raelites were marching off, and that the cloud which conducted them was removed towards the ſea, reſolved upon a cloſe

making as it were a ſemicircle round the ſea-ſhore at low ebb; or croſſing it only at one narrow point, whilſt the ſea was gone off, only to extricate themſelves from ſome difficulties which appeared to them inſurmountable; but which we ſhall forbear inſerting here becauſe they would lead us too far, and ſwell this note to an unreaſonable bulk. We ſhall therefore content ourſelves with obſerving, that ſuch an opinion cannot be maintained without a manifeſt deviation, 1ſt, from the expreſs words of *Moſes*, and ſeveral other places of holy writ, where this tranſaction is mentioned: 2 from reaſon and experience, founded upon the knowledge we have of the ebbing and flowing of the *Red-ſea* and the impoſſibility of ſuch a numerous hoſt's performing ſuch a coaſting, or croſſing, in ſo little a time as that admits of: 3. from the known character of *Moſes* as a bare hiſtorian, and from ſome concurring teſtimonies of antiquity to his account: and laſtly, from the far greater majority of authors of all religions and ages, who have all along maintained, and ſome of them proved, the contrary opinion. As to the firſt, nothing is plainer, than that the whole tenor of *Moſes*'s account is point blank contrary to ſuch a notion. We need mention but ſome few paſſages of it; ſuch as, *that upon his ſtretching out his rod, by* GOD's *command over the waters, a mighty wind aroſe and divided them; that they ſtood up on heaps, and were as a wall on the right and left*; that *the bottom of the ſea was dried up, and that the* Iſraelites *marched through it as on dry land*, and the like (56). *That* GOD *divided the red-ſea into parts, or diviſions, and made* Iſrael *paſs through the midſt of it. That he led them by the right hand of* Moſes, *dividing the waters before them, to make himſelf an everlaſting name; and that he led them through the deep as an horſe in the wilderneſs.* That *he did walk, or rather cauſed* Iſrael *to walk, through the ſea* (57); and many more of the like nature, to ſay nothing of the apocryphal books, which abound with the ſame expreſſions. If it be objected, that the laſt quoted paſſages out of the pſalms and prophets are poetical, and conſequently not to be taken in their literal ſenſe, all that can be inferred from thence is, that they convey to us loftier ideas of this wonderful event, than *Moſes*, whoſe ſtile is far from being ſwoln, has done in his acount of it; but it would be unreaſonable to ſay, that they were only deſigned to expreſs a tranſaction ſo purely natural and eaſy, as the other ſide ſuppoſes it to have been. Upon the whole, the ſcriptures repreſenting this action, with all its circumſtances, as altogether miraculous, men muſt either reject their authority, or elſe allow, that this paſſage was more than a bare coaſting along ſome part of the ſea, or croſſing it at ſome narrow nook, when the waters were retired.

(56) *Exod. xiv & xv. paſſ. Num. Deuteron. &c.* (57) *Pſ. cxxxvi.* 13, 14. *& alib. Iſa.* lxiii. 12. 13. *Habak.* ii, 15.

Whether

cloſe purſuit after them ; not conſidering, or perhaps dreaming, that they were launching into another element ; much leſs

Whether *Joſephus* deſigned to leſſen the miracle, or to make it appear more credible, when he tells us (58), that *the Pamphylian ſea did open a way to* Alexander *in his expedition againſt the* Perſians, is not very material ; for though we ſhould grant that to be the right meaning of his words, and that he might have met with that account in ſome book then extant ; or even that *Q. Curtius* intimates ſomething like it, when he ſays (59), that that conqueror *had opened a new way by the ſea* ; yet *Strabo* will ſoon ſet us right, who tells us, ‘ that there is a hill upon the *Pamphylian* ſea, called ‘ *Climax*, by which there is a paſſage along the ſea-ſhore ; the wa- ‘ ters of it ſo abating, when the ſea is calm and ſtill, that the ‘ ground is left naked, which at the flowing of the waters is cover- ‘ ed again ; and that *Alexander*, coming that way ſet forward be- ‘ fore the waters returned ; but that, it happening then to be win- ‘ ter, the waters recoiling before he had paſt it, he was forced to ‘ wade all that day through the waters up to his middle (60) ’Tis plain therefore, that there is no parity between the paſſage of the *Iſraelites*, and the coaſting of *Alexander*, whatever the *Jewiſh* hiſtorian's deſign might be in mentioning them together.

We come now 2dly, to ſhew, that the notion of *Moſes*'s leading them along the ſea-ſhore, or through a narrow point, is contrary to reaſon and experience. And here we do readily grant, that the *Red-ſea* doth ebb and flow like other ſeas that have a communication with the ocean ; that is, that the waters of it riſe towards the ſhore during ſix hours, and after having continued about one quarter of an hour at high water, they ebb down again during another ſix hours. Thoſe who have examined it with the the greateſt exactneſs, do likewiſe aſſure us, that the greateſt diſtance that it falls from the place of high water, is about three hundred yards, and that during the time of low water one may ſafely travel it (61), as ſome have actually done (62). We purpoſely omit ſeveral other minute circumſtances urged on both ſides of this queſtion, to avoid prolixity. But from what is here premiſed, and allowed on all hands, it is evident, that theſe three hundred paces, which the ſea leaves uncovered, during the time of low water, can continue ſo but during the ſpace of half an hour at moſt ; for during the firſt ſix hours the ſea doth only retire by degrees, and in leſs than half an hour it begins again to flow towards the ſhore. The moſt therefore that can be allowed both of time, and ſpace of paſſable ground, in a moderate computation, is about two hundred paces during ſix hours, or one hundred and fifty paces during eight hours. Now

(58) *Ant. l. ii. c.* 16. (59) *Lib. v.* (60) Strab. *lib.* xiv. *vid.* Villet. *in Exod.* xiv. *qu.* 17. (61) Bernier. Morizon. *& al.* (62) Theven. *chap.* 25.

it

leſs could they ſuppoſe, that it would prove as fatal to them, as it was friendly to thoſe whom they ſo eagerly followed after.

it is plain, that a multitude conſiſting at leaſt of upwards of two millions and a half of men, women, children, and ſlaves, as we have proved before †, encumbered beſides with great quantities of cattle, houſhold-ſtuff, and the ſpoils of the *Egyptians*, could never perform ſuch a march within ſo ſhort, we may ſay, within even double that ſpace, though we ſhould allow them alſo double the breadth of ground to do it on. This argument will hold equally good againſt thoſe who ſuppoſe that they only coaſted along ſome part of the ſea, and thoſe who maintain that they croſſed that ſmall arm or point of it, which is towards the farther end near the port of *Suez*, ſeeing that ſix or eight hours could not have ſufficed for the paſſage of ſo immenſe a multitude, allow them what breadth of room you will; much leſs for *Pharaoh* to have entered it with his whole hoſt.

It will not be amiſs here to obſerve, not only how improbable it is, that none of the *Egyptians* ſhould know any thing of the ebbing and flowing of the ſea; but how abſurd it is to ſuppoſe, that they ſhould all obſtinately perſiſt in purſuing the *Iſraelites* through it, when they ſaw it gradually returning upon them, till they were all ſwallowed up by it. Beſides, who can ſuppoſe, that the *Iſraelites* venturing into the ſea was a premeditated thing? or even that *Moſes* could entertain the leaſt ſuſpicion, that the *Egyptians* would be ſo ſoon at their heels, they who had been ſo lately and ſo ſeverely plagued for detaining them, and were ſo urgent for their departure? Sure it is, that, if he had any ſuch thought, he acted moſt impoliticly, in bringing them into a place, where they were hemmed in by the ſea on one hand, and the mountains on the other; ſeeing, had *Pharaoh*, upon his arrival at *Pi hahiroth*, immediately fallen upon them, as it was natural to expect, they muſt have been obliged to flounce into the ſea long before the tide had opened a paſſage to them, if not at the very time of high water, in which caſe they muſt have been all either drowned, or cut in pieces.

And this brings us to our third obſervation, that ſuch a notion is repugnant to the known character of *Moſes*, even as a bare hiſtorian; and that it calls in queſtion, not only his avowed modeſty and veracity, but even his ſenſe, learning and experience. For on the one hand, who can imagine, that the maintainers of it can give any credit to his relation, when he tells them, that God alone, who knew what paſt in *Egypt*, did unexpectedly make them take this new rout? When he deſcribes his own ſurpriſe and the people's conſternation at the ſight of the *Egyptian* army? When he aſſures them, that God did interpoſe his miraculous power on their behalf,

† *Vid. ſupr.* 463.

and

after. For it doth not appear by the text, that the *Egyptians* were ſenſible, that they were entering into the ſea, and it is

and in a word, that he divided the ſea to make a free paſſage for them, and to overwhelm their enemies? What notion muſt they have of his ſincerity, when he makes all *Iſrael* reſound the praiſes of GOD, as the author of a deliverance which was entirely owing to his own cunning and policy. On the other hand, what muſt they think of his conduct and experience, that could be guilty of ſuch an overſight, as leading them into the very mouth of the extremeſt danger, and ſo weak as to betray it, though cloaked with the pretence of a miraculous power and direction? We ſhall only add, that he muſt have been the moſt imprudent, and withal the moſt conceited man alive, that could take it into his head, to make ſuch a vaſt, and not over-credulous, multitude believe, that their paſſage was altogether as miraculous as he affirms it to have been, when they could not but be well aſſured of the contrary; much leſs appoint a ſolemn feſtival of ſeven days, and enjoin it to be obſerved by them and their poſterity to all future ages, in memory of their pretended miraculous paſſing through the ſea; when the experience of a much ſhorter time, than they continued along that coaſt, could eaſily have convinced them, that there was nothing in it but what was natural, and what happened every day. Theſe abſurd conſequences, which naturally flow from that opinion, are ſo evident, and the ſyſtem itſelf has been ſo fully confuted long ago by the learned *Diodorus Tarſenſis*, *Chryſoſtom*'s maſter, that it hath met with few more advocates, than theſe we have mentioned in the margin. And even among theſe, we have already obſerved, that the greateſt part, eſpecially *Grotius* and *Le Clerc*, do acknowledge ſtill, that a divine power interpoſed itſelf in raiſing and continuing that mighty wind, and cauſing thereby the waters to retire much farther than uſual, and to recoil with greater force upon the *Egyptians*.

We obſerved further on this head, that this opinion was contrary to ſeveral concurring teſtimonies of antiquity. We have already mentioned that of *Joſephus*, and of the *Heliopolites*, who acknowledge the miraculouſneſs of this tranſaction, and whoſe authority ought to be of greater weight than that of the *Memphites*, becauſe ſuch an acknowledgment of the divine interpoſing power can be aſcribed to nothing but the force of truth, and notoriety of the fact, whatever motives their brethren of *Memphis* might have to diſown it. We ſhall content ourſelves with juſt mentioning one more. *Diodorus Siculus* (63) tells us, that the *Ichthyophagi*, who inhabited along the coaſts of the *Red-ſea*, towards the farther end of it, had a conſtant tradition, that that ſea had formerly been divided by a ſtrong wind; and that the waves being parted into two heaps,

(63) *Lib. iii. c.* 3.

the

is more than probable, that they were too eager after their purſuit, and had too little light to perceive the danger they were running into, unleſs we will ſuppoſe with the *Jewiſh*

the bottom, which was left naked, had appeared full of verdure. This can hardly be applicable to any thing but to this tranſaction we are upon.

Having by this time dwelt ſo long upon theſe three heads, we hope the reader will eaſily excuſe us from enlarging on the laſt, by multiplying authorities on our ſide of the queſtion, ſeeing what has been alledged againſt the other is ſo full and ſtrong, that were the majority as much on their ſide, as it is on ours, yet would it not outweigh the arguments that have been brought to confute it.

We ſhall only add, that among thoſe, who acknowledge a divine power to have interpoſed in this ſignal tranſaction, ſome have endeavoured to reduce the miracle into a very narrow compaſs, whilſt others, ſetting no bounds to their zeal, have multiplied it even beyond all meaſure.

Of the former ſort are thoſe who have attributed the dividing of the ſea, and the ſtanding up of the waves, to a vehement cold wind, which froze them as faſt as it blew them up; after which a warmer one, being ſuffered to riſe, did both thaw and blow them into their former ſtation. Of this ſentiment were, 1. the ſeventy interpreters, who tranſlated the words of *Moſes*'s ſong (64) יוזלים קפאו *the waters were frozen*, or, as our verſion words it, *were congealed*. 2. The *Chaldee* paraphraſt. 3. The author of the book of *Judith* (65). 4 Some of the verſions of the ſeptuagint; and laſtly, amongſt the many moderns, father *Martinay*, in a ſpecimen he has given us of ſome curious diſcoveries which he had made in the ſacred text, mentions this as one of them, that the waters of the *Red-ſea* were frozen. A *Jewiſh* Rabbi has fancied, that the ſea was not divided but frozen hard enough for the *Iſraelites* to go over it, though it thawed under their purſuers (66). On the other hand, *Origen*, to magnify this great miracle, has preſerved us an antient tradition among the *Jews*, which affirms, that God opened the ſea in twelve different columns, that every tribe might paſs ſeparately; in which he has been followed by ſeveral antient and modern writers. This tradition ſeems to have been founded upon that verſe of the pſalm (67), which ſays, *that* God *divided the ſea into parts*, or diviſions; but we don't think ſuch wild notions worth confuting, any more than that of *Sadulius*, who goes ſo far as to think, that God did even overturn the rocks, and root up the plants that grew in the bottom of the ſea leſt they ſhould obſtruct the quick paſſage of the *Iſraelites*.

(64) *Exod. xv.* 8. (65) *Judith, v.* 13. (66) R Sam. Maroc. *lib. de Advent. Meſſiæ*, c. 15. (67) *Pſal.* cxxxvi. 13.

hiſtorian

hiſtorian [w], that, becauſe they ſaw the *Iſraelites* march ſafely through the ſea, they vainly hoped they might do ſo too, and and were not undeceived till it was too late. However that were, 'tis plain, that their inſolent conduct, after ſo many warnings, did juſtly deſerve the puniſhment they were ſhortly to undergo; for by the next morning watch, that is by break of day, which is about four in the morning with us, GOD looking upon them through the pillar of fire, ſoon let them feel, that ſuch a miraculous way was not opened in their favour, but for their deſtruction. They began to find their chariots go more and more heavily, and had ſo many indications of GOD's fighting againſt them, as made them reſolve upon turning about, and fleeing from thoſe whom they ſo eagerly purſued. But all their haſte could not ſave them, GOD commanded *Moſes* to ſtretch again his rod over the ſea, and he had no ſooner obeyed, but the waves, which had been till then miraculouſly ſuſpended, fell in again by their own weight, and overwhelmed *Pharaoh* and his hoſt, ſo that not one of them eſcaped from the common ruin; whilſt the *Iſraelites* beholding, with wonder and amazement, the carcaſſes and the rich ſpoils of their enemies thrown upon the ſea-ſhore, began, at leaſt ſeemingly, to fear the Lord, and to believe his ſervant *Moſes* [x].

They are all drowned.

WE took notice in a former note, that the exact ſituation of the places, from which the *Iſraelites* ſet out at their entering into the ſea, and at which they came out are ſo much unknown to us, that it is next to impoſſible to deſcribe their rout with any tolerable certainty *. For ſhould we ſo far depend upon *Euſebius*, as to believe *Baal zephon* to have been *Clyſma*, and that the antient tradition were true, that it was at this latter that they paſſed the ſea; yet the generality of geographers differ ſo much in their placing it, that we are ſtill to ſeek for the ſide on which it ſtood, whether on the north, on the eaſt, or ſouth, or weſt ſhore of the *Arabic* gulph †. For which reaſon we hope, the reader will excuſe us from giving into uncertain conjectures. Thoſe who can give credit to the report of ſeveral grave travellers *, who affirm from their own knowledge, that the ruts of the chariot-

The place where they croſſed the Red-ſea *uncertain.*

[w] Jos. Ant. lib. 2. c. 16. [x] Exod. xiv. per tot. * Vid. p. 528, note (O). † Compare EUSEB. loc Hæbr. ATHANAS. Hiſt. Arrianor. Tom. I. p. 385. PHILOSTORG. Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. lib. 3. c. 6. COSMAS, lib. 5. p. 194. Tabul. PUTINGER. Itiner. ANTONIN. THEVENOT's Voyages, part 2. c. 33. and others * PAUL OROS. GRLG. TURON. &c. al ap. CALM. Diſſert. in loc.

wheels are ſtill miraculouſly preſerved, not only upon the ſand, but even as far into the ſea as the eye can ſee through it, notwithſtanding all endeavours to deface them, which they attribute to a petrifying quality in the waters of the ſea; theſe, I ſay, need not be at a loſs where to ſet the boundaries of that paſſage. As for us, we are contented, with having proved in the laſt note, that they paſſed it ſomewhere, without troubling ourſelves with what is of leſs moment, and can never be known with any probability. We return to the *Iſraelites*, whom we left rejoicing and praiſing GOD for their happy eſcape.

HOWEVER, *Moſes* knew them too well to hope, that this religious fit would laſt longer than every thing went to their liking. He therefore took hold of this happy diſpoſition he obſerved in them, to celebrate this miraculous victory, and to inſpire them with the deepeſt ſentiments of gratitude to their almighty deliverer. To this end he compoſed a hymn, in which he extols the greatneſs of GOD's power diſplayed in this ſignal victory, and his amazing mercy towards his people. And having divided the *Iſraelites* into two great choirs, he placed himſelf and his brother *Aaron* at the head of the men, and his ſiſter *Miriam* at the head of the women, and whilſt the former did ſing the canticle, the women anſwered alternately to each verſe, with repeating the firſt words of it, *I will ſing to the Lord, for he has greatly triumphed, and has overthrown the horſe and its rider into the ſea*. Their muſic was likewiſe accompanied with dances, and the ſound of ſuch inſtruments as they had brought with them from *Egypt*. Thus was the ſeven days feſtival, which had been ordained in memory of this ſignal deliverance, joyfully concluded, and the firſt and laſt day of it, which were to be obſerved with more than uſual ſolemnity, ſignalized the one by the death of the *Egyptian* firſt-born, and the laſt by their miraculous paſſage through the *Red-ſea*, and the total overthrow of *Pharaoh* and his hoſt.

Moſes's ſong for this deliverance.

AND now the *Iſraelites* began to think themſelves freed indeed, and on the eve of their complete happineſs; a few days march would eaſily bring them into the borders of the promiſed land, and the conqueſt of it could not but appear eaſy to them, who had GOD for their protector, and *Moſes* for their guide. And indeed had the latter had no other difficulties to ſurmount, than the ruggedneſs of the way, and the irreconcileable hatred, and vigorous oppoſition of thoſe warlike nations that inhabited it, *Canaan* would ſoon have been in their poſſeſſion. But their ſtubborn and ungrateful temper, their continual murmurings and rebellions againſt their heaven-appointed chief, joined to an invincible fondneſs for idolatry and

and ſuperſtition, proved not only a conſtant obſtacle to their hopes, but an endleſs ſource of misfortunes to them, and of grief and vexation to their leader, though otherwiſe famed above all men for his meek and gentle diſpoſition. It was not long before they began to give freſh marks of their untractableneſs. They had ſcarce travelled three days from the *Red-ſea* into the wilderneſs of *Shur*, before their exceſſive thirſt and want of water put them out of all patience; inſomuch, that, when they came to diſcover thoſe of *Marah*, and found them too bitter to drink, inſtead of having recourſe to GOD by prayer, they filled the air with their complaints againſt him and his ſervant *Moſes*, who, fearing the ill conſequence of this murmuring, addreſſed himſelf to him in the humbleſt manner, and was directed to a tree, which, whether by any intrinſic virtue, or by a new miracle, did ſweeten the waters as ſoon as he had caſt it in. The people indeed ceaſed to murmur as ſoon as they had quenched their thirſt; but as this was neither a ſatisfaction for their late riot, nor a ſecurity againſt future relapſes, GOD was pleaſed to make a further trial of their future obedience, by giving them here ſome new ſtatutes, and to add a promiſe, that, if they obſerved them with an upright mind, inſtead of thoſe plagues which he had inflicted on the *Egyptians*, he would ſhower down continual bleſſings upon them. In memory of the bitter waters the place was called *Marah*, from which they went and encamped at *Elim*, where they found twelve fountains of water and ſeventy palm-trees, and there continued about three weeks; that is, from the twenty ſecond day of the firſt month, on which they came thither from *Marah*, to the fourteenth of the ſecond month, on which they decamped from it [y].

The Iſraelites *murmur for want of water.*

FROM *Elim* the whole camp marched towards the wilderneſs of *Sin*: by which rout they removed ſtill farther from the frontiers of the promiſed land; but as they were directed by the miraculous pillar, they were forced to follow whitherſoever that went. Here, their proviſions becoming exceeding ſcarce, they began to murmur more violently than ever, repenting from their hearts, that they had ſuffered themſelves to be decoyed from the fleſh-pots and plenty of proviſion, which they enjoyed in the land of *Egypt*, into a barren wilderneſs, where they could expect nothing but to die with hunger. This tumultuous carriage had ſomething monſtrouſly ungrateful, becauſe it was levelled at GOD himſelf, whoſe di-

A new murmur for want of proviſion.

[y] Exod. xv. 27. xvi, 1.

rective column they had followed into that desert place. Nevertheless, he was pleased to pass it by, and to give them fresh assurances of his favour, by promising to rain down bread from heaven upon them; and, in order to make a further tryal of their obedience, he commanded them to go and gather a certain rate every morning, and on the sixth, to provide double that quantity, because they were not to expect any to fall on the seventh, which was afterwards to be kept holy. *Aaron*, in communicating this message to the people, failed not to give them a severe reprimand for their murmurings, which he told them, did cast the greatest reflection upon God, seeing it was he, and not *Moses*, who had brought them out of *Egypt*. He had scarce made an end of speaking, when the people, looking towards the wilderness, beheld the glory of God displayed out of the cloud, from which God confirmed again what *Aaron* had promised to the people, assuring them, that they should that very evening be satisfied with plenty of flesh, and on the next morning they should find that heavenly bread which he had promised to send them.

Manna promisid.

Quails promised.

And sent in abundance.

If this glorious sight gave some weight to *Moses*'s words, much more did the event add to it, when they saw them verified on that very evening by whole clouds of quails, which came pouring down upon them out of *Egypt*, and alighted in such quantities, that they quite covered their camp (Q); and

(Q) It must be remembered here, that this was about the middle of *April*, which is the time in which that bird is observed to cross the *Red-sea* in vast quantities; the same is also observed to this very day by those who frequent those parts, and incredible multitudes are caught there about this time. The miracle therefore consists not so much in the prodigious number that fell into *Israel*'s camp, as in the directing them thither, and on that very evening, according to God's promise, and *Moses*'s prediction. The same may be said also if we render the *Hebrew* שלו, *Shelaw*, locusts, as the learned *Ludolph* has done, who in his treatise of locusts, at the end of his appendix to his description of *Abyssinia* has offered some probable arguments, that these were such, and not quails; and affirms them not only to be in great plenty, both in these parts, and all over *Africa*, but likewise to be esteemed a delicious food. We own indeed, that the word is, even by the confession of all the *Jews*, of very uncertain signification and may as well signify a locust as a quail; but what inclines us to prefer the latter sense is, that the psalmist, † speaking of them calls them עוף כנף, *Hoph canaph*, winged, or feathered fowl, which we apprehend, is not so

† *Psal. lxxviii. 25. & seq.*

applicable

and by the manna, which rained down round about them, by the very next morning. This laſt did not indeed fall cloſe to the camp, but at ſome diſtance from it towards the wilderneſs. By break of day therefore, the *Iſraelites* followed *Moſes* towards the place, where he ſhewed them a kind of white dew, like unto a ſmall hoary froſt, which covered the face of the earth, and told them, that this was the bread which GOD had promiſed to feed them with during their abode there; commanding them to gather an *Homer* for every head, which is about five pints, or forty three eggs †. The people no ſooner ſaw this new bread, but they cryed one to another, *what is this, and whence cometh it?* for they were ſurprized at the ſtrangeneſs of it; and from thence they gave it the name of *Man*, or *Manna* (R); they were however ſo eager for it, that they gathered it at random, without ſtinting themſelves to the quantity which *Moſes* had preſcribed, but when every one came to meaſure what he had gathered, they found

Manna falls at ſome diſtance from the camp.

† LE SCENE, Eſſay on a new tranſlat. pag. 170. R. SALOM.

applicable to thoſe inſects, any more than the words שאר, *Sheer, fleſh*, and צידה *Tzedah*, which ſignifies all ſorts of *veniſon*, as well of fowl as of beaſts, which he makes uſe of there.

(R) We have ventured to depart from our own and ſeveral other verſions, which make the *Iſraelites* call this new food *Manna*, becauſe *they knew not what it was*; for tho' commentators have taken a great deal of pains to puzzle the text by their various etymologies of that word, yet that of the *Septuagint*, which renders it τί ταῦτο ἐστι *what is this?* ſeems to come nearer to the *Hebrew*, and to be moſt agreeable to the text, and is likewiſe followed by *Joſephus*, and a great number of others (68) מן הוא, *Man hu*, in the original ſignifying *what* or *whence is this?* Not ſo eaſy is it to know the meaning of the word גד *Gad* which we tranſlate *coriander-ſeed*, though according to the literal ſenſe of the original, it ſhould be rendered, and it *was white like the ſeed of Gad*, whereas coriander is of a brown colour. Some *Jews* therefore tranſlate it *muſtard-ſeed*, becauſe one ſort of it is whitiſh (69), and *Abenezra* frankly owns, that he knows not what ſeed it is (70); but ſince it is ſaid in another place, that it was of the colour of *Bdellium* 71), which the learned *Bochart* and others have ſhewn to ſignify a kind of pearl, we may eaſily ſuppoſe, that the word *Gad* doth not ſignify coriander, but ſome other ſmall white ſeed, and that the manna, ſhining like unto a hoary froſt, did very much reſemble a ſmall pearl.

(68) Joſ. *Rabbin. fere omen. St.* Jerom. Fag. Mercer. Piſcat. Grotius, Druſius, Le Scen. & *al.* (69) *Vid.* Munſt. *in loc.* (70) Abenez. *ibid.* (71) *Vid.* Munſt. Boch. & *al.*

to

to their no ſmall aſtoniſhment, that they were to carry home but one *Homer* for every head; whether it were, that they were made to gather it in heaps, and divide it afterwards at an equal rate, or that providence ordered it ſo, that the moſt greedy ſhould have his quantity miraculouſly leſſened, whilſt the more moderate had theirs increaſed; or which is more likely, that *Moſes* made thoſe that had gathered more than their meaſure, to refund the overplus to thoſe who had gathered leſs; that ſo the ſame proportion might fall to every man's ſhare.

As ſoon as they were got into their tents, they went about grinding it according to *Moſes*'s direction, ſome with mills, others in mortars, and made themſelves a ſort of cakes whoſe taſte reſembled that of wafers made with honey, or with freſh oyl, as it is ſaid in another place[a]; from that they came to other ways of dreſſing it, by frying, ſtewing, boiling, and the like. As for that which remained ungathered upon the ground, the heat of the ſun did immediately diſſolve it. In the mean time *Moſes*, who had given them expreſs charge not to leave any till the next morning, had the mortification to hear that ſome of the people whether out of curioſity or precaution, had ventured to ſave ſome of it, and had found it ſtinking and crawling with worms. He failed not to reprove them for it, and to adviſe them to be more careful of his directions for the future, ſeeing they did but provoke their heavenly benefactor by their diſobedience; but their ſtubbornneſs was not to be cured by threatnings, and it was not many days before they made him ſenſible of it. The ſixth day being come, they went according to order to gather a double quantity, to ſerve them for that day and the next, on which he had told them there would be none to be found, becauſe it was to be a day of *Sabbath*, or of *reſt* unto them. But they, as if they had given themſelves up to miſtruſt every word that came out of his mouth, could not be contented till they had gone into the wilderneſs, and ſatisfied themſelves of the truth of it. This forced a freſh reprimand from him, in which, after ſome expoſtulations, he expreſly forbad them to go out of the camp, during the whole ſeventh day. For a memorial of this miraculous bread (S), *Moſes* was ordered to preſerve

Some is kept till next day and ſtinks.

A double quantity gathered againſt the ſabbath.

[a] Numb. xi. 8.

(S) We have ventured to give it that epithet, not that we believe, with the author of the book of wiſdom (72), that it was prepared

(72) *Wiſd. xvi.* 20.

without

ſerve an *Homer* full in a veſſel, to be afterwards depoſited in the ark of the covenant, and to be preſerved in it as a witneſs to future ages, and *Aaron* went and executed his command [b].

IT is not eaſy to conceive, how a nation, that had ſo long and ſo often experienced the miraculous care and goodneſs of GOD, could ever fall again into freſh murmuring and diſobedience; and yet they had no ſooner left this deſert of *Sin*, and advanced a few days journey towards mount *Horeb*; but, when they came to *Rephidim*, and found the place deſtitute of water, they began to fill the air with their complaints, and ſurrounding the tents of *Moſes* and *Aaron*, asked them in a tumultuous and threatening manner, where they muſt have water to quench their thirſt? *Moſes* ſtrove in vain to quell their fury, and to perſuade them to wait GOD's leiſure; his words did but inflame them the more, till at length obſerving them to be grown deſperate and ready to ſtone him, he had

A new murmuring for want of water.

[b] Exod. xvi, 33.

without labour, ſince they were forced to pound and dreſs it; or that it was capable of ſatisfying every ſtomach, by ſuiting itſelf to every particular taſte, ſince, had that been the caſe, the *Iſraelites* could never have come to loath it, as they afterwards did (73); much leſs do we attribute all thoſe wonderful qualities to it that the *Jews* do: but we think it was miraculous upon the following accounts; 1ſt, becauſe it fell but ſix days in the week; 2. that it fell in ſuch prodigious quantity as ſufficed near three millions of ſouls; 3. that there fell a double quantity every friday to ſerve them for the next day; 4. what was gathered on the firſt five days ſtank and bred worms, if kept above one day, and that which was gathered on friday laſted two days; laſtly, it continued falling whilſt the *Iſraelites* continued in the wilderneſs, and ceaſed as ſoon as they came out of it, and had eaten of the corn of the land of *Canaan* (74). *Abenezra* indeed ſays, that *Man* was an *Arabic* word, and that he had ſeen in the kingdom of אלנציר, whatever kingdom that be, ſomething very like manna, that fell only during two ſummer months of the year; but as he adds, that it is rather fit for phyſic than for food, it is plain, it muſt be that which we know by the name of manna, which is a kind of honey condenſed, and is to be ſeen to this day in the deſerts of *Arabia*, during the heat of the ſummer, and is gathered in great quantities off the trees, rocks, graſs, and even the ſand: but it is plain, by what we obſerved of the miraculous ſort, that this has nothing common with it but the name.

(73) *Numb. xi.* 6. (74) *Joſh. v.* 12.

recourſe

recourſe to GOD, who was ſoon pleaſed to diſſipate his fears, by promiſing to ſignalize this place with as miraculous a water, as he had the laſt with a miraculous food. He commanded him to gather the elders of *Iſrael* and all the people, and to take them up to mount *Horeb*, and aſſured him, that upon ſmiting the rock with his miraculous rod, the waters would immediately guſh out of it in ſuch plentiful ſtreams, as would be more than ſufficient to allay their thirſt. *Moſes* obeyed, and GOD vouchſafed to perform his promiſe, and to ſend them plenty of water (T); and in memory of this new murmuring,

They flow from a miraculous rock.

(T) St. *Paul*, ſpeaking of this miraculous rock, which he applies to Chriſt, ſays, that it followed them (75); from which ſome will have it, that it accompanied them, and ſerved them upon all neceſſary occaſions, to the very end of their wandring (76); and that either the waters which guſhed out of it, formed themſelves into a kind of river, which followed them through all their encampments (77), or that they carried the rock in a cart wherever they went, and that it continued flowing with water (78). Some even affirm, that it keeps running to this day, and waters all that valley which was dry before (79); but had any of theſe been the caſe, there would have been no need of ſmiting that rock in another place, as *Moſes* did for the ſame purpoſe (80), for we ſhall ſhew by and by, that this was a quite different action; nor of digging of wells for water ſoon after this laſt miracle, as we find they did (81). There was therefore no neceſſity of fetching a parallel from the king of *Perſia*, of whom *Ælian* ſays, that the river *Choaſpis* did always follow him (82), becauſe he always carried ſome of its water with him; in order to give a more favourable ſenſe to the apoſtle's words, by ſuppoſing that the *Iſraelites* did the ſame by thoſe of the rock. St. *Paul* here ſpeaks of a ſpiritual rock, and the two inſtances we have juſt now mentioned, will not permit us to ſuppoſe, that they were always ſupplied by the natural one.

However, ſeeing the two actions of ſmiting the rock have been confounded by ſeveral commentators, it will not be amiſs to ſhew the contrary, now we are upon the ſubject. Now that *Moſes* ſmote the rock two different times, and in two different places, is plain; 1ſt, becauſe the firſt happened at *Rephidim*, in their eleventh ſtation, and the ſecond in the deſert of *Sin* in the thirty third ſtation: 2. the one happened in the firſt year after the *Exod*, and the other in the fortieth; for in the very next ſtation *Aaron* died, in the fifth

(75) 1 *Cor* x. 4. (76) Calm. *com in loc.* Berruy. *& al.* (77) *Ita Rabbin. mult.* (78) Cantacuzen *in ſap. cap.* 11. *& Rabbin. aliquot.* (79) Toſtat. *qu* 3 *ap.* Villet. *cap.* 17. *qu.* 10. (80) *Numb*, xx 11. (81) *Ibid.* xxi 16. *& ſeq.* (82) Ælian. *Hiſt. var. lib. xii. c.* 40. *vid.* Calm. *Hiſt. V. T. in loc.*

month

ing, and of the people's queſtioning whether GOD was really among them or not, the place was called *Maſſah*, (tempting) and *Meribah*, (contention).

ABOUT this time, the *Iſraelites* being attacked by the *Amalekites*, *Moſes* was forced to depute his ſervant *Joſhua*, with a ſufficient force to make head againſt them, whilſt himſelf went up to the mount to intreat GOD for his ſucceſs. Accordingly, on the next morning he went up with his brother *Aaron* and *Hur*, to a neighbouring hill, whence they could have a full view of the field of battle, and held up his hands in prayer, whilſt *Joſhua* was fighting with the *Amalekites*. He held up likewiſe his own miraculous rod in his hand, and GOD was pleaſed to ſhew a ſingular regard to his interceſſion. For whilſt he held his hands up *Joſhua* prevailed, but when he let them down to reſt them, *Amalek* got the advantage. At length, when he found them grow ſo heavy that he could hold them up no longer, *Aaron* and *Hur* were forced to ſet him upon a ſtone, and to ſtay them up on each ſide, till the going down of the ſun. The conſequence was, that *Iſrael* gained the victory, and *Amalek* was diſcomfited, as we have ſeen in a former chapter †. This *Hur* is thought to have been of the tribe of *Judah*, and the ſon of *Caleb* the ſon of *Eſron*, different from *Caleb* the ſon of *Jephunneh*; and ſo to have been the grandfather of *Bezaleel*, ſo famed for his fine workmanſhip in the tabernacle, and other utenſils for the ſervice of GOD. *Jo-*

Amalek *diſcomfited.*

† Vid. Supr. p. 153.

month of the fortieth year (83). In the firſt, the rock was ſmitten with the rod with which *Moſes* wrought his wonders in *Egypt*, and in the laſt with the rod of *Aaron*, that had budded, and had been layed up before the Lord in the ark, from whence *Moſes* is ſaid to have taken it (84). Laſtly, the firſt happened before the extruction of the tabernacle, and the laſt after it; for it is ſaid, that upon the people's murmuring for want of water, *Moſes* and *Aaron* went to the door of the tabernacle, and fell before their faces there at the ſight of the glory of GOD (85). We might add, that the firſt was performed without any diffidence, anger, or indecent words; whereas in the laſt, *Moſes* ſmote the rock twice, and ſpoke ſome unbecoming words, which ſo diſpleaſed GOD, that he condemned him to die in the wilderneſs, without ſetting his foot into the land of *Canaan*. From all which it appears, that theſe were two different actions, performed at great diſtance of time and place (86).

(83) *Comp. Exod.* xvii. 1. *ſeq.* & *Numb.* xxxiii. 14, 36, & 38. (84) *Numb.* xx. 9. & *ſeq.* (85) *Ibid. ver.* 4. & *ſeq.* (86) *Ibid. ver.* 11, 12. *Vid.* Simler. Jun. Villet. & *al. in loc.*

Sephus thinks, that *Hur* had married *Miriam Moſes*'s ſiſter[c], others think, that he was her ſon; but the generality of antient fathers think, that ſhe died unmarried [d]. As for *Joſhua*, he became famous from this time for his valour and conduct, and for his zeal for GOD and his people; upon all which accounts *Moſes* made choice of him for his ſucceſſor, to lead the *Iſraelites* into the promiſed land. In the mean time, *Moſes* was ordered to record this ſignal victory, and to vow a laſting war againſt the *Amalekites*, till their very remembrance was quite blotted out. He alſo reared up an altar unto GOD, and called it *Jehovah Niſſi*, (the Lord is my banner) to intimate, that GOD, who had made them denounce this war againſt *Amalek*, would not fail to crown it with ſucceſs (V)[e].

THE

[c] Ant. lib. iii. c. 2. [d] NYSSEN. de virginitat. c. 6. AMBR. exhort. ad virgin. & al. [e] Exod. xvii.

(V) We have ſeen, in this hiſtory of *Amalek* †, that he was deſcended from *Eliphaz*, *Eſau*'s firſt-born; as his deſcendants therefore were ſo nearly allyed to the *Iſraelites*, it was inhuman in them to fall upon them, when they ſaw them reduced to ſo low a condition through the fatigue of their march, the vaſt heat of the ſeaſon, and the exceſſive drought they laboured under, eſpecially ſince it doth not appear, that they had begun any hoſtilities againſt them. But though they did richly deſerve the defeat which *Joſhua* gave them for their barbarity, yet as for the anathema, which GOD himſelf pronounced againſt them immediately after it, it ſeems to have been for ſome other crime, which carried in it a greater degree of guilt, and is ſuppoſed to have been an innate hatred againſt the *Iſraelites*, from the remembrance of *Jacob*'s depriving their progenitor both of his birth-right and bleſſing, and therefore did not ſcruple to take this advantage of them, when they found them thus harraſſed, to hinder thereby their taking poſſeſſion of the land of *Canaan*, for the conqueſt of which they thought them now in full march. *Joſephus* indeed (87) ſeems to attribute this action of theirs to a fear of being driven out of their country by the *Iſraelites*; but beſides that it is not likely, they ſhould be ignorant of the land of *Canaan* being promiſed to the ſons of *Jacob*, and conſequently could have nothing to fear upon that account; it is plain, that if that had been the only motive of falling upon them, there could have been nothing ſo criminal in it as to entail ſuch a heavy curſe, and a perpetual war againſt them and their poſterity: whereas, if they did it with a view of preventing their poſſeſſing the promiſed land, and ſo of fruſtrating the deſigns of providence towards them; as the ſame motive was like to laſt as long as they

† *Vid. ſupr. p.* 148. (87) *Ant. lib. iii. c.* 2.

were

THE defeat of *Amalek* opened a way for the *Iſraelites* to mount *Sinai*, where their abode proved not only the longeſt, but the moſt famous of any other by the wonderful promulgation of the law, and the appointment of the principal ceremonies which they were afterwards to obſerve. But in the mean while, GOD, who foreſaw what an addition this would be to *Moſes*'s other cares and fatigues, did in good time conduct his hoſpitable father-in-law, with *Zipporah* and her two ſons, to the camp of *Iſrael*, where, after their mutual embraces, and ſacrifices offered to the GOD of *Iſrael*, *Jethro*, obſerving with what patience his ſon-in-law ſtood to hear the people's complaints from morning till night, and fearing leſt he ſhould in time ſink under it, gave him that excellent and ſalutary advice of chooſing a competent number of elders, who ſhould help him to bear ſuch a part of the burthen, as would otherwiſe have proved too much for him [f]; an account of which we have already given in the hiſtory of *Midian* [*]. *Moſes* having thus eaſed himſelf of a great load of care, by the appointment he made of thoſe inferior judges, ſome of which he ſet over thouſands, others over hundreds, and others over tens; and referring only the moſt momentous cauſes to come before him; did ſoon after take leave of his father-in-law (W), and give the ſignal for their march from *Rephidim*, to Jethro *comes to* Moſes.

[f] Ibid. xviii. paſſ. [*] Vid. ſupr. p. 116. & ſeq.

were a nation, ſo there was a neceſſity of entailing that *anathema* againſtthem. And this ſeems implied in the laſt words of this chapter, in which *Moſes* gives as a reaſon for vowing this war againſt them, which though ſomewhat obſcure, ſeem to run thus in their literal ſenſe, *becauſe his* (that is, *Amalek*'s) *hand is againſt the throne of* GOD, *therefore the Lord will wage war with* Amalek *from one generation to another*, that is, till he ceaſes to be a nation. We ſhall only add, that this place is ſuppoſed by the *Jews*, to have been called *Rephidim*, that is, רפאי ידים, from *Rapha*, to looſen, and *jad*, a hand, alluding to the weak condition they were in when the *Amalekites* fell upon them.

(W) We have already given our opinion concerning *Jethro*'s departure, and leaving one of his ſons with *Moſes*, with ſome other particulars relating to this hiſtory [†]; but though it ſeems by the text, that he left alſo *Zipporah* and her two ſons with him; yet, whether it were that *Moſes* took more care of his people than he did of his children, or that he loved theſe too well to promote them to any pitch of power or grandeur, which himſelf had ſo long felt the load of; ſure it is, that we hear no more of them from this

[†] *Vid. ſupr. p.* 116, 117. *note* (I), (K).

to the wilderneſs of *Sinai*. This happened about the beginning of the third month after their departure out of *Egypt* [g].

They encamp near mount Sinai.

They were no ſooner come within ſight of that celebrated mountain, but his next care was to order their encampment ſo, that there might be a conſiderable ſpace left between it and the camp. He knew that this was to be the ſcene of the moſt glorious wonders that ever mankind beheld, and the place from whence thoſe laws were to be delivered to them, with the utmoſt terror and majeſty, which GOD, who knew the genius of that perverſe people, had calculated for them; and therefore he wiſely fixed their ſituation ſo, as that they might be all eye and ear witneſſes of the divine preſence [h]; and at the ſame time preſcribed ſuch limits to their curioſity, as ſhould ſtrike them with a ſuitable awe and reverence. Whilſt they were pitching their tents according to his directions, *Moſes* went up to the mountain, and GOD, who had called him thither, commanded him to remind the *Iſraelites* of all the wonders he had wrought in their favour, and to aſſure them, that as he had hitherto bore them as an eagle doth her young on her wings, ſo if they proved obedient to his laws he would ſtill look upon them as his peculiar people, a favourite nation, and a royal prieſthood. *Moſes* was not long before he came and called the elders of *Iſrael*, to whom he repeated all theſe endearing expreſſions, charging them at the ſame time to go and acquaint the people with the gracious meſſage, who no ſooner heard it, but they promiſed all poſſible obedience to GOD's command. He returned immediately after to the mountain, and was commanded to ſanctify the people, and to prepare them againſt the third day for the glorious ſcene, by making them waſh their cloaths, and abſtain from all nuptial commerce, after which he promiſed to come down, in a conſpicuous manner, and deliver his law in their hearing, with ſuch a glorious and dreadful voice, as ſhould at once convince them both of his divine preſence, and of his being the author of all thoſe laws, which he was afterwards to deliver to them in his name. He likewiſe renewed his charge to him, to ſet ſuch

[g] Vid. ann. USSER. in loc. RIBERA de Templ. lib. v. c. 7. & al.
[h] Exod. xix. 9.

time than if they had been no more; neither of them, that we can find, having been promoted to any place of honour or profit; and indeed the ſequel of the hiſtory ſhews, that their father was ſo far from aiming at enriching or aggrandizing his family, that he ſeems to have given himſelf up wholly to the ſervice of God and his people.

bounds

bounds to the people, as ſhould keep them from approaching the mountain under the ſevereſt penalties, and to aſſure them, that if either man or beaſt offered to tranſgreſs them, they ſhould be immediately ſtoned, or ſhot to death. The ſignal, for their coming out to this glorious ſight, was to be when they heard the ſound of the miraculous trumpet: accordingly, on the third day, the people having prepared themſelves acording to the divine injunction, and being in the utmoſt expectation for this wonderful ſight, they ſaw, by break of day, the mountain ſurrounded with the thickeſt cloud, out of which came forth ſuch thunders and lightnings, as filled them with terror and amazement. The ſound of the trumpet being heard, *Moſes* brought the people out of their camp towards the mount, as far as the barrier which he had ſet to them, and there they obſerved the top of *Sinai* covered with fire and ſmoke, whilſt the foundations of it ſeemed to ſhake under their feet. In the midſt of this dreadful ſcene, the trumpet being heard ſtill louder and ſtronger, GOD called to *Moſes*, who immediately went up, and was ſoon buried in the cloud. Here the divine voice commanded him to return and repeat his charge to the people, that none ſhould preſume to tranſgreſs their bounds, no not even the prieſts, who were afterwards to be conſecrated to his ſervice, ſince immediate death was to be the tranſgreſſor's portion, let him be who he would. *Moſes* anſwered, that he had given them ſuch ſtrict charge, that there was no danger of their tranſgreſſing it; but he was ordered to go down immediately, to ſee that none ventured to diſobey, and commanded to bring his brother *Aaron* with him when he came up again. He had no ſooner obeyed, and repeated his orders to the people, than the thunders and trumpets ceaſed, and GOD was heard from the midſt of the fire and ſmoke, which continued all the while, to pronounce the ten principal laws, which were to be the foundation of all the reſt, and which *Moſes* was afterwards ordered to write upon two tables of ſtone. [1](X) In the mean time the people, aſtoniſhed

The mountain covered with fire and ſmoke.

The decalogue delivered.

[1] Exod. xix. & xx.

(X) Concerning theſe ten commandments, which are ſo well known that we have forbore inſerting them, ſeveral queſtions have been raiſed which we ſhall but juſt touch upon, they being of ſuch a nature that nothing certain can be concluded about them. The firſt is, whom they were delivered by? Whether by an angel deputed by GOD, who conſequently repreſenting the godhead, aſſumes the name of the *Lord* GOD *who brought* Iſrael *out of bondage?* or whether by GOD himſelf? and if the latter, whether by GOD

the

aſtoniſhed at what they ſaw and heard, removed farther off, and

the father, or by Chriſt himſelf? Concerning all which we ſhall only refer our readers to what has been ſaid in another place upon the like occaſion †.

The next is, whether in theſe, or any other of the *Moſaical* laws, *Moſes* was permitted to imitate thoſe of the *Egyptians*, as ſome learned men have affirmed (1)? or as the far greater part do think, the *Egyptians* have borrowed theirs from his? And here we need not repeat what has been ſaid upon this head, when we were upon the ſubject of circumciſion *; as to what relates to the ceremonial injunctions, we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of them by and by. At preſent we ſhall content ourſelves with ſaying, that, admitting them, in ſome caſes, to have borrowed from each other, and in others to have gone point blank counter to one another, out of a ſpirit of contradiction and antipathy, which is the moſt probable ſuppoſition, it will ſtill follow, that ſuch of the *Moſaic* laws, as are contrary to the idolatry and ſuperſtition of the *Egyptians*, ſuch as the ſecond commandment, and a vaſt many more, could be enjoined by GOD with no other view, than to cure the *Iſraelites* of thoſe vicious habits and inclinations which they had contracted in *Egypt*. As to judicial, or even ceremonial laws, tho' we ſhould allow *Moſes* to have been permitted to have uſed his diſcretion, and to have adopted ſuch as he approved of, yet it will by no means follow, that all that have any reſemblance were firſt received from the *Egyptians*, ſeeing very many of them are ſo contrary to the main and conſtant deſign of their law-giver, to keep them from intermixing with other nations, that, if the *Egyptians* had been the firſt inventors of them, it would certainly have been more adviſeable to have given them ſuch as were quite oppoſite to them.

Waving therefore all theſe fruitleſs diſquiſitions, how far the *Egyptians*, the *Greeks* and *Romans*, did frame their laws from thoſe of the *Jews*, or how far the twelve tables of the *Romans* were a copy of the *decalogue*, we ſhall endeavour to render the remaining part of this note ſomewhat more uſeful and inſtructive, by rectifying the ſenſe of ſome words in the ſecond commandment, which, for want of having been rightly underſtood, have led ſome into monſtrous errors, and have made others chooſe to reject the authority of holy writ, rather than adopt them. The place we mean is, where GOD is ſaid *to puniſh the ſins of the fathers upon the children, to the third and fourth generation* (2); words, which convey ſuch a ſhocking idea of the deity, that, if the original could poſſibly be capa-

† *Vid. ſup. p.* 371. *note* (T). (1) *Vid.* Spencer *de leg. rit. Hebr. l. iii. diſſert.* 1. *& ſeq.* Marſham. *Canon Ægypt. S. Secul.* 2. Athan. Kircher, Le Clerc, *& al.* * *Vid. ſup. p.* 367. *note* (R). (2) *Exod.* xx. 5.

ble

and the divine voice had no ſooner ceaſed ſpeaking, but they approached

ble of another ſenſe, it ought, by all means, to be preferred to this; which is not only contrary to reaſon, and to the whole tenor of ſcripture, but is ſo fully confuted and condemned by the prophet *Ezekiel* (3), and by many other expreſs places of ſcripture. We ſhall beg leave to mention but one of them, and that out of the ſame book of *Exodus*, which being parallel to this, it will follow, that, if this ſenſe we are now confuting be admitted, *Moſes* muſt have introduced GOD ſpeaking abſurdities and contradictions. The place is, where GOD vouchſafes to favour *Moſes* with a ſight of his glory in the mountain, by a viſible deſcent in the cloud, and proclaiming the name, or rather the attributes of GOD, in the following terms (4); *the Lord, the Lord God, merciful and gracious, long-ſuffering, and abundant in goodneſs and truth, keeping mercy for thouſands, forgiving iniquity and tranſgreſſion and ſin, and that will by no means clear the guilty; viſiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, and upon the childrens children, unto the third and to the fourth generation.* For it is manifeſt, that if the latter words be underſtood in that ſenſe, that is, if *he puniſhes the ſins of the fathers upon the children*, &c. then the former part can never be true; that he is the *Lord God, merciful, gracious, juſt, and faithful.* How the *Jews*, therefore, came to underſtand them in a ſenſe ſo abſurd, ſo unreaſonable and antiſcriptural, and ſo fully and expreſly confuted and condemned by GOD himſelf, will be of ſmall moment to enquire, ſince this is far from being the only inſtance, wherein they have done ſo; tho', if we may be allowed to offer a conjecture, it is not unlikely, that the partial regard, which GOD, for reaſons vaſtly diſparate from their fond conceit, was pleaſed to ſhew for their nation, and the terrible puniſhments which he inflicted upon others, tho' ſcarce more wicked than they, might lead them into the notion, that the one was favoured for the merit, and the other puniſhed for the wickedneſs of their progenitors: and this is ſo much the more probable, becauſe, even to this day, they impute all their preſent ſufferings, not to their manifeſt wickedneſs, which they are wholly blind to, but to the idolatries of their forefathers, both in the deſert and in the promiſed land. However, as they extended theſe puniſhments no farther than to this life, the greateſt wonder is, how *Chriſtians* came ſo early to follow their verſion of theſe places, which has given ſome commentators, both antient and modern, an infinite trouble, and made them run into various diſtinctions and ſubtilities to clear the divine goodneſs, juſtice, and wiſdom, and to give this place in a more favourable ſenſe, whilſt others have made no ſcruple to outdo the *Jews*, and to extend theſe arbitrary and undeſerved puniſhments even to the next life ***; but it is very

(3) *Ezek.* xviii. *paſſ.* (4) *Exod.* xxxiv. 5, 6, & 7. *** *Vid. ſup. p.* 393 *note* (T).

probable,

approached *Moſes*, and, in the height of their fear and ſurprize, beſought him, that he would for the future ſpeak to them

probable, that, had the primitive *Chriſtians* underſtood the *Hebrew*, and been able to have had recourſe to it, inſtead of the *Septuagint*, they would never have adopted this ſenſe, as long as the original was capable of a much better; which is what we ſhall now endeavour to prove to be beyond diſpute.

In the firſt place then, we beg leave to obſerve, after ſome eminent critics (5), that the prepoſitions, ל *lamed* and על *hal*, which are here rendered *upon*, may alſo ſignify *by*, and, *in favour of*; ſo that the words before us may be properly rendered *puniſhing the iniquities of the fathers by*, or *in favour of*, *the children*, &c. In the firſt of theſe ſenſes *David*'s murther and adultery was juſtly puniſhed by his favourite, tho' wicked, ſon *Abſalom* (6); and the latter doth perfectly anſwer the wiſe methods of providence, with reſpect to the wicked and innocent; the former of which he doth often puniſh for the benefit and determent of the latter. The reader may, if he pleaſes, ſee theſe verſions juſtified by the authors juſt now quoted, and therefore we ſhall inſiſt upon them no longer; but as thoſe, which vindicate the divine juſtice, mercy, and goodneſs of God, ought by all means to be preferred to thoſe, which give impreſſions that are injurious to the god-head becauſe the latter are but too viſibly hurtful to religion and civil ſociety, we ſhall beg leave to offer one more, which ſeems to us ſtill more natural and agreeable to the deſign of this ſecond commandment, but which, not having as yet appeared in print, we can quote no author for.

It is manifeſt to every one who has conſidered it, that the main end and deſign of this law was expreſly to forbid all idolatry whatſoever, one kind of which, we find, had been very rife long before, namely, that of *teraphims*, or houſhold-gods, of which we have already given ſome account †; whoſe ſhapes varied according to the fancy of thoſe that made, or thoſe that beſpoke them, and to whom they uſed to apply for good ſucceſs and preſervation againſt all misfortunes, both for themſelves and families. As theſe, therefore, were looked upon as the chief diſpenſers and preſervers of lands, houſes, and all other inheritances, what makes it more than probable, that this prohibition is more particularly levelled againſt this kind of idolatry, is, firſt, the reaſon that is immediately given, that the *Lord is a jealous* God, who cannot, conſequently, ſuffer the glory of his benefits to be given to a ſenſeleſs idol. Secondly, becauſe the words פקד עון *poked havon*, as they are pointed,

(5) Launoi *de l'impieté du peché*. Le Scene, *Eſſay on a new verſ.* *p.* 107. Le Clerc *in loc.* & *al.* (6) 2 *Sam*, *xi. paſſ. xii.* 10, & *ſeq. xv*, *xvi*, *xvii*, & *xviii. paſſ.* † *Vid. ſupr. p.* 401. *note* (B).

them in GOD's ſtead, leſt, if they ſhould hear his dreadful voice again, they ſhould die with horror and amazement; aſſuring

or *poked hon*, if read without the points, may be properly rendered *diſpoſing*, or *diſpenſing the habitations*, or *eſtates, of the* fathers, &c. And, laſtly, becauſe idolatry in general, or the worſhip of falſe gods, had been forbid in the firſt commandment; *thou ſhalt have no other gods but me*; and conſequently this ſecond ſeems to have been deſigned againſt that particular ſort we have been ſpeaking of.

It remains to prove, that the original will properly bear this verſion; and here we beg leave to obſerve, firſt, that the verb פקד *pakad*, which is rendered to *viſit*, is known to imply, in its proper ſenſe, ſuch a viſitation as that of a monarch, chief magiſtrate, or prelate, who takes his progreſs thro' his territories to rectify abuſes, to adminiſter juſtice, and to diſpenſe rewards and puniſhments, as occaſion requires. And ſecondly, that the word עון *hon*, (which we venture to read without its points, becauſe, they being now univerſally allowed to be of late and human invention, their authority may be ſafely ſet aſide, whenever we ſee good reaſon for ſo doing) doth likewiſe ſignify an habitation, or dwelling-place, it being an antient, obſolete word, from which its derivative מעון *Mahon*, by the addition of the letter מ *Mem* one of the formatives of nouns ſubſtantive, is ſtill uſed, and confined to that particular ſignification throughout the old teſtament. This being granted, the ſenſe will run thus: *for I the Lord, thy* GOD, *am a jealous God, diſpenſing*, or *diſtributing the habitations, or eſtates, of the fathers to the children, unto the third and fourth* generation, even, *of thoſe that hate me, but ſhewing mercy to thouſands in them that love me*, &c. where we beg leave to obſerve further, that the word *generation* not being in the original, the words, *third* and *fourth*, which are here in the plural, may as well be underſtood of a diſtribution of eſtates into thirds or fourths, or, of their being multiplied to a third or fourth degree, or increaſed to three or four times their bulk, or value. But as for the mercies, which GOD keeps in ſtore for thoſe that love and obey him, they exceed them לאלפים *Lealaphim, by thouſands of degrees*; which is as much, as if he had ſaid, *they are numberleſs and endleſs.*

But that our readers may be ſatisfied, that theſe places of ſcripture, which are urged as parallel to this, by thoſe who maintain the unreaſonable doctrine we are now oppoſing, are either miſunderſtood, or miſapplied by them, we ſhall beg leave to ſubjoin an inſtance of each, by which they will be able to judge of the reſt. The firſt they urge is, where *Solomon* ſays, that GOD *made all things for himſelf, and the wicked for the day of evil* (7); from which they have inferred this blaſphemous doctrine, that GOD created the

(7) *Prov. xvi.* 4.

aſſuring him at the ſame time, that they were ready to receive and obey whatever laws or ordinances God ſhould enjoyn to them by his means, ſince they were now fully convinced of his divine commiſſion. Here *Moſes* approved of

wicked on purpoſe to damn them. But, whoever will be at the trouble of conſulting the original will find that the word לְמַעַנֵהוּ *Lemaghanehu*, which is here rendered *for himſelf*, is not from the particle לְמַעַן *Lemaghan*, *for*, with its affix, for then it ought to have been differently pointed; but ſetting aſide the points, it is equally capable of two other meanings, even according to the grammatical conſtruction, and may ſignify *to anſwer*; and ſo the ſenſe will be truly this; that God *doth*, or rather *rules*, *all things to anſwer one another*, *even the wicked to the day of evil*; by which is meant no more than, God *has ſo ordered all things*, *that puniſhment ſhall be as much the natural conſequence of wickedneſs*, *as rewards are of virtue* (8). The ſame word may alſo ſignify a *furrow* or *channel*; and ſo the ſenſe will be, God *hath ordered every thing to run into its own channel* (9), and to the wicked that of the evil day, or puniſhment.

The other place, which is rather miſapplied, is, where God ſays, that *he will have mercy on whom he will have mercy* (10). For, beſides that the words are capable of another ſenſe, it is plain from the occaſion of them, that they have nothing to do with the point in hand. *Moſes* prays to God, that as a token of his favour, he would ſhew him his glory, and God anſwers him, that he will grant him his requeſt; and then adds, that he will be gracious to whom he will be gracious; which therefore can import no more, than that he will ſhew ſuch ſingular favours, as that which *Moſes* prayed for, to whom he pleaſes; but it is no where ſaid, that he will puniſh whom he will, without any regard to their deſert. As for thoſe who think that St. *Paul* applies them in a quite different ſenſe (11), we rather chooſe to refer them to thoſe authors who have writ *ex profeſſo* againſt that doctrine, than to dwell any longer upon the ſubject (12).

We ſhall cloſe this note with obſerving, that though the *Jews* reckoned the ſame number of commandments as we do, and called them by way of excellency *the ten words*, from which they had afterwards the name of *decalogue*; yet they join the firſt and ſecond into one, and divide the laſt, which is againſt coveting, into two: as for that againſt ſtealing, they underſtand it of ſtealing of men, or kid-napping, alledging, that the ſtealing of another's goods or property is forbid in the laſt commandment (13).

(8) *Vid.* Le Scen. *Eſſay on a N. Verſ. p.* 109. (9) *Vid. Pſal. cxxix.* 3. (10) *Exod. xxxiii.* 19. (11) *Rom. ix.* 15. (12) *Vid* Pelling, Whitby, & *al. againſt predeſt.* (13) *Rabbin. ſcr. cmn. Vid.* Munſt. *in loc.*

that

that awe and regard which they expreſſed, as well for the miraculous preſence of GOD, as for his commandments; and aſſured them, that this wonderful ſcene was not exhibited to them with a deſign to create a ſlaviſh dread, but a filial confidence and ſubmiſſion to ſuch laws as his providence ſhould hereafter enjoyn them, as a particular token of his care and benevolence towards them, above all nations of the earth. He had no ſooner diſpelled their fears by theſe words, than he went up again to the mountain, where for that time, GOD was pleaſed to add a few ceremonial laws, to thoſe moral ones which he had couched in the decalogue; all which, as well as thoſe which he received afterwards from time to time, we ſhall refer to another place in this hiſtory, where, to avoid proſixity and repetition, we ſhall give them all in one body. For the ſame reaſon we ſhall avoid following the divine hiſtorian too cloſe in all the intercourſes which he had with GOD; wherein the obſervance of the ſame laws, both moral and ceremonial, is inculcated over and over, and the ſame aſſurances of the divine favour and aſſiſtance upon their obedience, and ſevere threatnings in caſe of their diſobeying, and the ſame promiſes of their poſſeſſing the lands of the *Canaanites*, *Amorites*, *Hittites*, *Hivites*, *Perizzites*, *Girgaſhites*, and *Jebuſites*, repeated almoſt upon every freſh occaſion; all which, tho' *Moſes* has penned them exactly as they happened, need to be mentioned here but once for all. Beſides, the laws themſelves, whether they be conſidered with a moral, religious, ceremonial, or political view, are ſo blended and intermixt together under the names of laws, ſtatutes, ordinances, judgments, teſtimonies, commandments, precepts, and the like; that unleſs they are reduced under their ſeveral heads, a reader would be rather confounded, than informed in the deſign and injunction of them. What might induce providence to deliver them in that ſeemingly irregular method is not eaſy to be gueſſed at, unleſs we ſuppoſe, that a more methodical manner would have ſavoured too much of human wiſdom. As to the ſo frequent repetition of them, the reader will find ſufficient occaſion for it, ſince it will appear by the ſequel, that neither that, nor the grievous puniſhments that befel them almoſt upon every diſobedience, proved ſufficient to bend their ſtubborn necks, or cure them of their intractable diſpoſition. All that need be ſaid here concerning thoſe laws and ordinances is, that ſome related to the immediate worſhip of GOD; ſuch as were the building of the tabernacle, with all its grand apparatus of utenſils for uſe and ornament, their ſacrifices of all ſorts, the conſecration of their prieſts and *Levites*, the

Some ceremonial laws inſtituted.

holy oyl to anoint them, their habit, office, privileges, revenue, and the like; the feſtivals, offerings, tithes, vows, purifications, laws concerning clean and unclean things, diſeaſes, meats, and the like; ſome of which are generally looked upon as typical (Y); others, as topical, or confined to

(Y) We could willingly have excuſed ourſelves from entering any farther into this unpleaſant controverſy, and contented ourſelves with what has been ſaid already upon ſome particular parts of this ſubject, there being ſo little likelihood of pleaſing either of the oppoſite ſides, much leſs of reconciling them, whilſt each party is fond of their own extreme, and value themſelves upon being direct antipodes to the other; whereas truth ſeems to lie in the middle between them. The reader may eaſily remember what was hinted in the laſt note, about the probability of the *Hebrews* and *Egyptians* borrowing ſomething from each other; it will therefore be ſufficient to add, that thoſe, who pretend, that the former had all their ceremonies, tabernacle, ark of the covenant, altar, *&c.* from the latter, becauſe they find that theſe did afterwards uſe the ſame kind of religious utenſils, do entirely go counter to the expreſs tenour of the epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, which mentions all theſe and many more as inſtituted on purpoſe by GOD himſelf, to typify thoſe better things which he reſerved for the times of the goſpel (14). 'Tis even plain from the tenour of the old and new teſtament, that the paſſover, the lifting up of the ſerpent by *Moſes*, the *Iſraelites* wandering in the wilderneſs, and their entering into the land of *Canaan*, and many more of the like nature, were all typical and figurative, and are applied as ſuch by the writers of the latter. But on the other hand, thoſe who abſolutely deny, that they imitated them in any particular, have given ſuch an unreaſonable ſcope to their fancies, in order to find out the relation between theſe types and their pretended antitypes, that they have not left one pin of the tabernacle, one bell in *Aaron*'s garment, neither kettle, fork, or ſpoon, without one or two. We ſhall content ourſelves with giving one inſtance of this enthuſiaſtic ſpirit, not ſo much for the ſingularity or brightneſs of it, as to ſhew how far every thing may be moralized, when men have once got into that vein. Two eminent proteſtants, the one a *Lutheran*, and the other a *Calviniſt*, had been wrangling a conſiderable time about the precedency of each of their patriarchs without any ſeeming advantage, when one took it into his head to make *Luther* the antitype of *Aaron*, ſeeing he was the firſt that had ſet up and lighted the grand candleſtick (of the reformation) in the tabernacle: the other, not being able to diſprove the fact, had recourſe to the ſame typical reaſoning, and affirmed, that if *Luther* was *Aaron*'s antitype upon that ſcore, *Calvin* was much more ſo, ſince it was mani-

(14) *Vid. Hæbr. paſſ. ch. ix.*

feſt,

feſt, that if he had not taken the *ſnuffers* into his hand, and ſnuffed the lamps, the candleſtick would have given ſuch a dim light, that few people would have been the better for it. We can eaſily join with the great critic, from whom we have this ſtory (15), in praying, that, where people can feed their religion with ſuch airy diet, it may do them much good; but we can by no means think with him, that the deſpicable figure which the *Jews* made is an invincible objection againſt the proud *Egyptians*, who hated them above all nations, borrowing any of their ceremonies: ſeeing the ſame argument will equally hold againſt either ſide; and the ſuperſtition common to them both, might eaſily get the better of their pride and hatred. What wild notions men had then, and long enough ſince, of the god-head, may eaſily be gathered from that ſaying of the *Syrians* (16), *their gods are gods of the hills, and therefore ſtronger than ours; but if we get them into the plain, ours will get the better of them.* It was therefore natural for the *Egyptians*, as we hinted once before †, to enquire, how ſuch a poor ſlaviſh people, as that of the *Hebrews*, came to be in ſuch high favour with their GOD, that he ſhould fall thus ſeverely upon their own, and ſo many other brave nations, on their behalf: it is plain, they could not attribute it to any merit or excellency in them, and therefore might eaſily conclude, that they had found out ſome way of gaining his friendſhip by their ſacrifices and manner of worſhipping him; which, if they could but once attain to, they could not fail of much greater ſucceſs. Add to this, that if the prieſts were conſulted about it, as it is moſt likely they were, they could not be againſt embracing ſuch a ſort of worſhip, which, however it proved to the laity, could not but be gainful to them: now if this be granted to be a natural ſuppoſition, the objection falls to the ground, and there is an end of our author's pretended impoſſibility. As for what is added on that ſide of the queſtion, *viz.* that the *Egyptians* ſacrificed horſes and hogs to their gods, whilſt the *Hebrews* offered nothing but ſheep, oxen, *&c.* this difference, allowing the caſe to be fact, might eaſily proceed from ſome remaining leaven of their old ſuperſtition, which could not ſuffer them to ſacrifice ſuch beaſts as they had been uſed to worſhip. They might likewiſe probably enough attribute the *Hebrews* not ſacrificing horſes to their ſordidneſs, that creature being of much greater worth than a bullock, and ſo be induced not only to imitate, but to out-do them, by offering a more valuable ſacrifice than they. Upon the whole, the *Egyptians* being generally allowed to have been the firſt introducers of idolatry, we may reaſonably ſuppoſe them to have been likewiſe the inventers of a great deal of ſuperſtitious traſh, and the *Jews*, who had been as it were formed in the country, to have contracted ſuch a particular fondneſs for it, as not to

(15) Le Clerc's *Bibl. A. & M. tom.* XII. *p.* 313. (16) 1 *Kings* xx. 23. † *Vid ſup. p.* 368. *note* (R).

be

be eaſy without having ſomething like it among them. We beg leave to anticipate ſo far upon their hiſtory, as to bring one inſtance of this once for all, and with it to diſmiſs this intricate point. *Moſes* promiſed the people, that GOD would ſend his angel to them, to guide and protect, and to prepare the way for them. *Moſes* goes up into the mountain, and continues there forty days, till they gave him over for loſt: uncertain what to do, and fearful leaſt the *Amalekites*, or ſome other nation ſhould fall upon them, they grew impatient for this promiſed conductor, and being ignorant what kind of one GOD deſigned for them, they take it in an *Egyptian* ſenſe, and in a tumultuous manner gather about *Aaron*, and inſiſt that he ſhould make them ſuch a one. *Aaron* who gueſſed their meaning, caſts a golden calf, no doubt in imitation of the *Egyptian Apis*; for without the aſſiſtance of their mythology, a calf would be one of the laſt creatures that one would chooſe to make a ſymbol of the deity ‡, and ſets it up in the midſt of the camp; and the people, highly pleaſed with it, begin to pay the uſual worſhip of ſacrifices, dancing, *&c.* to it: in the mean time *Moſes* comes down, and ſurpriſes them in the height of their joy, upbraids both his brother and the people with their folly and ingratitude, and deſtroys the *Egyptian* idol. After this he returns immediately to the top of the mountain, complains of their idolatry and ſtubbornneſs, and intreats GOD to pity and forgive them, and GOD, who ſaw that their minds were bent upon ſome outward ſymbol, in compaſſion to their infirmity, commands him to make an ark, which, though differing in the main from the *Egyptian* idols, yet ſhould ſtill retain ſomething of a reſemblance in the cherubim that covered it, which had at leaſt the head of a calf, as ſhall be ſhewn in its proper place. Who doth not ſee by all this, that GOD did only comply ſo far with the carnal genius of that untoward people, as to give them a viſible ſymbol, without condeſcending ſo low, at the ſame time, as to permit ſuch a cloſe imitation of what they admired in other nations, as might in any wiſe prove a ſnare to them in proceſs of time? However, if it be aſked, how ſo polite a nation as the *Egyptians* came to chooſe a cow, or calf, to repreſent the deity? we can only add, to what has been ſaid before *, the conjecture of ſome antient and modern authors, ſuch as *Suidas* in his Σάραπις, *Rufin* in his eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, *Peirrerius* in his hierogliphics, *Hottinger* and others, who all ſeem probably enough to think, that it was in honour of *Joſeph*, and in memory of the ſeven cows, which repreſented the plenty by which he preſerved that country from periſhing; and this ſeems the more probable, becauſe ſeveral of the moſt antient authors, beſides thoſe above quoted, agree, that this ox, or cow, was repreſented carrying a buſhel upon its head which might be deſigned to ſignify the plenty of corn, which that patriarch cauſed to be layed up. But we willingly ſubmit all this to our reader's judgment.

‡ *Vid. Vol. I. p.* 455. *note* (H), *& alib. paſſ.* * *Ibid. p.* 206.

to

to that climate (Z), and others as political; but all of them, to

(Z) It cannot be denied, but ſeveral of the *Moſaical* ordinances and prohibitions are of this nature, and were very neceſſary and beneficial, not only in *Canaan*, but in all hot countries. Such were thoſe that related to all kind of cleanlineſs, that forbad the nuptial commerce at certain periods and all intercourſe with perſons that had the leproſy, or any other infectious diſeaſe, and the like. But ſome learned men have gone farther, and have fancied, that all forbidden meats, ſuch as ſwine, hares, rabbets, ducks, *&c.* were, if not wholly, yet for the greateſt part, prohibited upon the ſame account, namely, as being unwholeſome and detrimental to health in thoſe hot climates: to prove this, ſome have taken no ſmall pains to ſhew, that we have not a right underſtanding of all thoſe creatures that are thus forbid, they inſtance out of *Bochart* (17), that the שָׁפָן, *Shaphan*, which we tranſlate a *rabbet*, is a kind of rat that lives upon the rocks, and conſequently, that the work ſhould be tranſlated a *rock-rat*, which animal he obſerves is of the bigneſs of a ſquirrel, and that *Paleſtine* and *Arabia* abound with it. We ſhall not trouble ourſelves with enquiring how far we do miſunderſtand the names of thoſe creatures, the eating of whoſe fleſh *Moſes* forbids, nor how far ſome, or any of them be really unwholſome to eat. It is certain we are not miſtaken in that of the ſwine, which whatever be pretended to the contrary, is both commonly and ſafely eat in all hot countries, except by the *Turks*, whoſe law has copied this, among a great many things from the *Jewiſh*. The rabbies indeed will have it, that it was forbid by reaſon of its extreme naſtineſs, both in its eating and wallowing in all manner of filth (18); but yet it is plain, that it never was accounted unwholſome upon that account in any country that we know of. We ſhall therefore venture to offer what we think is a more probable reaſon, why ſwine, hares, geeſe, *&c.* were forbid by *Moſes*; namely, to prevent thereby as much as poſſible the *Jews* having any intercourſe with other nations, either by being preſent at their feaſts or common feſtivals, or contracting affinities with them, by inſpiring them with an abhorrence againſt their moſt common meats by this expreſs prohibition, and allowing them at the ſame time the uſe of a ſufficient quantity of others to live comfortably by. It is alſo worth obſerving, that of all the meats forbidden by the *Moſaic* law, the *Jews* had the ſwine in greateſt deteſtation, inſomuch that they rather choſe the moſt cruel deaths, than to ſave their lives by eating it. How therefore they came to contract ſuch an extreme averſion to it, more than to any other, can hardly be accounted for by any other way, than by imputing it to their ſeeing it more commonly

(17) Le Scene, *Eſſ. on a N. Tranſlation p.* 124. (18) *Middraſh Tanhuma. Middraſh Tehillim. ſupr. verb. Pſal.* cxlvi. 7. *Vid.* & Maimonid. *More Nevoch part* iii. *cap.* 48. Meyer, *de tempor. ſacr. Hæbr. cap. xi.* § 15 & 16.

eat

to all appearance, calculated with a wiſe deſign of preſerving them, both in their obedience to GOD, and from all intermixture with other nations, and from adopting any part of their idolatrous worſhip into their own. Beſides theſe *Moſes* received a great number of political laws properly ſo called, which related to the welfare and preſervation of their common-wealth: of this nature were thoſe which aſcertained every man's property, and appointed proportionate puniſhments to the invaders of it. Such were alſo thoſe of the *Jubile*, which reſtored every man once in fifty years to his paternal eſtate, however alienated during that time: the cities of refuge to ſecure the life of a man, who had innocently ſlain another: ſuch were alſo the great court of judicature, known afterwards by the name of *Sanhedrim*; their other courts of judicature, choice of magiſtrates, and others to the ſame end; all which were delivered at ſeveral times, and upon divers exigencies, by GOD to *Moſes*, and by him committed to writing in the ſame order in which he received them [k]. Neither were all theſe laws given to him in the mount, though the main part of them was; for after the ſetting up of the tabernacle GOD was pleaſed to appear, and to deliver his oracles to him from thence. One thing however is remarkable in that laſt intercourſe we have been mentioning, namely the promiſe which GOD made to *Iſrael* [l], that he would ſend his angel to facilitate their way, and to bring them to the promiſed land; and that, if they proved obedient to his voice, and kept themſelves from the pollutions of thoſe nations which they went to conquer, he would inject a panic fear upon them, ſo that they ſhould not be able to reſiſt them; adding, that they ſhould not make a complete conqueſt of them at once, leſt the wild beaſts ſhould prove too ſtrong for them; but that they ſhould carry it on gradually, till they had extended it from the *Red-ſea* unto the ſea of the *Philiſtines*, and from the deſert unto the river [m].

The covenant between GOD *and the people ratified.*

IMMEDIATELY after this *Moſes* reared an altar to GOD, and offered burnt-ſacrifices and peace-offerings upon it, and having cauſed the contents of this new covenant to be read to all the people, and exacted a ſolemn promiſe from them that they would keep it faithfully, he ratified it by ſprinkling

[k] Exod. xxiv. 4. [l] Ibid xxiii. 20. & ſeq. [m] Ibid. ver. 31.

eat by other nations, than any of the reſt, it being looked upon as the moſt friendly and nouriſhing to our bodies of any other fleſh. And this did exactly anſwer their law-giver's deſign.

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the altar, the book, and the people, with the blood of the victims, and then ordered twelve pillars to be erected, one for each tribe, as a ſtanding monument of this alliance between GOD and them. *Moſes* had no ſooner made an end of this ceremony, than he took with him *Aaron*, *Nadab*, *Abihu*, and ſeventy of the elders of *Iſrael*, ſome part of the way towards the mountain, where they beheld the GOD of *Iſrael* in a kind of viſion, with a pavement of ſaphire-ſtone under him, exceeding the very ſky in brightneſs; and after he had committed the care of the people unto them, he took *Joſhua* up into the mountain with him, and ſtayed there full forty days. It was during this interval, that GOD gave him the two tables of ſtone, whereon were written the ten commandments by the finger, that is, as the generality of expoſitors underſtand it, and indeed the original doth properly imply, by the immediate command and direction of GOD himſelf (A); the plan of the *Jewiſh* religion, of the tabernacle,

Moſes takes 70 of the elders up towards the mountain.

Goes himſelf into the cloud.

(A) What character theſe tables were written in, whether in that which we now call the *Samaritan*, or in the *Aſſyrian*, ſhall be conſidered, when we come to ſpeak of their writing; and therefore all we ſhall obſerve at preſent concerning them, is, that *Moſes* tells us, that they were writ, or engraved, מזה ומזה, *Mize umize*, on this and on that ſide (19). From which their *Talmud* tells us (20), that the letters were cut through and through, ſo as to be ſeen and read on either ſide. And when the queſtion is put, how it was poſſible for the middle part of the ם final *mem* and ס *ſamech* to ſupport itſelf? the *Talmudiſt* anſwers, that it was kept ſuſpended by a miraculous power: we are far enough from crediting ſuch fables againſt the plain meaning of the text, which at moſt imports no more, than that they were written on both ſides, that is, front and back-ſide, though it may ſignify only, that they were ſo on each ſide, like the two pages of an open book, in which ſenſe *Moſes*'s words are generally taken; but what we would infer from it, is, that the compilers of that book never could dream of the *Samaritan* being the antient *Hebrew* character, becauſe thoſe two letters are of a quite different ſhape, and needed not ſuch a miracle to ſupport the middle, more than any other letter, and yet it is plain, that thoſe who have embraced this notion, have quoted the *Talmud* for it (21); and ſuch has been their preposſeſſion in favour of this character, that they have miſtaken an objection for a poſitive text, and overlooked two or three expreſs anſwers which immediately follow it. But of this we ſhall have a more proper occaſion to ſpeak in the ſequel. As to other particu-

(19) *Exod. xxxii.* 15. (20) *Tractat. Megillath.* (21) Morin. *Diſſert. in pentat. Samarit.* Walton. *prolegom.* Whiſton. *& al.*

nacle, and all the utenſils belonging to it, and ſeveral other laws concerning the prieſts, *Levites*, and laity, and, in particular, an order for exacting a free-will-offering from all the children of *Iſrael*, according to their abilities, of gold, ſilver, braſs, ſcarlet, ſilk, wool, oil, ſpices, and all other neceſſary materials for the tabernacle, ark of the covenant, prieſtly

lars relating to theſe tables, ſuch as their number, which ſome eaſtern authors have multiplied to ten, and others to ſeventeen (22); though the *Talmud* and all the *Jewiſh* rabbies do conſtantly call them the *two tables of the covenant* (23): their ſhape, bigneſs, what material they were made of? which ſome rabbies take to have been ſome precious wood, others, ſome precious ſtone, as a ruby or carbuncle: in what order the ten commandments were writ? whether all the ten upon each table, or half, or ſome part upon one, and the reſt upon the other? theſe, and other ſuch nice enquiries we purpoſely forbear, becauſe the ſcriptures leave us wholly in the dark about them. However, we beg leave here to vindicate our ſenſe of thoſe expreſſions of *Moſes*, that theſe tables were written by the finger of GOD, that they were the work of GOD, and that the writing was the writing of GOD, and the like. For though a great many expoſitors underſtand them literally, as writ by GOD himſelf, others by an angel, and others by the ſpirit of GOD, which is ſometimes called *the finger of* GOD (24); yet we think it plain, by comparing the words with what *Moſes* ſays in another place (25), that GOD commanded him to write the words of the covenant upon the ſecond tables, as they had been written in the firſt which he had broken, and that he did ſo accordingly; and what he repeats, or rather recapitulates, in *Deuteronomy* (26), that he (GOD) wrote on the ſecond tables, according to the writing of the firſt, the ten commandments; it is plain, we ſay, that the words can imply no more, than that they were writ by the command and direction of GOD, and that *Moſes* was the perſon that wrote the firſt, as well as the laſt; though the common opinion of antient and modern expoſitors is, that GOD wrote the firſt, and he the laſt (27).

The *Mohammedans* tell us, that GOD commanded the angel *Gabriel* to take the heavenly pen, which is the naming of the name of GOD, and to dip it into the river of light, and to write the ten laws upon the tables. And that after *Moſes* had broke them, the angels carried the fragments up into heaven again, except one piece about half a yard long, which was afterwards depoſited in the ark (28).

(22) *Vid.* Herbelot's *Bibliot. Orient. in loc.* (23) *Talm. paſſ. vid. etiam.* הגדה הפסח *Cantic.* אחר מי יזרע. (24) *Vid. Exod. viii.* 19. *Luke xi.* 20. & *alib.* (25) *Exod. xxxiv.* 27, 28. (26) *Cap x.* 4. (27) Cypr. *lib. de S. Spirit.* Auguſt. *quæſt. in Exod.* 186. Jun. Villet. *Rabbin. vid.* Munſt. & *al. in loc.* (28) *Vid. Bibliot. Orient. p.* 649.

robes.

robes, and all other things that were to be appointed for the public worſhip [n]. The care of making all theſe things was to be committed to *Bezaleel*, of the tribe of *Judah*, and *Aholiab* of the tribe of *Dan*, two perſons whom GOD had endowed with an extraordinary ſkill and wiſdom to contrive and execute all theſe grand deſigns, according to his directions [o].

In the mean time, the people, who had ſeen *Moſes* go up and enter into the cloud, whilſt the top of the mountain was all in flames [p], after they had waited above a month for him, began to give him over for loſt. In this uncertain condition they aſſembled themſelves, in a riotous manner, about *Aaron*'s tent, and told him, that, as they wholly deſpaired of *Moſes*'s return, they expected that he ſhould make them ſome gods to go before them; and ſuch was his extreme weakneſs and cowardice, that he doth not ſeem to have heſitated one moment, whether he ſhould refuſe or comply with their requeſt, but to have directed them immediately to bring him a ſufficient quantity of their gold ornaments, to make them a golden calf. A learned *Romiſh* writer has indeed taken a deal of pains to vindicate this mean action of the *Jewiſh* high-prieſt, in compliment to his own, to whom he dedicates the work [q], which was however univerſally condemned, even by thoſe of his own church. And indeed the moſt that can be ſaid in *Aaron*'s defence is, that he did not perhaps think the people would be ſo ready to part with their golden ornaments, eſpecially the women, from whom he bids them to tear or ſnatch them; but when he found how quickly his orders were obeyed, he made no ſcruple to be as quick as they in anſwering their requeſt, ſo that by the next day the calf was ſet up. The greateſt part of the *Jews* ſeem to throw the fault of this whole tranſaction upon the *Egyptians* that were come out with them, who firſt put it into the people's head to aſk for theſe gods: they add, that *Aaron* had no hand in the caſting of it in that form, but that it was done by ſome *Egyptian* conjuror by dint of magic, which they prove from the ſhort time he took in making it, and from *Aaron*'s words to *Moſes*: *they gave me* (their gold) *and I caſt it into the fire, and there came out this calf.* But we may juſtly affirm, that they who undertake to vindicate *Aaron*'s weakneſs, whether *Jews* or *Chriſtians* [*], do act with leſs modeſty than *Joſephus*,

Is given over by the people.

The golden calf ſet up.

[n] Exod. a cap. xxv. ad cap. xxx. [o] Ibid. xxxi. paſſ. [p] Vid. Exod. xxiv. 16, 17. [q] MONCEUS de Vitul. Aur. ap. Oper. Critic. Vol. II. p. 4415. vid etiam BAYL. Dict. ſub. voc. Aaron. [*] BERRUYER's Hiſt. du peup. de Dieu in loc. CALM. & al.

who ſaw too plainly, that it were in vain to offer any thing by way of excuſe, ſeeing *Moſes* doth ſo ſeverely reprove and condemn him for it [r], and therefore hath rather choſen to ſuppreſs it wholly, than to record a deed ſo little to his predeceſſor's credit, however gloſſed or palliated. Had not *Moſes* had a greater regard to truth, than to the honour of his brother, we ſhould have loſt this among many other pregnant teſtimonies of his faithfulneſs and ſincerity. However, the people were ſo eager for this new god, that they willingly parted with their gold ear-rings to *Aaron*, who loſt no time to have it caſt according to his promiſe (B); and, having ſet it

[r] Exod. xxxii. 21.

(B) Our verſion and ſeveral others, have given us a very uncouth account of the caſting of this golden calf, by making *Aaron* faſhion it with a graving tool, after he had caſt it in a mould (29): that of *Geneva* is ſtill more ridiculous, which makes him engrave it firſt, and caſt it afterwards. For to ſay nothing of the improbability of engraving having been known ſo ſoon, when we meet with nothing like it in all the fine work of *Solomon*'s temple ſo long after, which was wrought with more art and greater deliberation, it is plain, that *Aaron* could not have time enough to get the mould ready, the metal melted, and the idol caſt, and engraven into the bargain, becauſe he ſet it up on the very morrow after they had brought him the metal. The miſtake is owing to their not attending to the various ſenſe of the verb צוּר, *Tzur*, which ſignifies, *to tie up*, and *bind*, as well as *to ſhape*, and *form*, nor to that of the word חֶרֶט, *Cherret*, which though it may properly enough be rendered a *graving-tool* in one or two places where it is uſed; yet in others it ſignifies *a bag*: accordingly, *Naaman*, the *Syrian*, is ſaid to have tied up two talents of ſilver *in* two bags (30), in which place theſe two words צוּר, *Tzur*, and חֶרֶט, are uſed. We think therefore thoſe in the right, who have rendered the verſe now in queſtion, *and* Aaron *received them* (the gold ear-rings) *and tied them in a bag, and got them caſt into a molten calf* (31).

As for the calf itſelf, ſome antient fathers have been of opinion, that it had only the face of one, and the form of a man from the neck downwards (32), in imitation of the *Egyptian Iſis* (33); others have thought it to have had the head of an ox, and no body joined to it: But, however, the moſt general opinion is, that it was a whole calf in imitation of the *Egyptian Apis*. But whatever the ſhape of it was, it is plain from ſome of the prophets

(29) *Exod. xxxii.* 4. Scen. *Eſſay on a N. Verſ. ment. in Exod. in loc.* (30) 2 *Kings v.* 23. (31) Le (32) *Vid.* Le Clerc & Calmet's *Com-* (33) *Vid.* Herodot. *lib. ii. cap.* 41.

(34),

it upon a pedeſtal, in full ſight of all the camp, and reared up an altar before it, told them in their own dialect, that theſe were the gods which brought them out of *Egypt*, and appointed the next day as a ſolemn feſtival to their new made deity; which they began with offering burnt-ſacrifices and peace-offerings to it, and concluded with feaſting and dancing.

IN the mean time GOD, who ſaw what paſſed in their camp, and that the ungrateful *Iſraelites* were rendering themſelves more unworthy than ever of his care and protection, informed *Moſes* of it, who had ſpent by this time full forty days in faſting and prayer; but with ſuch threatening expreſſions againſt thoſe idolaters, as made him fear that ſome heavy puniſhment, if not total deſtruction, was going to fall upon them; but though GOD did comfort him at the ſame time with promiſes of making him the father of as numerous a nation, as that of the *Iſraelites* then was, yet he rather choſe to intercede for them, and ceaſed not to ſue for their pardon, till he had obtained a kind of promiſe of it from him. After this. taking the two tables and his ſervant *Joſhua* with him, he came down from the mountain, and was ſcarce got to the foot of it, when he was ſurprized with their ſtrange ſhoutings, which, as he thought, were neither like thoſe of a flying or a purſuing army, but it was not long before he beheld the ſad cauſe of it, the calf which his brother had ſet up, and the people dancing round it. His concern was ſo great, that the firſt way he expreſſed it by, was by breaking the two tables, after which he went and upbraided his puſillanimous brother in the ſtrongeſt terms, for having ſo eaſily yielded to the people's ſhameful deſire, aſſuring him, that he had brought a horrid ſin upon them, and had now made them naked to their ſhame in the midſt of their enemies, meaning thereby, that he had publickly expoſed their idolatrous and ſtubborn diſpoſition to all the world, and layed them open, naked and defenceleſs to all their enemies, by forfeiting the divine protection, which alone could bring them ſafe into the promiſed land.

Moſes *comes down from the mount.*

Breaks the two tables.

AARON failed not to lay the blame on the tumultuous people, which forced him to comply with their requeſt; but

(34), and eſpecially from St. *Stephen*'s words, *in their hearts they returned into* Egypt, *and forced* Aaron *to make them a molten calf* (35); that they learned their idolatry, and contracted this propenſity to it, during their abode in *Egypt*.

(34) *Iſai. Ezek. Amos & al. paſſ.* (35) *Acts vii. 39. & ſeq.*

Moſes

Moſes, inſtead of liſtening to his excuſes, ſet himſelf immediately about the deſtruction of the idol, and the puniſhment of ſuch of the delinquents, whom his preſence had not driven away from the place where it was ſet up. He cauſed the calf to be taken down, in order to have it burnt, and ground into powder, and caſt into the water, of which he afterwards made all the people to drink (C). Whilſt this was doing,

(C) This action of *Moſes*, of melting, grinding, and powdering, the golden idol, in order to make the people drink it with the water into which he threw it, is ſo contrary to our preſent philoſophy, and the account which the Alchymiſts give us of the nature of gold, that it has been ſtrangely canvaſſed by the incredulous, and very aukwardly defended by others. However it is plain, that gold may be reduced to a fine and almoſt impalpable powder, and it is no more than all our gold-beaters know how to do. It is true, *Moſes* might have ſome particular ſecret for doing it, which we know nothing of; neither is it improbable, that the *Egyptians* and other nations might know ſome things concerning that metal, which have been ſince loſt. Nothing has been more commonly received, than the notion that gold cannot be deſtroyed, by people's running into favourite hypotheſes, perhaps upon ſome experiments not rightly underſtood, or not ſufficiently bottomed And yet the royal academy at *Paris* have a burning glaſs that will vitrify it in an inſtant, by evaporating all the ſulphur of it, which crackles and flies up in a thick ſmoke, whilſt the glaſs that remains can never be reduced into any other form. And *Borrichius* aſſures us, that he has, by a conſtant trituration of that metal in ſome ſimple diſtilled water, during the ſpace of thirty days, raiſed this ſulphur up to the ſurface of the water, upon which it appeared like a fine red oil, whilſt all the reſt that ſubſided was only a greyiſh powder, which could never be reduced into any thing afterwards, but appeared in all reſpects the ſame with that which he had got out of baſer metals by the ſame method of trituration; though none of the latter, not even ſilver, ever afforded any thing like that beautiful oil which gold did (36).

The *Rabbies*, according to cuſtom, tell us, that the reaſon of *Moſes*'s making the people drink this gold-powder, was in order to know the idolaters from the reſt, and that as ſoon as they had drank it, the beards of the former turned red; and the cabaliſts add, that the idol weighed 125 *quintals*, or hundreds, which they gather from the *Hebrew* word מסכה, *Maſſekah*, whoſe numerical

(36) *Vid.* B. Sigogn. *N. Meth.*

doing, he cried aloud, who is on the LORD's ſide? and finding, that the ſons of *Levi* did immediately join themſelves to him, he commanded them to gird on their ſwords, and to go and ſlay all indifferently whom they found ſtill at that idolatrous feaſt, without regard to age, or quality, kindred, friendſhip, or acquaintance. Theſe went forthwith from *Moſes*'s preſence, and puniſhed with immediate death about three thouſand of the delinquents, whom they found ſtill ſtraggling about in the midſt of their mirth. Some copies of the ſeptuagint and the vulgate ſay twenty three, and others thirty three thouſand; but beſides, that the original mentions no more than three thouſand, and thoſe verſions are acknowledged by ſeveral eminent men of the church of *Rome* to be corrupt in this place †, it is hardly probable, that they could make a greater ſlaughter in ſo ſhort a time. This timely zeal of the tribe of *Levi*, againſt thoſe idolaters, did not go long unrewarded: for it did not only wipe off that blemiſh which their progenitor had entailed upon them, for the bloody maſſacre of the *Shechemites*, but in a very ſhort time procured them the *Levitical* prieſthood; which, though ſubordinate to that of *Aaron* and his poſterity, did entitle them to the tenths of all kinds of beaſts, fruits, and grain in *Iſrael*; to the inferior miniſtry of the tabernacle, and afterwards of the temple; to a place in the judicial courts of every city and town; to the property of thirty five cities with all their lands, ſome of which were appointed cities of refuge; and to ſeveral other privileges and immunities, of which further account ſhall be given in its proper place. In the mean time the people who were witneſſes of this dreadful example on the delinquents, and heard with what ſeverity *Moſes* had reproved his brother, were under the greateſt conſternation; but whether it were that his anger was by this time ſomewhat diſarmed, he contented himſelf with upbraiding them with their ingratitude and extreme folly, promiſing them however, that he would go up to the mountain again, and try how far his prayers could prevail with the divine mercy, and avert the puniſhment which they had deſerved. He went up accordingly, and interceded ſo powerfully for them, that he at-

The Levites *kill* 3000 *delinquents.*

Their Zeal is rewarded.

Moſes *returns to the mount.*

† CAJET. VATABL. LIPPOMAN. A. MONTAN. & al. vid. 1 Cor. x. 8.

rical letters make 125. But why quintals, rather than pounds, ounces, or talents, they give no reaſon for (37).

(37) R. Tauchum *in Elle Shem. Rab. ſect.* 42.

length

length obtained, not only their pardon, but a renewing of GOD's former promiſe of bringing them into the promiſed land under the conduct of his angel. However, both the pardon and promiſe were ſo far conditional, that the people were to make ſome attonement for their rebellion, by a ſolemn and public act of humiliation, and a promiſe to be more obedient for the future; for in caſe they ſhould, by a further relapſe, bring down a freſh puniſhment upon themſelves, this idolatry was likewiſe to be puniſhed along with it (D) [r]. One of theſe conditions the people immediately embraced, and a ſolemn faſt was kept throughout the whole camp, during which they diveſted themſelves of all their gaudy apparel and coſtly ornaments: and, in memory of this ſin, and of the breaking of the two tables, the *Jews* obſerve that faſt yearly even to this day. At the ſame time GOD, to adminiſter ſome comfort to *Moſes*, whom he ſaw labouring under ſuch a heavy load of grief and care, and as a further mark of his particular favour, was pleaſed, at his requeſt, to grant him a ſight of his glory, that is, as the context explains it [t], a ſight of that angel, or rather divine conductor, under whoſe direction and care they were to go and conquer the promiſed land (E).

MOSES

[r] Exod. xxxv. [t] Ibid. c xxxiii. ver. 12. & ſeq.

(D) The *Jews* have underſtood theſe words in ſo unlimited a ſenſe, that they tell us upon the authority of one of their greateſt rabbies, quoted by the *Talmud* (38), that GOD doth not inflict any puniſhment upon the world for any crying fault, in which there is not one twenty fourth part of this ſin of the golden calf put into the ſcale with it: but another (39), afraid leſt that proportion ſhould have been long ago exhauſted hath confined it to the *Iſraelites*, and allows but about one ounce of the gold calf to go into the doſe of every ſuch puniſhment; ſo that it can hardly fail of laſting a conſiderable while, eſpecially if the calf weighed ſo many hundred weights as they tell us it did. However it is plain by the text, that GOD did only deſign to deter them from relapſing into the like crime, by threatening, that in ſuch a caſe he would inflict a double puniſhment upon them.

(E) It muſt be owned, that the account which *Moſes* gives us of this divine viſion, is none of the cleareſt, and that ſome of the expreſſions he uſes, ſuch as that he ſhould not ſee GOD's face, but only his back, &c. have induced ſome free thinkers to tax him and all the *Jews* after him with being *Anthropomorphites*, 'till they

(38) R. Iſaac *in Talmud. Tract. Sanhedr.* (39) Moſ. Gerundenſ. *vid.* Munſt. *in loc.*

learned

MOSES ſtayed in the mount another forty days and nights, during which, he tells us, he neither eat nor drank (F), but ſpent

learned a more refined divinity from the *Babylonians* during their captivity. But it muſt be remembered, that *Moſes* ſpoke to a groſs and carnal people, in a languaage far from copious, eſpecially in words or idioms ſuitable either to the deity, or to the dignity of the preſent glorious tranſaction; and that it is therefore no wonder, if he borrows his expreſſions from outward and ſenſible objects and actions. It is plain, that thoſe who wrote in *Greek*, which is vaſtly more rich than the *Hebrew*, even the very writers of the new teſtament, and the primitive fathers, who were the fartheſt from having any ſuch abſurd ideas of the godhead, have been forced to make uſe of the ſame figurative expreſſions in many places of their writings, for want of more proper and intelligible ones, which were equally wanting in that as in the other tongue. Neither doth it appear that the *Jews* themſelves underſtood *Moſes*'s words in that groſs ſenſe, becauſe it is plain that they had a notion, that this angel, or apparition, which directed them through the wilderneſs, was the *Meſſiah*, who did then take a viſible appearance, which they called the *Shekinah*, from שכן. *Shakan*, to dwell, under which he delivered his oracles and commands to them. Which *Shekinah*, though ſome underſtand of all the appearances which GOD took from the beginning, and others, either of the *Shekinah* of fire and water, or of the fiery and cloudy pillar; yet all agree that it was the כסא הכבוד, *Kiſſe bakabod*, the throne of glory, which was one of the ſeven things which they affirm to have been created before the world (40).

However, to diſculpate at once the *Jewiſh* lawgiver from ſuch an imputation, we need but call to mind the glorious deſcriptions he gives almoſt every where, eſpecially in *Deuteronomy*, of the godhead; what pains he takes to deter the *Jews* from making any repreſentation of it under any form whatſoever, by reminding them, that when GOD was ſo pleaſed to diſplay his glory upon mount *Sinai* at the delivering of the ten commands, they ſaw no ſhape nor likeneſs, but only they heard his dreadful voice. Theſe ſo frequent inculcations may therefore be reaſonably looked upon as a key to them, how to underſtand all thoſe other expreſſions which he had been forced to accommodate to their capacity, that is, not in a literal ſenſe, but in ſuch a one as was worthy of the deity, and the dignity of the ſubject.

(F) *Buxtorf* quotes a *Jewiſh* proverb out of the large comment on *Exodus*, with reſpect to this miraculous faſting of *Moſes*, which is to this purpoſe: 'that above, where there is neither eating or 'drinking, *Moſes* ſtaid 80 days, and became like the angels, and 'below, where men do eat and drink, miniſtring angels came

(40) *Vid. Chald. Paraph in loc. & in Geneſ. i* 1. Raym. Mart. *pug. fid.* Duplеis. *cont. Jud* Munſt *& al.*

ſpent his whole time in praying and making two other tables, like unto thoſe which he had broken, and in receiving ſome further inſtructions from God; after which he came down again to the people, who were not a little ſurprized to obſerve, that his face had contracted ſuch a glorious luſtre during his receſs, that they could not intenſely behold it. This obliged him to cover it with a vail whenever he was to ſpeak to them, but he took it off whenever he went to receive God's commands [u]. By this time the people were become a little more tractable, and he had no ſooner acquainted them, among other things, that they ſhould every one bring a free-will-offering of all ſorts of materials for the tabernacle, ark, utenſils, prieſtly garments, and the like, but both men and women ſhewed the greateſt eagerneſs and readineſs to contribute their richeſt jewels, metals, and other precious things which they had got out of the ſpoils of the *Egyptians* and *Amalekites*; ſo that in one day he beheld them laying at his feet a more than ſufficient quantity of precious ſtones, gold, ſilver, braſs, ſhittim and cedar-wood, ſilk, cotton, linen, and the fineſt wool of purple, ſcarlet and other colours, of the ſkins of rams, badgers and goats richly died, and laſtly of the richeſt oils, ſpices, ointments and perfumes; all which he diſtributed to proper perſons to be wrought, and made *Bezaleel* and *Aholiab* overſeers of all the work [w]. Theſe ſhewed ſuch

A general offering of all the people.

[u] Exod. xxxiv. [w] Ibid. xxxv. 20, 21. & ſeq.

'down, and eat and drank like them (41), by which one would 'be apt to think they attributed both the one and the other, ra-'ther to a change of climate, than to a miracle.' However, without enquiring whether *Moſes*, and afterwards *Chriſt*, were miraculouſly ſupported without any kind of ſuſtenance or not, we beg leave to obſerve, that the words which *Chriſt* quotes from *Moſes*, that *man doth not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of* God †, contains an *hebraiſm*, which cannot be retained in a verſion, without conveying a wrong idea. *Word*, in the original doth often ſignify *thing*, and is often uſed in that ſenſe in the new teſtament, as where it is ſaid, and *we are witneſſes of theſe words*, that is, of theſe things or tranſactions. The text ought therefore to have been rendered, *Man ſhall not live by bread alone, but by every thing that* God *has appointed or ordained for his nouriſhment* *; ſince it is plain that *Moſes* ſpeaks in the place quoted not of his faſting, but of the manna which God gave the *Iſraelites* inſtead of bread.

(41) *Vid.* Buxtorf. *Lexic. ſub. rad.* נסם. † *Matth.* iv. 4. *out of Deut.* viii. 3. * Le Scen. *Eſſay on a N. Verſ.*

diligence

diligence, and employed ſo many hands in the work, that the tabernacle, and all its rich furniture and coſtly apparatus, were finiſhed, and ſet up at the foot of mount *Sinai*, in leſs than ſix months. *Aaron* and his ſons, being ſolemnly conſecrated prieſts, began to offer up all kinds of ſacrifices upon the new altar according to the law of *Moſes*. Soon after this, the heads of each tribe came and appeared before *Moſes* and *Aaron*, and preſented a very conſiderable offering to GOD, in ſix waggons drawn each by two oxen, all which were received by *Moſes*, and ſet aſide for the ſervice of the tabernacle †. Thus was this pompous worſhip begun, in the framing and inſtituting of which GOD was pleaſed to comply with their groſs and carnal minds, which he ſaw was incapable of being affected with a purer and more ſpiritual one ×.

Aaron conſecrated high-prieſt.

† Numb. vii. 1. & ſeq. × Exod. from Ch. xxxvi. to the end.

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rade and a powerful army againſt *Iſrael* 275, *& ſeq.* His haughty behaviour towards *Ahab*, *ibid.* His proud meſſage to him variouſly interpreted, 276, (D). His army routed, and himſelf put to a ſhameful flight, 276. Flies to the city of *Aphek*, where 27000 of his men are cruſhed to death by the wall of the city, which fell on them, 277. How this extraordinary caſualty came to paſs, *ibid* (G). Throws himſelf upon *Ahab*'s mercy, by whom he is kindly treated, and immediately reſtored to his liberty, 278. Keeps poſſeſſion of *Ramoth-gilead*, which was the ſubject of a freſh war. 279. Comes to an engagement with *Ahab*, and *Jehoſhaphat* king of *Judah*, whereof the victory was doubtful, 279. Detaches a ſtrong party to *Dothan* to ſeize *Eliſha*, 283. They are ſmitten with ſuch a deception of ſight by the prophet, that they ſuffer him to lead them into the city of *Samaria*, where they are hoſpitably entertained, which put a ſtop to this war, *ibid.* *Ben-hadad* marches again againſt *Samaria*, but, while he was on the point of taking the city, is ſeized with a panic fear, and raiſes the ſiege, *ibid. & ſeq.* Sends *Hazael* to conſult *Eliſha* about his indiſpoſition, who receives anſwer that he might recover, but would not, 284. Stifled by *Hazael* with a thick cloth dipt in water, 285. Worſhipped as a god by the *Aſſyrians*, under the name of *Adad*, or *Ader*, 255.

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Berytus, an antient city of *Phœnice*, ſaid to have been ſtanding in the days of *Cronus*, 299. Now called *Barût*, or *Beroot*, *ibid.* Deſcription of its ſituation, *ibid* (T).

Beth-el-Shechem, city in the land of *Canaan*, 161. The inhabitants ſubject to the king of *Ai*, join him againſt *Joſhua*, but are all cut off, 175. Fall afterwards by fraud, and their city is ſeized by the houſe of *Joſeph*, 181. *Bethel*, that is, the houſe of GOD, called formerly *Luz*, 395.

Bethſhean city, in the land of *Canaan*, 161.

Bethuel, the father of *Rebekah* according to ſome, 376 (D). More probably her brother, 381 (M).

Bezek, city of *Canaan*, the reſidence of *Adonibezek*, taken by the *Iſraelites*, and all who were within the walls put to the ſword, 180.

Bilhah, *Leah*'s maid, bears to *Jacob Dan* and *Naphtali*, 398.

Birſha, king of *Gomorrah*, routed by *Chedorlaomer*, 167.

Bocchoris, king of *Egypt*, ſurnamed the wiſe, 39. The fourth *Egyptian* law-giver, *ibid.* Said to be taken by *Sabbaco* the *Ethiopian*, and burnt alive, *ibid.*

Boils upon men and beaſts, one of the *Egyptian* plagues, 515. Break out by *Aaron*'s throwing a handful of the aſhes of the furnace into the air, *ibid.*

Botrys, in *Phœnice*, built by *Ithobal*, 342.

Bozrah, *Boſor*, *Bazrah*, names of a city of *Edom*, 132.

Burning, a puniſhment uſed among the *Jews* before *Moſes*, 418 (R).

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C.

CAdmus, ſon of *Agenor*, 329. Sent by his father in queſt of *Europa*, his ſiſter, lands in *Thrace*, 329. Diſcovers there a gold mine in mount *Pangæus*, *ibid.* Adviſed by the oracle to leave *Thrace*, and paſs into *Bœotia*, *ibid.* Drives from thence the *Hyantes*, and founds a new kingdom, *ibid.* Builds a city, called from his own name *Cadmea*, *ibid.*

Calf, the golden, made by *Aaron*, probably a whole calf, in imitation of the *Egyptian Apis*, 645 (B).

Canaanites, deſcended from *Canaan* the ſon of *Ham*, 157. The ſeven primary nations of the *Canaanites*, *ibid.* Their country, 158, & *ſeq.* *Canaanites*, peculiarly ſo called, divided

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Carthage the foundations of, laid by *Dido*, 342.

Caſiotis, part of *Seleucis* in *Syria*, 233. Likewiſe the name of a town in the ſaid country, *ibid.*

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Cathim, the laſt king of *Egypt*, of the race of the *Amalekites*, 73. Some oriental hiſtorians aſcribe to him the pyramids, *ibid.*

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Cephren, *Cephrenes*, or *Chabryis*, king of *Egypt*, 37. A tyrant, *ibid.* Erected the ſecond of the three moſt remarkable pyramids, 37.

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Chemoſh and *Baal-peor*, idols of the *Moabites*, 82. Whether the ſame idol, 84. Etymology of *Chemoſh*, 82, (E).

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Cherinus. See *Mycerinus*.

Chrencris, thought by ſome to have been the *Pharaoh* that reigned when the *Iſraelites* went out of *Egypt*, 506 (B)

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Cilix, ſon of *Agenor*, ſaid to have ſettled in *Cilicia*, and given his name to that country, 330.

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Colchis, an *Egyptian* colony, 24.
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Cozbi, daughter of *Zur*, prince of *Midian*, 119. Sent by her father, among the reſt, to debauch the *Iſraelites*, *ibid.* Is killed, *ibid.*
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D

DAGON or *Siton*, ſon of *Uranus*, worſhipped at *Azotus* as the moſt favourite god of the country, 199. The import of his name, *ibid.* The form he was worſhipped under, *ibid.* Opinions of the learned relating to him, *ibid.* (H).
Daluka, ſurnamed *al Ajûz*, or *the old woman*, queen of *Egypt*, ſaid by the oriental hiſtorians to have ſucceeded the *Pharaoh* who periſhed in the *Red-ſea*, and to have been the moſt expert woman of her time in magic, 73.
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Dan, *Jacob*'s firſt ſon by *Bilhah*, born, 398. *Jacob*'s propheſy to him and his tribe, 444. How verified, *ib.* (L). Why compared by *Jacob* to a viper, 444, 445.

Darkneſs during three days, one of the plagues of *Egypt*, 518.

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Deborah, fourth judge of *Iſrael*, defeats *Jabin* king of *Canaan*, 185.

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Dedan, a city of this name in *Edom*, of great dealings with *Tyre*, ſituate oppoſite to *Teman*, 132.

Delilah, *Samſon* in love with her, 211. She betrays him to the *Philiſtines*, *ibid.*

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Dinah, *Jacob*'s daughter by *Leah*, born, 399. Raviſhed by *Schechem* the ſon of *Hamor* the *Hivite*, 410. This affront revenged by her brothers, *Simeon* and *Levi*, who treacherouſly put to the ſword all the males of *Shechem*, *ibid.*

E

EASTER. See *Paſſover*.

Edom, ſo called from the children of *Edom*, or *Eſau*, 130. Originally inhabited by a people called *Horites*, or *Horim*, 129. Called alſo the land of *Seir*, from one *Seir* an *Horite*, *ibid.* And *Gablah*, *Gobal*, and *Gobolitis*, *ibid.*

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Edomites, ſo called from *Edom*, or *Eſau*, their progenitor, 123. Etymology of the word *Edom*, *ibid.* & *ſeq.* Deſcription of their country, 129, &c. The cities and remarkable places of *Edom*, 132. Their form of government, and character, 134. Several arts, ſciences, &c. cultivated, if not invented, among them, 135, & *ſeq.* At firſt right in their belief, but by degrees fall into idolatry, *ibid.* Are, with much ado, prevailed upon by *Moſes*, to grant the *Iſraelites* a paſſage through their territories, 140, & *ſeq.* Extended their territories, applied themſelves to trade and navigation, and made themſelves maſters of the *Arabian* gulph, 141. Defeated by *David* in the *Valley of Salt*, 142. Maſſacred by *Joab* for ſix months together, wherever they could be found, *ibid.* Are diſperſed, and eſcape, ſome to the *Philiſtines*, where they fortified *Azoth*, or *Azotus*; others to the *Perſian* gulph, *ibid.* & *ſeq.* Continue under the houſe of *David*, governed by deputies, till the days of *Jehoſhaphat*, 144. In the reign of *Jehoram* riſe up in arms, aſſaſſinate their viceroy, and make to themſelves a king, 145. Never afterwards annexed to the houſe of *David*, *ibid.* Suffer a ſignal overthrow from *Amaziah* king of *Judah*, 145. Their war with the *Moabites*, 145, &c. Become ſubject to the king of *Babylon*, *ibid.* Revenge the ſlaughter of their fore-fathers, by cutting off ſuch of the *Jews* as endeavoured to eſcape the captivity of *Babylon*, 146. Forced by inteſtine commotions to leave their own country, 146. Some ſettled in the empty land of *Judæa*. and thoſe, who ſtaid in *Edom*, joined the children of *Nebajoth*, and ever afterwards were called *Nabatæans*, *ibid.* A decree iſſued out againſt thoſe that had ſettled in *Judæa*, commanding them to deliver up to the *Jews*, all they had belonging to them, 147. After *Alexander*'s days, under the power of the *Seleucidæ*, *ibid.* They war againſt *Judas Maccabeus*, under the conduct of *Gorgias*, their governor, but are worſted with great ſlaughter; their city *Hebron* is taken, with their other ſtrong holds, *ibid.* Conquered by *John Hyrcanus*, by whom they are forced to embrace the *Jewiſh* religion, and incorporated with that people, *ibid.*

Edrei, the reſidence of *Og* king of *Baſhan*, 174.

Eglon, king of *Moab*, ſtabbed by *Ehud*, ſecond judge of *Iſrael*, 92.

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Ehud, ſecond judge of *Iſrael*, ſtabs *Eglon*, king of *Moab*, and frees the *Iſraelites* from the yoke of that nation, 92. Whether that action juſtifiable, *ibid.* (R).

Ekron, corruptedly *Accaron*, a city of *Paleſtine*, 195. The famous idol of *Baal-zebub* worſhipped there. *ibid.*

Elah, king of *Iſrael*, lays ſiege to *Gibbethon*, a city of the *Philiſtines*, 229.

Elath, a ſeaport on the ſhore of the *Arabian* gulph, called alſo *Eloth*, *Aela*, *Ailat*, *Elat*, *Elana*, and now, by the *Arabians*, *Ailah*, 133. Taken from the *Edomites* by *David*, and re-taken by the *Edomites*, from the houſe of *David*, 134. Conquered to *Syria* by *Hazael*, 289, (D) Reſtored to the kingdom of *Judah* by *Azariah*, *ibid.* Conquered again by *Rezin* king of *Syria*, who planted there a colony, 288, (C).

Elbo iſland, how formed, 41.

Elbaſus, king of *Berytus*, 322. To him *Sanchoniatho* dedicated his hiſtory, *ibid.*

Eleazar, the ſon of *Aaron*, by *Eliſheba*, 500.

Eliſa, or *Dido*, her huſband *Sichæus* being murdered by her brother *Pygmalion*, king of *Tyre*, flies with all the treaſure of her deceaſed huſband to *Afric*, 342, & *ſeq.* Lays the foundations of *Carthage*, 343.

Eliſha the prophet, his interview with *Naaman* the *Syrian*, 280. Cures him of the leproſy, 281. Perſecuted by *Benhadad*, 283. Smites thoſe who are ſent to ſeize him with a deception of ſight, *ibid.* Conſulted by *Ben-hadad* concerning

cerning his indiſpoſition, foretells that he would not live, and that *Hazael* would be king of *Syria*, 284, & *ſeq.*
Eliſheba, the ſiſter of *Naaſſon*, and wife of *Aaron*, 500.
Elon, in the *Hebrew*, not *a plain*, as it is commonly rendered, but *an oak*, 360, (G).
Elulæus, king of *Tyre*, reduces *Gath*, 344. Defends *Tyre* againſt *Shalmaneſer*, king of *Aſſyria*, *ibid.* His fleet diſperſes that of the *Aſſyrians*, *ibid.*
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Ephron the *Hittite*, his generous behaviour towards *Abraham*, 171.
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Erylus, king of *Byblus*, 332.
Eſau, called alſo *Edom*, progenitor of the *Edomites*, 123. Son of *Iſaac* by *Rebekah*, *ibid.* His early ſtrife with his twin-brother *Jacob*, *ibid.* & *ſeq.* Born with red hair all over him, *ibid.* (B). Sells his birth-right to *Jacob* for a meſs of pottage, 124. On this occaſion called *Edom*, which ſignifies *red*, the colour of the pottage which *Jacob* ſold him, *ibid.* In what his birth-right did conſiſt, 124. Marries among the daughters of *Heth*, *ibid.* Robbed of his father's bleſſing by *Jacob*, *ibid.* Goes over to *Iſhmael*, and takes to wife his daughter *Mahalath*, the ſiſter of *Nebajoth*, 127. Removes with his family to mount *Seir*, *ib.* The ſpot he occupied called from him the field of *Edom*, *ib.* His generous behaviour to his brother *Jacob*, on his return from *Padan-aram*, 127, 128. Goes to *Mamre*, and aſſiſts *Jacob* at the funeral of their deceaſed father, takes poſſeſſion of his inheritance, parts with his brother, and returns to *Seir*, 129. Marries *Aholibamah*, *ibid.* His character, 128, (H). His deſcendants dukes of *Edom*, etymology of his name, 390, (R).
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Eth-baal, ſee *Ithobal*.
Evi, king or duke of *Midian*, 118.

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F

FIRST-BORN of men, why to be conſecrated to God, and in what manner redeemed, 525. Firſt-born of the *Egyptians* killed by the deſtroying angel, 523.

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G

GAD, *Jacob*'s firſt-born by *Zilpah*, 398. *Jacob*'s propheſy to him, 445. How verified, *ibid.* (M).

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Galli, or eunuch-prieſts of the great *Syrian* goddeſs, 260. How the unnatural cuſtom of emaſculating themſelves was introduced, *ibid.* & *ſeq.* Ceremonies uſed at their funeral, 264, & *ſeq.* They uſed a woman's attire, and were wholly addicted to a feminine life, *ibid.*

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Gehazi, ſervant to *Eliſha*, takes the preſents of *Naaman*, whereupon the leproſy is entailed upon him and his poſterity, 282.

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Gergaſites, in what part of *Canaan* ſituated, 157. *Gergaſites* of *Canaan* probably fly into *Afric*, 182 (D).

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Geroſtratus, king of *Arad*, 353. Served *Darius* againſt *Alexander*, but ſubmits to the conqueror, *ibid.*

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Gezer, city of the *Canaanites*, taken by *Pharaoh* king of *Egypt*, and burnt, and the inhabitants put to the ſword, 187. Afterwards rebuilt by *Solomon*, 188.

Gezerites, allies of the *Amalekites* againſt the *Iſraelites*, 155. Some account of them, *ibid.* (I).

Gibbethon, a city of the *Philiſtines*, beſieged by *Nadab*, and after by *Elah*, kings of *Iſrael*, 229.

Gibeon, a city of the *Hivites*; the inhabitants cunningly perſuade *Joſhua* to make a league with them, 176. But are condemned to be hewers of wood and drawers of water, *ibid.* & *ſeq.* Beſieged by *Adonizedek*, king of *Jeruſalem*, and relieved by *Joſhua*, 177.

Glaſs, the firſt and beſt, ſaid to have been made with the ſand of *Tyre*, 300.

Gnephactus, king of *Egypt*, 39. Forbids all luxury, curſes *Menes* who firſt introduced it, and cauſes his curſe to be engraved on a pillar in the temple of *Thebes*, 39.

Goliath the *Philiſtine*, twelve foot and eight inches high, 220, (N) His armour, *ibid.* Challenges to a ſingle combat any one of the hoſt of *Iſrael*, 221, & *ſeq.* Killed by *David*. *ibid.*

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Goſhen, where *Jacob* and his family ſettled, after their going down into *Egypt*, 431. Its ſituation, *ibid.* (A).

Greeks ſettle in *Egypt* in the reign of *Pſammitichus*, 44. The firſt foreigners that were permitted to dwell in *Egypt*, *ibid.* Preſented with land near the city of *Bubaſtis*, in the *Peluſian* mouth of the *Nile*, *ibid.* Begin to be a conſiderable body in *Egypt*, in the reign of king *Amaſis*, 55.

H.

HADAD, the *Horite*, defeates the *Midianites* in the field of *Moab*, 113, 114, 137.

Hadad, king of the *Edomites*, his country being laid waſte by *David*, flies with many of his ſubjects to *Pharaoh* king of *Egypt*, where he marries the queen's ſiſter, 142. Proves a troubleſome neighbour to *Solomon*. 144. Eſtabliſhed himſelf probably in *Syria*, where the royal family bore the name of *Hadad*, *ibid.*

Hadadezer, or *Haderezer*, ſon of *Rehob*, the firſt king of *Zobah* in *Syria*, 273. Wars with advantage againſt the king of *Hamath*, *ibid.* But his good fortune leaves him in his wars againſt *David*, *ibid.* Reinforced by the *Syrians* of *Damaſcus*, *ibid.* Beaten out of the field, and *David* poſſeſſes himſelf of *Damaſcene*, *ibid.* Loſes his golden ſhields, *ibid.* His two cities *Betah* and *Berothai* plundered, *ibid.* Furniſhes *Hanun* king of *Ammon* with 20,000 men againſt *David*, *ibid.* & *ſeq.* Raiſes a powerful army againſt him, but is worſted with great ſlaughter, and his general killed, 274. Becomes tributary to *David*, *ibid.*

Hadar, king of the *Horites*, 138.

Hagar, forced to fly from *Sarah*. 365. Perſuaded by an angel to return and ſubmit, *ibid.* Brings forth a ſon called *Iſhmael*, *ibid.* Sent away with *Iſhmael*, 374.

Hail-ſtorms, and thunder, one of the *Egyptian* plagues, 515, & *ſeq.* The great miſchief done by them, 516.

Haman, called an *Agagite*, or *Amalekite*, 156.

Hamath, the kingdom denominated from *Hamathi*, one of the eleven ſons of *Canaan*, 253. Chronology of its kings, 270. *Hamath*, or *Hamath the Great*, placed by *Joſephus* to the north of the land of *Canaan*, but by *Abûlfeda*, who reigned there, upon the *Orontes* between *Hems* and *Apamea*, 291, (H). The account of their kings ſhort and uncertain, 290. Their kings, *ibid.* & *ſeq.*. This kingdom afterwards ſubject to the kings of *Damaſcus*, 292. And at laſt to the kings of *Aſſyria*, *ibid.*

Hamathites, conquered and tranſplanted by *Sennacherib* and *Eſarhaddon*, 293.

Hamor, king of *Shechem*, his ſubmiſſion to *Jacob* for the affront offered by his ſon to *Jacob*'s daughter, 172.

Hanun, king of the *Ammonites*, 194. Treates the ambaſſadors of *David* like ſpies, *ibid.* Draws together a conſiderable army againſt *David*, 105. Is routed by *Abiſhai*, 106. Beſieged by *Joab*, in the capital of his kingdom, which

which after two years ſiege is ſtormed by *David* in perſon, 107. *Hanun* is ſlain in the aſſault, *ibid.*

Hazael, ſent by *Ben-hadad* II. to conſult the prophet *Eliſha*, concerning his indiſpoſition, is told by the prophet, that he was to ſucceed *Ben-hadad* in the kingdom of *Syria*, and would prove a cruel and mercileſs perſecutor of the children of *Iſrael*, 284. Stifles his maſter *Ben-hadad* with a thick cloth dipped in water, and aſcends the throne, 285. Provoked by *Joram* king of *Iſrael*, and *Ahaziah* king of *Judah*, who poſſeſs themſelves of *Ramoth-gilead*, invades the kingdoms of *Judah* and *Iſrael*, 286. Subdues all that belonged to the kingdom of *Iſrael*, on the other ſide *Jordan*, putting all to the ſword, *ibid.* (Y). Wages war upon *Jehoahaz*, the ſon of *Jehu*, with great ſlaughter of the *Iſraelites*, *ibid.* Turns his arms againſt the kingdom of *Judah*, and makes himſelf maſter of *Gath*. *ibid.* Is diverted from attempting *Jeruſalem* by king *Jehoaſh*, who ſends him all the treaſures and rich moveables that had been dedicated by his father to ſacred uſes, *ibid.* & *ſeq.* Not long after detatches a party to beſiege *Jeruſalem*, which city they took and ſacked, ſlaying all the princes of the people, and ſending their ſpoils to *Hazael*, 287. Makes himſelf maſter of *Elath* on the *Red-ſea*, *ibid.* Dies and is deified, *ibid.* His ſtatue, and that of *Ben-hadad*, carried about in the days of *Joſephus*, *ibid.* (A)

Hazor, city of *Canaan*, taken by the *Iſraelites* and burnt, 179. Rebuilt by *Jabin* II. Becomes again the royal ſeat, 181.

Hebron, the chief city of the *Edomites*, who ſettled in *Judæa*, 147. Taken and ſacked by *Judas Maccabæus*, *ibid.* From whence it took its name, 360, (G). Its antiquity, *ibid.* Why called *Arbah*, or *Kirjath-Arbah*, *ibid.* Retaken from the *Canaanites*, 181.

Heliopolis, now *Balbek*, a chief city of *Cœle-Syria*, 234.

Hercules, antiently repreſented no in form, 311, & *ſeq.* His temple had no images in it, *ibid.* *Egyptians* reckoned their *Hercules* to be 17,000 years older than their king *Amaſis*, 312 (R). He was the chief god of the *Tyrians*, under the name of *Melcartus*, 311. Why ſo called, *ibid.* (P). A great navigator, and the firſt who brought lead from the *Caſſiterides*, or iſlands of *Britain*, 312. (P). Said to have invented the ſhell-purple, by an accidental remark of a dog's mouth ſtained therewith, *ibid.* All the *Phœnicians* paid him great honours, 316. Ceremonies uſed in the worſhip of the *Tyrian Hercules*, *ibid.*

Hezekiah, king of *Judah*, over-runs the country of the *Philiſtines*, and forces ample contributions from them, 230.

Hezion, the ſecond king of *Damaſcus*, ſuppoſed to be the ſame with *Rezon*, 274. Lives at peace and amity with the kings of *Judah* and *Iſrael*, *ibid.*

Hierapolis, or *the Holy City*, or *Magog*, a city of *Cyrrheſtica* in *Syria*, 234. Famous for the temple of the great *Syrian* goddeſs, 257. A deſcription of the temple, *ibid.* Of idols, ſtatues, *&c.* in and about it, *ibid.* & *ſeq.* Its ſacred lake, oracle, riches of the temple, prieſts, ſacrifices, feſtivals, religious cuſtoms, laws, and traditions of the place, 258, & *ſeq.* Ceremonies uſed by ſuch as undertook pilgrimages to that city, 264.

Hiram, king of *Tyre*, called alſo *Hieromus*, *Hieromenus*, *Irom*, &c. Concludes an alliance with *David*, preſents him with cedar-trees, and ſends him workmen to build him a palace, 338. Congratulates *Solomon* on his acceſſion to the crown, *ibid.* Copy of *Solomon*'s letter to him, and his anſwer, *ibid.* Proves very ſerviceable to *Solomon*, in the building of the temple and fitting out his fleet, 339. Improves *Tyre*, builds temples, and enriches them with donations to a very great value, 340. Said to have given his daughter in marriage to *Solomon*, by whom *Solomon* was induced to adore *Aſhtaroth*, the goddeſs of the *Sidonians*, 341. Dies, *ibid.*

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Hobab, ſon of *Jethro*, ſerves the *Iſraelites* as a guide through the wilderneſs, 117.

Horam, king of *Hebron*, joins *Adonizedek*, king of *Jeruſalem*, againſt the *Gibeonites*, 177. Is cut off by *Joſhua* in a miraculous manner, *ibid.*

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Hor, mount in *Edom*, where *Aaron* died, 134.

Horites, the antient inhabitants of *Edom*, 129. Their forms of government, 134. Their kings, 137. Their monarchy broken into ſeveral little independent principalities, and governed by the poſterity of *Eſau*, and that of *Seir*,

Seir, 138. Driven from the land of *Seir* by the poſterity of *Eſau*, 139.
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Hur, king or prince of *Midian*, 118.
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I.

JABESH beſieged by *Nahaſh*, king of the *Ammonites*, 103. Relieved by *Saul*, *ibid.*
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Jacob born, 388. Etymology of his name, 390, (R). His mother's favourite, *ibid.* Buys his brother's birth-right, 390. His ungenerous behaviour to his brother, 124, & 126. Sent to *Padan-aram*, 395. His viſion near *Luz*, *ibid.* Serves ſeven years for *Rachel*, 396. Is cheated by *Laban*, *ibid.* Marries *Rachel*, *ibid.* *Reuben* born to him by *Leah*, 397. *Simeon*, *Levi*, and *Judah*, *ibid.* *Dan* and *Napthali* born to him by *Bilhah*, 398. *Gad* and *Aſher* by *Zilpah*, *ibid.* His ſtratagem of the ſpeckled ſheep, 400. Ill uſed by *Laban*, ſteals away from him, 401. Overtaken by *Laban*, 403. Enters into a covenant with him, 404. His viſion of an hoſt of angels, *ibid.* In memory of the viſion, calls the place *Mahanaim*, *ibid.* Sends preſents to *Eſau*, 405. His wreſtling with an angel, *ibid.* whether to be underſtood in a ſpiritual ſenſe only, *ibid.* (D). Changes his name from *Jacob* to *Iſrael*, *ibid.* Meets his brother *Eſau*, their interview, 407. Stops ſome time at *Succoth*, 408. Buys a piece of ground

near

near *Shechem*, 409. The treachery of his ſons, *Simeon* and *Levi*, towards the *Shechemites*, 410. Is bid to go and dwell at *Bethel*, 411. Orders all his family to bury all the idols they had brought from *Padan-aram*, and taken from the *Shechemites*, *ibid.* *Benjamin* born to him by *Rachel*, 412. Grieved for the inceſt of his ſon *Reuben*, *ibid.* Goes to *Mamre* to ſee his old father *Iſaac*, continues with him till his death, and buries him in the cave of *Machpelah*, *ibid.* Continues at *Mamre*, *ibid.* *Joſeph* his darling, *ibid.* Suppoſes his ſon *Joſeph* killed by a wild beaſt, his affliction, 414. Sends ten of his ſons to *Egypt*, to buy corn, 423. Keeps *Benjamin* with him, *ibid.* But is prevailed upon, the proviſion which the others had brought being ſpent, to part with him, 424, *& ſeq.* Sends preſents to *Joſeph* in *Egypt*, 425. What preſents, *ibid.* (Y). Is ſent for by *Joſeph*, 429. Goes down into *Egypt*, 430. Is preſented by *Joſeph* to *Pharaoh*, 431. A liſt of his children and grand children who went down with him into *Egypt*, 432. Difficulties in adjuſting the account of them, and reconciling it with ſome other places of ſcripture, 431, (B). His requeſt before his death, to *Joſeph*, 436. Makes *Ephraim* and *Manaſſeh* two tribes in *Iſrael*, 437. Prefers *Ephraim*, the younger, to *Manaſſeh*, in bleſſing them, 438. His laſt bleſſing to his twelve ſons, 439. What portion beſtowed on his ſon *Joſeph*, and how he is ſaid to have conquered it with his ſword and bow, 438, (D). Dies, being 147 years old, 449. Works aſcribed to him by the *Jews*, *ibid.* (V).

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James of *Edeſſat* invented ſeven new characters in the *Syriac* for all the *Greek* vowels, 267. Reſtores the *Syriac* to its antient purity, 267. The firſt that wrote a grammar in *Syriac*, *ibid.*

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chani and *Mamri*, *ibid.* Said in the *Targum* of *Jonathan* to have been the ſons of *Balaam*, *ibid.* *Jannes* and *Jambres*, an apocryphal book ſo entitled, 509, (E).

Japhia, king of *Lachiſh*, joins *Adonizedek*, king of *Jeruſalem*, againſt the *Gibeonites*, 177. Is cut off by *Joſhua* in a miraculous manner, *ibid.* & *ſeq.*

Jaſer, or *Jazar*, a city of the *Ammonites*, plundered and burnt by the *Jews*, 109.

Idumæa, mentioned by *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, and *Strabo*, formerly the lot of the tribes of *Simeon* and *Judah*, 146.

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Jebus city, in the land of *Canaan*, 160. Afterwards called *Jeruſalem*, *ibid.*

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Jehoaſh, king of *Judah*, ſends *Hazael* all the treaſure and rich moveables, dedicated by his father to ſacred uſes, to divert him from the ſiege of *Jeruſalem*, 286, & *ſeq.* In his reign *Jeruſalem* taken and ſacked by the *Syrians*, *ibid.* & *ſeq.*

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Jehoram, king of *Judah*, in his reign the *Philiſtines* break into his kingdom, rifle his houſe, put to death all his family, except *Athaliah* and her ſon *Ahaziah*, 229.

Jehoſhaphat, king of *Judah*, the *Philiſtines* pay him a voluntary tribute, 229.

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ſpect of the *Jews* for that word, *ibid.* The ſignification of it, *ibid.* Not unknown to the wiſer ſort of the *Heathens*, *ibid.* Why the word *Jehovah* is thought by ſome ineffable, *ibid.*

Jehovah Niſſi, (the Lord is my banner) an altar erected by *Moſes*, 546.

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Jonathan, the brother of *David*, kills a ſon of *Goliath*, who had ſix fingers upon each hand, and ſix toes upon each foot, 228.

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Solicited to an amour by his miſtreſs, *ibid.* His refuſal makes her accuſe him, *ibid.* Sent to priſon, 416. Dreams of two priſoners explained by him, 419. Interprets *Pharaoh*'s two dreams, 420. Made maſter and over-ſeer of *Pharaoh*'s houſe, and other honours heaped upon him, 421. The title of *Zaphnath-paaneah* given him, and the meaning of theſe words, *ibid*, (T). Marries the daughter of *Potipherah*, prieſt or prince of *On*, *ibid.* Has two children, *Manaſſeh* and *Ephraim*, by his wife *Aſenath*, 422. During the famine, his brothers come to him for corn, 423. His rough behaviour to them, *ibid.* Commands *Simeon* to be bound, *ibid.* Commands their money to be returned in the mouth of their ſacks, 424. His behaviour towards his brethren conſidered, 426. Orders his drinking-cup to be put into *Benjamin*'s ſack, 428. And the pretended thief to be brought back to him, *ibid.* Diſcovers himſelf to his brethren, *ibid.* Sends for his father, 429. Receives and preſents him to *Pharaoh*, 431. During the great famine in *Egypt*, buys all the lands and perſons of the *Egyptians* for the king's uſe, 435. Settles, that the fifth part of all the product of their lands ſhould go to the king, *ibid.* Brings his two ſons *Manaſſeh* and *Ephraim* to *Jacob*, who makes them two tribes, in *Iſrael*, 437. *Jacob*'s bleſſing to him, 447. Buries his father with great funeral pomp, 451. Treats his brethren with the ſame affection as in his father's life-time, 452. Finding his death approach, ſends for his brethren, aſſures them, that God, according to his promiſe, would bring their poſterity out of *Egypt*, into the land of *Canaan*, *ibid.* Charges them to lay his body in a coffin, to carry it away with them, and bury it in the ſpot of ground, which *Jacob* had given him by his laſt will, *ibid.* Dies about 60 years after his father, being 110 years old, *ibid.* Many particulars added by the *Jewiſh* rabbies to his life and death, 452, (W). *Mohammed*'s hiſtory of him, 453, (X). His bones carried out of *Egypt*, 526.

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Ithobal, ſon of the chief-prieſt of the goddeſs *Aſtarte*, murders *Phelles* king of *Tyre*, and ſeizes on the throne, 341. Called *Eth-baal* in ſcripture, and ſtiled king of the *Sidonians*, *ibid.* Builds *Botrys* in *Phœnice*, and *Auzates* in *Afric*, *ibid.* Marries his daughter *Jezebel* to *Ahab*, 342.

Ithobal II. king of *Tyre*, 345. In his time *Tyre* taken and razed by *Nebuchadnezzar*, *ibid.* Slain in this war, *ibid.*

Judah, *Jacob*'s fourth ſon by *Leah* born, 397. Perſuades his brethren to ſell *Joſeph* to the *Iſhmaelites*, 414. Marries the daughter of a *Canaanite*, by whom he has three ſons, 416. Deceived by a ſtratagem of *Tamar*, has two children by her, *Pharez* and *Zarah*, 418, & *ſeq.* Orders her to be burnt, but afterwards pardons her, *ibid.* *Jacob*'s laſt bleſſing to him, *The ſceptre ſhall not depart from* Judah, *&c.* explained, 441, (G).

Judith, the daughter of *Beeri*, *Eſau*'s firſt wife, called by *Moſes*, *Adah*, the daughter of *Elon* the *Hittite*, when he ſpeaks of the poſterity *Eſau* had by her, 396, (X).

K.

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Kenizzites, 161, (E).
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Laodice, a *Greek* wife to *Amaſis*, king of *Egypt*, 55. A miracle on occaſion of her marriage, *ibid.*
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Manna promiſed the *Iſraelites*, 540. Falls at ſome diſtance from the camp, 541. Why called *Man* or *Manna*, *ibid.* & (R). The quantity that was to be gathered preſcribed by *Moſes*, *ibid.* That which was gathered on *Friday* laſted two days, 542. Had nothing common with what we now call manna, and is to be ſeen in great plenty in the deſerts of *Arabia*, 543, (S). Proofs of its being miraculous,

542. *Moſes* ordered to preſerve a homer full of it in a veſſel, to be afterwards depoſited in the ark of the covenant, 542, & 543.

Marah, ſo called in memory of the bitter waters, 539. The *Jews* encamped there on their march to *Canaan*, *ibid.*

Marna, *Marnas*, or *Marnaſh*, an idol of the *Philiſtines*, worſhipped at *Gaza*, and ſaid to have migrated into *Crete*, 198.

Marus. See *Mendes*.

Maſſah, (tempting) the place where *Moſes* ſmote the rock to ſupply the murmuring *Iſraelites* with water, 544.

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Melchizedek, king of *Salem*, 168. By ſome thought to have been *Shem*, *ibid.* (P). Preſents *Abraham* with bread and wine, and receives from him tithes of all, 169, & 170. Divers opinions relating to him, 168, (P).

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Menes, ſaid to have been the firſt man who reigned in *Egypt*, 1. Diverted the courſe of the *Nile*, built the city of *Memphis*, and its famous temple of *Vulcan*, 2, & 3. The firſt that inſtructed the *Egyptians* in religious matters, 3. Introduced luxury, *ibid.*

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Meribah, (contention) the place where *Moſes* ſmote the rock to ſupply the murmuring *Iſraelites* with water, 544.

Meſha, king of *Moab*, tributary to the *Iſraelites*, 93. Rebels, but is forced to ſhut himſelf up in the city of *Kir-haraſeth* 94. Offers his eldeſt ſon for a burnt-ſacrifice, *ibid.*

Meſr, king of *Egypt*, builds many cities, 71. Divides the kingdom among his ſons, *ibid.*

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part of *Arabia Petræa*, *ibid.* Deſcribed, *ibid.* Their manner of life, 111. Had the uſe of writing very early, and, according to ſome, inſtructed *Moſes* therein, 112. Thoſe of the ſouth part of *Midian* enlightened by a rational and ſublime ſyſtem of religion, 113. They war with *Hadad* the *Horite*, and are ſmitten by him in the field of *Moab*, 114. They purchaſe *Joſeph* of his brethren, and ſell him to *Potiphar*, *ibid.* Signalized themſelves above all others in endeavouring to turn the children of *Iſrael* from God, 119. Are defeated by *Phineas*, their caſtles laid in aſhes, and all of them, together with *Balaam*, put to the ſword, 120. The loſs of this branch ſupplied by another, who wage a cruel war againſt the *Iſraelites*, under the kings *Zebah* and *Zalmunna*, *ibid.* But are utterly routed by *Gideon*, with no other weapons for his men, than a ram's horn in one hand, and a light concealed in a pitcher in the other, 121, *&* *ſeq.* This downfal ſo great, that it is termed in ſcripture *the day of Midian*, 122. They were a famous nation many ages afterwards, but in the firſt century were blended with the *Arabians*, *ibid.*

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Moriah mount, etymology of the word, 376, & (C). The ſame on which the temple was afterwards built by *Solomon*, *ibid.*

Moſes is born, 473. Concealed three months, but after expoſed to be drowned, according to the king's edict, 473, 474. But taken up by *Pharaoh*'s daughter, who educated him as her own ſon, 475. Gives him the name of *Moſes*, *ibid.* Is delivered to his own mother, *Jochebed*, to be educated by her, *ibid.* Brought in due time to *Pharaoh*'s daughter, who adopts him for her ſon, and has him brought up in all kinds of learning, 476. Prefers the reproachful name of *Iſraelite* to all the pomp and glory of *Pharaoh*'s court, *ibid.* 477. Kills an *Egyptian*, *ibid.* Forty years of his abode in *Egypt*, how employed, *ibid.* (O). Reproached with the murder of the *Egyptian* by an *Hebrew*, is forced to fly into the land of *Midian*, 479. Received by *Jethro*, in whoſe family he continues forty years, 481. Suppoſed by ſome to have wrote the book of *Job*, during this interval, *ibid.* God appears to him at the end of forty years, in a burning buſh, 486. And commands him to return into *Egypt*, *ibid.* Why God was pleaſed to appear to him in that manner, *ibid.* (B). Who it was that appeared to him, *ibid.* (R). God pleaſed to anſwer his queſtion, a queſtion which he had formerly refuſed to anſwer *Jacob*, 489. Bids him tell the *Iſraelites* that I AM, &c. ſent him to them, 494. Commanded to bring his people out of bondage, 496. His doubts cleared by two miracles wrought in his preſence,

497. Nevertheleſs begs to be excuſed, 498. Obeys at laſt and leaves *Midian*, 499. God appears to him again, charging him to perform all the wonders he had ſhewn him, before the king of *Egypt*, and to demand the diſmiſſion of the people of *Iſrael*, 500. Smitten by an angel in the inn, 501. What the cauſe was of God's anger againſt him, *ibid* (A). Why he deferred ſo long the circumciſion of his ſon, 502 (A). *Zipporah* circumciſes the child, and *Moſes* is reſtored, 504. Joins his brother *Aaron* at mount *Horeb*, 505. Declares his commiſſion to the *Iſraelites* in *Goſhen*, and eſtabliſhes his credit among them with miracles, *ibid.* Delivers his meſſage to the king of *Egypt*, 506. Who, inſtead of complying with his demand, increaſes the burthens of the *Iſraelites*, *ibid.* Bid to go again to *Pharaoh*, 507. His firſt miracle before him; His rod turned into a ſerpent, 509. Second miracle; The waters turned into blood, 511. Third miracle; Of frogs, 513. Fourth miracle; Lice, *ibid.* Fifth miracle; Swarms of flies, 514. Sixth miracle; The cattle of the *Egyptians* killed by murrain, 515. Seventh miracle; Boils upon man and beaſt, *ibid.* Eighth miracle; Hail-ſtorms and thunder, 515. The great miſchief done by them, 517. Ninth miracle; Locuſts, *ibid.* Tenth miracle; Great darkneſs during three days, 518. Fables with which the *Mohammedans* have ſtuffed this part of *Moſes*'s hiſtory; 511, (E). How long a time *Moſes* took in bringing all the plagues upon *Egypt*, 519, (H). Commands the *Iſraelites* to celebrate the paſſover, *ibid.* And to borrow what jewels, fine raiment and other precious things they could of the *Egyptians*, *ibid.* The laſt plague ſent on the *Egyptians*; Their firſt-born ſlain by the deſtroying angel, 523. Sent for by *Pharaoh*, and ordered to depart, 524. His firſt encampment at *Succoth*, 525. Conſecrates the firſt-born of men and beaſts, *ibid.* Second encampment at *Etham*, near the borders of *Arabia Deſerta*, 528. Commanded to direct his march towards *Pi-hahiroth*, where he encamps, 529. Purſued by *Pharaoh*, *ibid.* And overtaken. 530. Comforts the deſpairing *Iſraelites*, *ibid.* Divides the *Red-ſea* by ſtretching out his rod, 531. Which makes way for the *Iſraelites* to go through it as on dry land, *ibid.* Whether this was really miraculous or not, *ibid.* (P). His ſong for this their deliverance, 538. Commanded to preſerve an homer full of manna, to be depoſited in the ark of the covenant, as a witneſs to future ages, 542. Smites a rock with his rod, and water immediately guſhes out in plentiful ſtreams,

544. Smote the rock two different times, and in two different places, *ibid*, (T). Obtains a ſignal victory over the *Amalekites*, by holding up his hands in prayer, 545, & *ſeq*. Ordered to vow a laſting war againſt the *Amalekites*, till their very remembrance was quite blotted out, 546. By the advice of *Jethro*, appoints inferior judges, ſome over thouſands, ſome over hundreds, and ſome over tens, 547 Marches from *Rephidim* to the wilderneſs of *Sinai*, 547. Encamps near mount *Sinai*, 548. Goes up to mount *Sinai*, *ibid*. Which appeared covered with fire and ſmoke, 549. Commanded to go down again, give a ſtrict charge to the *Iſraelites* not to approach the mountain, and bring up his brother *Aaron* with him, *ibid*. The decalogue delivered, *ibid*. Commanded to write the commandments on two tables of ſtone, *ibid*. Goes up into the mountain again, where ſome ceremonial laws were added to the moral ones, 556. Ratifies the covenant between God and the people, 560. Takes ſeventy of the elders up towards the mountain, and ſtays forty days, 561. Goes himſelf into the cloud, *ibid*. Receives the two tables of ſtone, *ibid*. Given over by the people for loſt, 563. Comes down from the mount, 565. His great concern in finding the *Iſraelites* worſhipping the golden calf, *ibid*. Breaks the two tables, and upbraids his puſillanimous brother in the ſtrongeſt terms, *ibid*. Deſtroys the idol, cauſes it to be ground into powder, and caſt into water, of which he made afterwards the people to drink, 566. Orders the ſons of *Levi* to puniſh with immediate death 3000 of the delinquents, 567. Returns to the mount, and obtains not only pardon for his people, but a renewal of God's former promiſes, *ibid*. & *ſeq*. Stays on the mountain forty days and nights, during which he neither eat nor drank, 569. Comes down with ſuch a luſtre in his face, that the people could not intenſely behold it, 570. Commands the people to bring a free-will-offering of all ſorts of materials for the tabernacle, *ibid*. The tabernacle made and ſet up at the foot of mount *Sinai*, 571.

Murrain, one of the plagues of *Egypt*, 515.

Mycerinus, the ſon of *Cheops*, and king of *Egypt*, 37. His character, *ibid*. Buries his daughter in an extraordinary manner, *ibid*. The oracle declares him to be ſhort-lived, 38. Endeavours to convict the oracle of falſhood. *ibid*.

N.

NAAMAN, general of *Ben-hadad*, king of the *Syrians*, cured of a leproſy by the prophet *Eliſha*, 280. Renounces idolatry, 281. Entreats the prophet to grant him two mule-loads of earth, probably to raiſe an altar, *ibid.* Said to have founded an hoſpital for *Gehazi*, which is ſtill extant at *Damaſcus*, *ibid.* (M).

Nahor, *Abraham*'s brother, 376. His iſſue, *ibid.* (D).

Nadab, the ſon of *Aaron*, by *Eliſheba* the daughter of *Amminadab*, 500. Solemnly conſecrated prieſt with his brother *Abihu*, 571.

Nadab, king of *Iſrael*, lays ſiege to *Gibbethon*, a city of the *Philiſtines*, 229.

Nahaſh, king of the *Ammonites*, 103. Wages war with the *Iſraelites* at firſt with good ſucceſs, *ibid.* But his army is entirely routed and diſperſed by *Saul*, *ibid.* Proved kind to *David* 104.

Nakraüs, or *Bakraüs*, the firſt antediluvian king of *Egypt*, according to the oriental hiſtorians, 70.

Naphtali, *Jacob*'s ſecond ſon by *Bilhah*, born, 398. *Jacob*'s propheſy to him, 446. How verified, *ibid.* (O).

Narbal, king of *Arad*, 353.

Nebo, an idol of the *Babylonians*, 84. A town of the ſame name in the dominions of *Moab*, *ibid.* Alſo a part of mount *Abarim*, in the ſame tract ſo called, *ibid.*

Nebuchadnezzar, king of *Aſſyria*, takes *Tyre*, after a ſiege of 13 years, razes it to the ground, and puts all the inhabitants to the ſword, 345, & *ſeq.*

Nebuzaradan, puts all *Ammon* to fire and ſword, and carries away king *Baalis*, and moſt of the nobles into captivity, 109.

Nechus, king of *Egypt*, ſon and ſucceſſor to *Pſammitichus*, 46. The *Pharaoh Necho* of ſcripture, *ibid.* Attempts to cut a canal from the *Nile* to the *Red-ſea*, but is warned by an oracle to deſiſt, *ibid.* His expeditions by ſea, *ibid.* Fits out two fleets, *ibid.* Marches againſt the king of *Aſſyria*, *ibid.* Defeats *Joſiah* king of *Judah*, who oppoſed him in his march, 47. Routs the *Aſſyrians*, and takes the city of *Carchemiſh*, *ibid.* Sends *Jehoahaz* king of *Judah* in chains to *Egypt*, *ibid.* Makes *Eliakim* king over *Judah*, impoſing on him a tribute, *ibid.* Is defeated by *Nebuchadnezzar*, and loſes all *Syria* and *Judæa*, 48. Dies, *ibid.*

Nectanebes, king of *Egypt*, the firſt of the *Sebennytic* race, 65. Defends *Egypt* againſt the *Perſians*, 66. Dies, *ibid.*

Nectanebus, king of *Egypt*, 67: His ſubjects rebel againſt him, *ibid.* But are vanquiſhed, *ibid.* He is joined by the *Sidonians*, *Phœnicians*, and *Cypriots*, againſt the *Perſians*, *ibid.* Is invaded by the *Perſians*, 68. Abandons the kingdom to them, and flies into *Æthiopia*, 69. He was the laſt *Egyptian* that ever governed *Egypt*, *ibid.*

Nephereus, king of *Egypt*, 64.

Nepherotes, king of *Egypt*, and the laſt of the *Mendeſian* race, 65.

Nile, firſt called *Ægyptus*, but afterwards took its name from king *Nilus*, who made it univerſally ſerviceable, 36.

Nilus, king of *Egygt*, 36.

Nitetis, daughter of *Apries* king of *Egypt*, 57.

Nitocris, queen of *Memphis*, ſucceeds her brother, 8. To revenge his death, puts many of the *Egyptians* to death, *ibid.* She was by birth an *Ethiopian*, 4.

O:

OCHUS, king of *Perſia*, brings all *Phœnice* under the the *Perſian* yoke, 334, & *ſeq.* His cruelty to the *Sidonians*, *ibid.*

Og, king of *Baſhan*, reckoned a king of the *Amorites*, 174: The laſt king of the race of the giants of *Rephaim*, 342. (E), & 161 (E), & 174. Eſpouſes the cauſe of *Sihon* the *Amorite*, and attempts to ſtop the progreſs of *Moſes* and his people. *ibid.* Falls in battle, and his kingdom is transferred to the *Iſraelites*, *ibid.*

On, *Heliopolis* once ſo called, and by *Ptolemy Onium*, 421, (U).

Onan, *Judah*'s ſon by the *Canaanitiſh* wife, 416. Marries *Tamar*, his brother's wife, *ibid.* His ſin and death, *ibid.* & *ſeq.*

Oreb, prince of *Midian*, 121. Defeated by *Gideon*, *ibid.* & *ſeq.* Killed by the *Ephraimites*, *ibid.*

Orontes, a river of *Syria*, 235. A fabulous tradition concerning its origin, *ibid.* (B).

Oſymandyas, king of *Egypt*, according to ſome, the ſame as *Amenophis* and *Memnon*, 5. (D). Reduced the rebellious *Bactrians* with an army of 400,000 foot, and 20,000 horſe, 6. His tomb, the moſt magnificent in *Egypt*, deſcribed, 6. His ſtatue with an inſcription, *ibid.*

P.

P.

PALMYRA, the metropolis of *Palmyrene* in *Syria*, 234. Its name and ſituation, 246. Deſcription of its great court and temple, 247. Of its promiſcuous ruins, obeliſk, and two pillars, 249. The great piazza, 250. Banquetting houſe, *ibid.* *Porphyry* pillars, and palace, *ibid.* Marble pillars, and little temple, 251. The ſepulchres, 251, & *ſeq.*

Palmyrene, a province of *Syria*, 234.

Paris and *Helen*, their arrival in *Egypt*, 32.

Partamis, king of *Egypt*, 52.

Paſſover, or *Eaſter*, its firſt inſtitution, 520. The order and manner of it, 521. Unleavened bread, *ibid.*

Paſtors Egyptian. See *Shepherds.*

Patæci, the tutelar gods of ſea-faring men among the *Phœnicians*, 313. Carried about in the prows of their ſhips, *ibid.* & (U).

Pauſiris, reigns over the *Egyptians*, with the conſent of the *Perſians*, 64.

Pekah, king of *Iſrael*, enters into a league with *Rezin* king of *Syria*, againſt *Ahaz* king of *Judah*, 288. Beſieges *Jeruſalem* to no effect, *ibid.*

Peluſium, probably firſt founded by the *Philiſtines*, 202, (L).

Peniel, or *the face of God*, the place where *Jacob* wreſtled with the angel, 406.

Pentapolis, once the moſt beautiful part of the land of *Canaan*, 159.

Perizzites, inhabitants of *Canaan*, 160. Their habitation, *ibid.* The original ſignification of the word, *ibid.* (D). Invaded by the tribes of *Simeon* and *Judah*, and cut off, 180. Some left to prove *Iſrael*, and live in common with them, 183. But reduced by *Solomon* to a ſtate of ſlavery, 188.

Petra, a city of *Edom*, 132. See *Selah*. Placed by *Joſephus* under the juriſdiction of the *Amalekites*, 151, (D).

Phalis, king of *Sidon*, flouriſhed in the time of the *Trojan* war, 331. Honoured by *Homer* with the title of moſt illuſtrious, 332.

Phanes of *Halicarnaſſus*, betrays *Amaſis* king of *Egypt*, 58.

Pharez and *Zarah* born to *Judah* by *Tamar*, 419. Their ſtrange birth, *ibid.*

Pharaoh, in the *Coptic* tongue, ſignifies *king*, 72. An appellation

pellation common to all the kings of *Egypt*, 359. Several etymologies of it, 359. *Walid* the firſt king who took that ſurname, 72. *Pharaoh*, ſurnamed *al Araj*, or *the lame*, king of *Egypt*, 74. Refuſes to deliver up to *Nebuchadnezzar* the *Jews* who had fled into *Egypt*, *ibid.* Is taken by him and hanged, *ibid.* *Pharaoh*'s two dreams interpreted by *Joſeph*, 420. Raiſes him to the higheſt poſt in the kingdom, 421. Gives him the daughter of *Potipherah* to wife, *ibid.* & *ſeq.* *Pharaoh*'s cruel orders to the *Hebrew* midwives, 468, &c. Several things that may in ſome meaſure authorize the cruel meaſures he took againſt the *Iſraelites*, 467. His cruel uſage of the *Jews*, 465. Several conjectures about his true crime, 466, (D). Commands the *Iſraelites* to drown all their male children, 472. His heart not hardned by GOD, 508, (D). The words of the ſcripture ought to have been tranſlated, *that God ſuffered the heart of* Pharaoh *to be hardened*, *ibid.* Diſmiſſes at laſt the *Iſraelites*, 524. Repents and purſues them, and is drowned in the *Red-ſea*, 537.

Pharpar and *Abana*, only ſtreams of the *Chryſorrhoas*, or *Barrady*, which waters *Damaſcus*, 236.

Phelles, or *Helles*, kills his brother *Aſtarimus* king of *Tyre*, and uſurps the throne, 341. Is murdered in the eighth month of his reign by *Ithobal*, *ibid.*

Pheron, alſo ſtiled *Seſooſis*, [*Seſoſtris*] II. ſucceeds his faher, 29. Is ſtruck blind, *ibid.* Recovers his ſight, and raiſes two obeliſks, *ibid.*

Phicol, the chief captain of *Abimelech* king of the *Philiſtines*, 204. Name probably peculiar to their chief miniſter, 207, (Q).

Philadelphia, antiently the metropolis of the *Ammonites*, 98.

Philiſtines, deſcended partly from the *Caſluhim*, and partly from the *Caphtorim*, 189. *Egypt* their firſt ſeat, 190. Migrate from *Egypt*, and ſeize the land which was afterwards called by their name, and known to the antient *Greeks* and *Romans* under the name of *Paleſtine*, *ibid.* Etymology of the word, *ibid.* & (B). Deſcription of the country, *ibid.* *Gaza* their chief city, 191. Its ſituation, *ibid.* Called *Azza* in *Hebrew*, and *Aza* by the *Syrians*, *ibid.* Why called *Gaza*, *ibid.* Called alſo *Ione*, and *Minoa* in later times, *ibid.* Deſcription of its preſent ruins, *ibid.* (C). Their other chief cities, 191, & *ſeq.* Their government monarchical, but limited, 195. All their kings honoured with the appellation of *Abimelech*,

ibid.

ibid. An ariſtocracy introduced among them, and after that again kings called by the appellation of *Achiſh*, *ibid.* & 196. But of very ſmall power, *ibid.* A very warlike, ingenious, and induſtrious people, 196. Famous for their inveterate enmity againſt the *Iſraelites*, 197. The bow and arrow their invention, 198. Under their firſt kings of one religion with the *Hebrews*, *ibid.* In aftertimes erred into endleſs idolatries, *ibid.* Their idols, *ibid.* & *ſeq.* Came directly out of *Egypt*, and expelling the *Avims*, ſeized on their country, 201. From whence they borrowed their name, 202, (L). The obliging behaviour of their king *Abimelech* towards *Abraham*, 202, & *ſeq.* *Abraham* obliges himſelf by oath, that he and his poſterity ſhould live in love with his poſterity, *ibid.* *Abimelech* II. his kind behaviour towards *Iſaac* and *Rebekah*, 205. He renews with *Iſaac* the covenant made by his father with *Abraham*, 207. *Gaza*, *Aſkelon* and *Ekron* taken from them by the united tribes of *Simeon* and *Judah*, 208. But they get poſſeſſion again of the ſaid cities, *ibid.* Hold the *Iſraelites* under their yoke, till they are delivered by *Shamgar*, who kills 600 of them with an ox-goad, *ibid.* & *ſeq.* Suffer in common with the *Iſraelites*, by the incurſions, of *Zebah* and *Zalmunna*, kings of *Midian*, 208, & *ſeq.* Oppreſs the *Iſraelites* a ſecond time in conjunction with the *Ammonites*, in the days of *Jephtha*, *ibid.* A third time reduce the *Iſraelites*, and keep them under for 40 years, *ibid.* Suſtain great loſſes by *Samſon*, 209. Recover their loſs, make war upon the *Iſraelites*, kill 4000 of them, and put them to a precipitate flight, 212. Diſheartened at the arrival of the ark, but being by their chiefs inſpired with freſh courage, fall upon the *Iſraelites*, kill 30,000 of their foot, and take the ark, 213. Smitten with a ſudden plague, remove the ark from *Aſhdod* to *Gath*, from *Gath* to *Ekron*, but their affliction gathering ſtrength, ſend the ark back with a treſpaſs-offering, 214, & *ſeq.* The plague they were afflicted with, *ibid.* (D). Twenty years afterwards march out againſt the *Iſraelites*, but are frightened by a ſtorm of thunder and lightning, and ſlaughtered by the *Hebrews*, 217. In a few years return more formidable than ever, ravage the country of the *Iſraelites*, but are firſt put in diſorder by *Jonathan*, and after entirely routed by *Saul*, 218, & *ſeq.* Overthrown in a batle by *David*, 222. Oblige their king *Achiſh* to diſmiſs *David* from the army, 224. March againſt *Saul*, who is routed and killed with his three ſons, 225.

225. Make war upon *David*, *ibid.* By whom they are routed in four ſucceſſive battles, and made tributaries to him, 226, & *ſeq.* Many of their giants killed by the *Iſraelites*, 227. Being increaſed by the fugitive *Edomites*, apply themſelves to trade, 228, (B). Harraſſed by *Nadab*, king of *Iſrael*, 229. Pay a voluntary tribute to *Jehoſhaphat* king of *Iſrael*, *ibid.* Rebel againſt *Jehoram*, break into his kingdom, riſle his houſe, and put to death, all his family, except *Athaliah* and her ſon *Ahaziah*, *ibid.* & *ſeq.* Invaded by *Uzziah* king of *Judah*, who diſmantles *Gath*, *Jabneh*, and *Aſhdod*, 230. War againſt *Ahaz*, reduce ſeveral of his cities, and ſettle themſelves in them, *ibid.* Their whole country over-run by *Hezekiah*, *ibid.* Subdued by the *Aſſyrians*, and their country become the ſeat of a long and obſtinate war between the *Egyptians* and the *Aſſyrians*, *ibid.* & *ſeq.* Tributaries to the great monarchies as they ſucceeded each other, *ibid.* They are ſaid to have planted the iſland of *Crete*, 199, (G). The foundation of this notion, *ibid.* Called in ſeveral places of ſcripture *Cherethites*, *ibid.* Two hundred of them killed by *David* for their fore-ſkins, 222.

Phineas, the ſon of *Nadab*, and grandſon of *Aaron*, 500.

Phœnice, from whence it borrowed its name, 293. Called alſo *Chna*, being a contraction of *Canaan*, *ibid.* Called alſo *Rhabbothin* and *Colpitis*, etymology of this name, *ibid.* Its ſituation, diviſion, and cities, 294, &c. Its ſoil and climate, 299. Natural curioſities, *ibid.* Artificial curioſities, 301.

Phœnicians, *Canaanites* by deſcent, 304. Their territory included ſeveral kingdoms, and they were governed by kings, *ibid.* &c. Had once a knowledge of the true God, whom they call *Baal* or Lord, *ibid.* But became blind idolaters, *ibid.* Their deities, 306. Their religion hardly different from that of the *Egyptians*, *ibid.* Their religious ceremonies, 314. Said by *Herodotus* to have uſed circumciſion, which is contradicted by *Joſephus*, 319. Abſtained from the fleſh of ſwine, *ibid.* Arithmetic and aſtronomy either took riſe among them, or were brought by them to a great perfection, 320. Moſt of the ſciences flowed from them into *Greece*, together with their letters, *ibid.* Their characters probably the ſame with the *Samaritan*, *ibid.* Their manufactures, *ibid.* Their trade and navigation, 321. Their ſhipping, 323. Series of the kings of the different kingdoms of *Phœnice*, 326, &c. Their kings from the antient fabulous hiſtory of the *Greeks*,

327. Enter into a confederacy to ſhake off the *Perſian* yoke, 333. Betrayed by *Mentor* the *Rhodian*, and *Tennes* king of *Sidon*, 334. And are again ſubdued by *Ochus* king of *Perſia*, 335.

Phœnicia, See *Phœnice*.

Phœnix, ſon of *Agenor*, ſuppoſed by the *Greeks* to have ſucceeded his father in the kingdom of *Phœnice*, and given his name to the country, 331. Said to have been the firſt that found out the ſcarlet colour, called therefore at firſt *Phœnicius*, *ibid.*

Puah, one of the chief *Hebrew* midwives in *Egypt*, See *Shiprah*.

Pieria, part of *Seleucis*, 233.

Pi-hahiroth, the city of *Heroum* on the extreme part of the *Arabic* gulph, or the *Phagroriopolis*, placed by *Strabo* near ſame place, 528, (O).

Pillars, miraculous pillars of fire and ſmoke, which conducted the *Iſraelites* in their march, 529.

Piram, king of *Jarmuth*, joins *Adonizedek*, king of *Jeruſalem*, againſt the *Gibeonites*, 157. Is cut off by *Joſhua* in a miraculous manner, *ibid.* & *ſeq.*

Plagues of *Egypt*, 513, & *ſeq.* How long a time *Moſes* took in bringing all the plagues on *Egypt*, 519. (H).

Potiphar, *Joſeph* ſold to him, 415. His wife ſolicits *Joſeph* to an amour, *ibid.* His refuſal makes her accuſe him to *Potiphar*, who ſends him into the king's priſon, 416.

Potipherah, prince, or prieſt of *On*, his daughter married to *Joſeph*, 421.

Priaps, or *Phalli*, columns, or pillars, of an extraordinary height, in the porch of the great goddeſs of *Syria* at *Hierapolis*, 257. Twice a year a man went up to the top of them and remained there ſeven days, 263.

Proteus, or *Cetes*, king of *Egypt*, 31. The fable of *Proteus* whence derived, 32. In his reign *Paris*, and *Helen* arrive in *Egypt*, *ibid.* Has a ſumptuous temple erected to him at *Memphis*, *ibid.* Believed by ſome to be the *Sethos* of *Manetho*, the *Typhon* of the poets, *Homer*'s *Proteus*, *&c.* 31, (K).

Pſammenitus, ſon of *Amaſis*, king of *Egypt*, 59. Is overthrown by *Cambyſes*, 60. Taken priſoner, loſes his kingdom, *ibid.* The particulars of his captivity, *ibid.* His death, 61.

Pſammis, king of *Egypt*, dies in an expedition againſt the *Ethiopians*, 48.

Pſammitichus, at firſt king of one of the 12 kingdoms into which *Egypt* was divided, 43. Occaſion of his falling out with

with his collegues, *ibid.* Hires an army of *Ionians*, *Carians*, and *Arabians*, and reduces all *Egypt*, 44. He was of the tribe of *Saïs*, and ſon of *Nechus*, *ibid.* Gives great encouragement to the *Greeks*, *ibid.* His public buildings, *ibid.* Keeps an army of foreigners in pay, 45. For which the *Egyptians*, upwards of 200,000, deſert him, *ibid.* Opens the ports of *Egypt* to ſtrangers, *ibid.* Beſieges and takes *Azotus* in *Syria*, after a ſiege of 29 years, *ibid.* Prevails upon the *Scythians* ready to pour themſelves into *Egypt*, with preſents and entreaties, to march back, *ibid.* Dies, 45, *&c.*

Pſammitichus II. king of *Egypt*, 64. A barbarous and inhuman prince, *ibid.*

Pſammuthis king of *Egypt*, 65.

Pygmalion, king of *Tyre*, murders his uncle *Sichæus*, in hopes of ſeizing on his treaſures, but is diſappointed by his ſiſter *Eliſa*, the wife of *Sichæus*, 342. Said to have built the city of *Carpaſia* in the iſland of *Cyprus*, 344. Sends a rich donative to the temple of *Hercules* at *Gades*, *ibid.*

Q

QUAILS ſent to the *Iſraelites*, thought by ſome to have been locuſts, 540 (Q).

R

RAAMAH, or *Rhegma*, beſieged by *Joab*, and, after two years ſiege, ſtormed, plundered, and laid level with the ground, 107.

Rachel, daughter to *Laban*, *Jacob* ſerves *Laban* fourteen years for her, 396. Marries her, *ibid.* Being long barren, is at laſt brought to bed of a ſon, whom ſhe calls *Joſeph*, 399. Steals her father's gods, 401. See *Teraphim*. What induced her to it, *ibid.* (B). Brought to bed of *Benjamin*, 412. Dies and is buried in the way to *Ephrath*, *ibid.*

Raguel, the ſame as *Jethro*, 114, (F).

Rahab, ſpared in the deſtruction of *Jericho*, 174.

Rameſes, *Moſes*'s dwelling-place in *Egypt*, 525. Not above threeſcore miles diſtant from the land of *Canaan*, *ibid.*

Rebah, king or prince of *Midian*, 118.

Rebekah, daughter of *Bethuel* the ſon of *Nahor* by *Milcah*, 376, (D). Given to *Iſaac*, 381. After having continued

barren above nineteen years brings forth two ſons, *Eſau* and *Jacob*, 384, & *ſeq.* Favours *Jacob*, *ibid.* Procures *Iſaac*'s bleſſing for him, 392, & *ſeq.* Sends him to *Padan-Aram*, 395.

Red-ſea, more properly called the *Arabian* gulph, 130, (I). Called by the *Hebrews*, *Yam Suf*, *the weedy or flaggy ſea*; by the *Arabians*, *Bahr Alkolzum*, or *the ſea of Kolzum*, a ſmall town at the northermoſt end of it, *ibid.* Why called the *Erythrean* or *Red-ſea*, *ibid.* The *Erythrean* or *Red-ſea* of the antients is the *Indian* ocean of our days, *ibid.*

Rehob, the firſt ſole king of *Zobah*, 270.

Rekem, king of *Midian*, 118.

Rephaim, men of a gigantic ſtature, placed in *Baſhan*, where *Og*, the laſt of their race, reigned, 161, (E). Thought by ſome to have been the *Gephyræi*, who followed *Cadmus* into *Greece*, *ibid.*

Rephidim, the place where *Moſes*, by ſmiting the rock, made waters guſh out, 543.

Reuben, *Jacob*'s firſt ſon by *Leah*, born, 397. What meant by the mandrakes he brought home, 398, (Y). His inceſt, 412. Diſſuades his brethren from killing *Joſeph*, 414. Deſigns to ſave him out of the pit, and ſend him home to his father, *ibid.*

Reuel and *Jethro* the ſame perſon, 117, (K).

Rezin, laſt king of *Syria*, 288. Enters into a league with *Pekah* king of *Iſrael*, againſt *Ahaz* king of *Judah*, *ibid.* & *ſeq.* Beſieges *Ahaz* in *Jeruſalem* without effect, *ibid.* Marches into *Edom*, and makes himſelf maſter of *Elath*, *ibid.* Where he plants a colony, which ſubſiſted many years after the ſubverſion of the kingdom of *Syria*, 289, & *ſeq.* Invades the kingdom of *Judah*, and returns to *Damaſcus* loaded with ſpoils, 290. *Ahaz* ſtirs up *Tiglath-pileſar*, king of *Aſſyria*, againſt him, who kills him, and carries the inhabitants of *Damaſcus* away to *Kir*, *ibid.*

Rezon, firſt king of *Damaſcus*, revolts from *Hadadezer*, whoſe forces he commanded, 273. Seizes on *Damaſcus*, and founds that kingdom, 274.

Rhabbothin, *Phœnice* ſo called, 293. Etymology of the word, *ibid.* (A).

Rhampſinitus. See *Rhemphis*.

Rhemphis, or *Rhampſinitus*, king of *Egypt*, 33. Builds the weſtern portico to the temple of *Vulcan*, *ibid.* And a treaſure-houſe, which is plundered by the architect's two ſons, *ibid.* Said to have gone down to hell, 36.

Rhinocolura,

Rhinocolura, a town built by *Actiſanes* king of *Egypt*, in the deſert between *Syria* and *Egypt*, 31. Why ſo called, *ibid.*

Rimmon, an idol of the *Syrians*, 255. Etymology of the word, *ibid.* (D).

Riyan, king of *Egypt*, 72. In his reign, according to the oriental writers, *Joſeph* was ſold into *Egypt*, *ibid.*

Rod Moſes's. See *Moſes*. Stories of the *Jews* concerning it, 499. Turned into a ſerpent, ſwallows thoſe of the *Egyptians*, 509.

S

SABBACO, the *Ethiopian*, breaks into *Egypt* with a powerful army, and forces king *Anyſis* to fly for ſhelter to the fens, 40. Thought to have been the *So* of ſcripture, *ibid.* Excited to the invaſion of *Egypt* by a dream, 41. Gives high proofs of his wiſdom and piety, *ibid.* His policy, *ibid.* Retires of his own accord into his own country, *ibid.*

Salatis, the firſt king ſet up in *Egypt* by the Shepherds, 4.

Salem, by *Joſephus* called *Solyma*, and, according to him, founded by *Melchizedek*, and called *Jeruſalem*, 169, (Q).

Salem, a place near the city of *Shechem*, in the land of *Canaan*, where *Jacob* bought a piece of land from *Hamor*, 408. *Jacob* builds an altar there, which he calls *El Elohe Iſrael*, or *the mighty God of Iſrael*, 409. Very likely the ſame place where *Abraham* had built one, after his firſt coming into the land of *Canaan*, *ibid.*

Salt the valley of, famed for the overthrow of the *Edomites* there, 134.

Samaria city of, beſieged by *Ben-hadad* king of *Syria*, and relieved by *Ahab*, 275. Again beſieged by the ſame, but miraculouſly delivered when upon the point of being taken, 283.

Samlah of Maſrekah, king of the *Horites*, 137. In his reign it is probably thought, that *Eſau* came into the country, called afterwards from him *Edom*, *ibid.*

Samoſata, a chief city of *Commagene*, 233.

Samſon, ſmitten with a damſel that dwelt at *Timnath*, 209. Propoſes a riddle to thirty young men appointed to wait on him, and kills thirty men of *Aſkelon*, whoſe garments he gives to the expoſitors of it, to make good his engagement, *ibid.* To revenge the affront of his father-in-law, ſends out three hundred foxes with firebrands at their tails, and

and conſumes all the ſtanding corn, 210. Delivered up bound to the *Philiſtines* by the men of *Judah*, *ib.* Breaks his cords, and kills a thouſand of the *Philiſtines* with the jaw-bone of an aſs, *ibid.* Is ſhut up in *Gaza*, but takes the city gates and carries them to *Hebron*, *ibid.* Betrayed by *Delilah*, his hair cut off, his eyes put out, and condemned to grind in the priſon-houſe, 211. Kills himſelf and many thouſands of the *Philiſtines* by pulling down the houſe, 211, (X), & 212.

Sana, or *Sa*, king of *Egypt*, ſuppoſed to have built the city *Sais*, 71.

Saph, ſon of *Goliath*, ſlain by *Sibbechai*, 227.

Sarah, paſſes for *Abraham*'s ſiſter, 357. The king of *Egypt* ſmitten with her, ſhews an extraordinary kindneſs to *Abraham*, *ibid.* Taken from *Abraham* by *Abimelech*, king of the *Philiſtines*, but upon a viſion from heaven reſtored to him, 202. A ſon promiſed her, 371. Prevails upon *Abraham* to ſend away *Hagar* and *Iſhmael*, 374. Firſt called *Sarai*, but that name changed into *Sarah*, 366, (P). Etymology of both, *ibid.* Her death, 377. Is buried in the cave of *Machpelah*, 379.

Sartamas, the *Perſian* governor of *Egypt*, 63.

Saſychis, king of *Egypt*, and the ſecond *Egyptian* legiſlator, 8.

Saul, the ſon of *Kiſh*, defeats the *Philiſtines* at *Michmaſh*, 219. Defeated by the *Philiſtines*, and killed, with his three ſons, 225.

Seir mount, the ſettlement of *Eſau*, 127.

Seir, a *Horite*, from him the mount and land of *Seir* had its name, 129. His deſcendants dukes in the land of *Seir*, while the deſcendants of *Eſau* governed, as dukes, the land of *Edom*, 137.

Selah, or *Petra*, city of *Edom*, called by ſome the chief place of the *Nabatæans*, the capital of *Arabia*, &c. 132. Taken by *Amaziah* and called *Joktheel*, 145.

Seleucia, a town in *Seleucis*, 133.

Seſoſtris, king of *Egypt*, 9. Whether the *Seſac* or *Shiſhak* of ſcripture, *ibid.* (H). Whether the *Pharaoh* who periſhed in the *Red-ſea*, *ibid.* His father gathers in all the boys in *Egypt* that were born on the ſame day with him, 21. Subdues the *Arabians*, and the greateſt part of *Afric*, 22. Undertakes to conquer the whole world, *ibid.* Divides *Egypt* into 36 nomes, *ibid.* Inſtitutes a military order, 23. Conquers *Æthiopia*, *ibid.* Inſtitutes the maritime

time claſs, or order, *ibid.* Over-runs *Aſia*, and ſome part of *Europe*, 24. Invades the *Scythians*, *ibid.* Suppoſed to have planted a colony in *Colchis*, *ibid.* His pillars and ſtatues, 25. Returns to *Egypt*, *ibid.* Is miraculouſly delivered from the murderous deſigns of his brother, 26. His religious, civil, and military works, *ibid.* & *ſeq.* His inſolence, 28. Lays violent hands on himſelf, *ibid.*

Seth, who intended by the children of *Seth*, in the propheſy of *Balaam*, 89, (N).

Sethon, prieſt and king of *Egypt*, 41. Obtains a ſignal and miraculous victory over the *Aſſyrians*, 42. A ſtatue erected to him with a rat in one of his hands, in memory of the victory he obtained by their aſſiſtance, *ibid.*

Shalmaneſer, king of *Aſſyria*, keeps *Tyre* beſieged for the ſpace of five years, but not able to reduce it, 344.

Shamgar delivers the *Iſraelites* from the yoke of the *Philiſtines*, 208. Kills 600 of them with an Ox-goad, *ibid.* This event not mentioned by *Joſephus*, *ibid.* (S).

Shaul of *Rehoboth*, king of the *Horites*, 137.

Shechem, ſon of *Hamor*, deflowers *Dinah* the daughter of *Jacob*, 171. He and all his tribe conſent to be circumciſed to pacify *Jacob*, 172. But the third day are all cut off by *Simeon* and *Levi*, *ibid.*

Shechem, the name of a city in the land of *Canaan*, 408.

Shemeber, king of *Zeboim* in the vale of *Siddim*, routed by *Chedorlaomer*, 167.

Shepherds the irruption of into *Egypt*, 4, *&c.* Believed to have been the *Canaanites*, 5, (B). Do their utmoſt to root out the native *Egyptians*, 4. Called *Hycſos*, the etymology of the word, *ibid.* & *ſeq.* Held *Egypt* 511 years, *ibid.* Of what country, *ibid.* & (B). The time of their invaſion, *ibid.* Driven out of *Egypt*, 30. Build the city of *Jeruſalem*, 30. Some miſtake them for the *Iſraelites*, *ibid.* (I).

Sheſhai, one of the three ſons of *Anak*, driven from *Hebron* by *Caleb*, 181.

Shiloh what meant by, in *Jacob*'s famous prophecy to *Judah*, *the ſceptre ſhall not depart* from *Judah*, &c. 441, (G).

Shimron king of, joins *Jabin* king of *Hazor* againſt the *Iſraelites*, and is defeated, 178.

Shiphrah and *Puah*, the two chief *Hebrew* midwives, ſtrictly charged by *Pharaoh* to deſtroy all the males, 469. Reproved by *Pharaoh* for their diſobedience, and rewarded by God for their piety, 470.

Shuia's

Shoaib's cave, one of the ſtations in the pilgrimage from *Egypt* to *Mecca*, why ſo called, 122, (R). Formerly named *Madyan*, *ibid.*

Shobach general of the *Aſſyrian* forces againſt *David*, is routed and killed, 274.

Shur and *Kadeſh*, the names of two deſerts, 372, & (V).

Sichæus, a prieſt of *Hercules*, murdered by his nephew *Pygmalion* king of *Tyre*, 342.

Siddim vale of, its inhabitants invaded by *Chedorlaomer* king of *Elam*, and reduced to pay tribute, 166. The five kings of *Siddim* rebel againſt *Chedorlaomer*, but their armies are routed, their people either killed, carried away captives, or obliged to fly to the mountains, 167. The wickedneſs of the inhabitants of this vale puniſhed with fire and brimſtone, 170. How this deſtruction was effected, *ibid.* (T). See *Pentapolis*.

Sidon the metropolis of *Phœnice*, ſo called from *Sidon* the eldeſt ſon of *Canaan*, 295. Various opinions about the derivation of its name, *ibid.* (E). Its harbour deſcribed, *ibid.* Now called *Seyde*, 296. Antiquities to be ſeen there, 301. Series of its kings, 326. Hiſtory of its kings, 332. Betrayed by *Tennes* king of the country, and by *Mentor* the *Rhodian*, to *Ochus* king of *Perſia*, 334. Set on fire by the *Sidonians*, who conſume themſelves to the number of 40,000, and their city, 335. *Ochus* ſells the aſhes of the burnt city for a great ſum of money, *ibid.* Rebuilt by ſuch of the citizens as had been abſent, *ibid.* The citizens readily ſubmit to *Alexander*, *ibid.*

Sihon, the *Amorite*, drives the *Ammonites* from their antient habitation, 101. Invades the children of *Moab*, and diſpoſſeſſes them of their country on the other ſide *Jordan* and the *Dead-ſea*, 173. Refuſes *Moſes* a free paſſage through his country on his way to *Canaan*, but is defeated with a fatal overthrow, *ibid.*

Simeon, *Jacob*'s ſecond ſon by *Leah*, born, 397. Kept by *Joſeph* in *Egypt*, 423. *Jacob*'s propheſy againſt the tribes of *Simeon* and *Levi*, 440. How fulfilled, *ibid.* (F).

Simeonites utterly deſtroy and diſperſe the *Amalekites*, 156.

Siſera, general of the armies of *Jabin* king of *Canaan*, 184. Routed by *Deborah* and *Barak*, 185. And killed by *Jael*, *ibid.*

So, in ſcripture thought to be the ſame with *Sabbaco*, the *Ethiopian* king of *Egypt*, 40.

Sodom and *Gomorrah* taken and pillaged by *Chedorlaomer* king of *Elam*, 167.

Sophene. See *Zobah*.

Strato king of *Sidon*, 335. Deprived of his crown by *Alexander*, 336. A lewd prince, *ibid.*

Strato king of *Tyre*, 347. How he was aſſumed to the throne, *ibid.*

Stratonice built the famous temple of the great *Syrian* goddeſs at *Hierapolis*, 260. Her ſtory with relation to *Combabus*, *ibid.* & *ſeq.*

Succoth, or booths, the place where *Jacob* ſtopped, after his interview with *Eſau*, 408. Afterwards a city, its ſituation, *ibid.* The firſt encampment of the *Iſraelites*, on their departure from *Egypt*, 525. This different from that which *Jacob* called *Succoth*, when he came out of *Meſopotamia*, 528, (O). Called by *Joſephus Latopolis*, *ibid.* Thought by many to be the country called *Troglodytis* by the *Red-ſea*, *ibid.*

Suffetes, judges who governed *Tyre* for ſome years, 346. Etymology of the word, *ibid.* (C).

Syria, in *Hebrew Aram*, ſo named from *Aram* the youngeſt ſon of *Shem*, 232. Various opinions relating to the name of *Syria*, *ibid.* Its ſituation, 233. Its various diviſions, *ibid.* How divided under the *Romans*, 235. Its climate and fertility, *ibid.* Its rivers, *ibid.* Natural rarities, 236. And artificial, 239.

Syriac, became a diſtinct tongue ſo early as the days of *Jacob*, 266. Common to *Meſopotamia*, *Chaldæa*, and *Aſſyria*, *ibid.* The *Syriac* character ſuppoſed to have been in uſe above 300 years before the birth of Chriſt, *ibid.* Two ſorts of characters, the *Eſtrangelo* and *Eſhito*, *ibid.* *Syriac* alphabet, 267. Was deſtitute of vowels till the end of the eighth century, *ibid.* Reſtored to its antient purity by *James* of *Edeſſa*, the firſt who wrote a *Syriac* grammar, *ibid.* The *Syriac* tranſlations of the Old and New Teſtament equal to any other whatſoever, *ibid.*

Syrians, the firſt who inhabited *Syria*, deſcended partly from *Shem*, and partly from *Ham*, 253. Governed by heads of families, called kings, to the days of *Saul*, 254. And divided into ſeveral ſmall kingdoms, *ibid.* Were idolaters, but often changed their religion, 256, & *ſeq.* Their religious cuſtoms and traditions, 255, & *ſeq.* Their temper, learning, arts, language, 265. Their trade, 267. The chronology of the antient *Syrians*, 269, &c. The reigns of the antient king of *Syria*, 273, & *ſeq.* The kingdom of

Syria aboliſhed, according to the prophets, by *Tiglath-pileſer* king of *Aſſyria*, 290.

Syrian goddeſs, her temple at *Hierapolis*, 257. Deſcription of this temple, the ſtatues, ſacred lake, oracle, *&c. ibid.* & *ſeq.* Her different ſorts of prieſts, 260. Sacrifices, feſtivals, *&c.* performed in her temple at *Hierapolis*, 261, & *ſeq.*

Syrophœnicians, who, 294, (B).

T.

TABERNACLE, made and ſet up at the foot of mount *Sinai*, 571.

Tabir. See *Nomes*.

Tables of the decalogue, *Jewiſh* fables relating to them, 561, (A). The ſtone, where the commandments were written, given to *Moſes*, *ibid.* How many they were, *ibid.* (A). Their ſhape, bigneſs, the matter they were made of, *ibid.* In what ſenſe written by the finger of GOD, *ibid.* Fables of the *Mohammedans* touching this ſubject, 562, (A).

Tabrimon, the ſon of *Hezion*, king of *Damaſcus*, lives in peace and amity with the kings of *Judah*, and *Iſrael*, 275. Thought by ſome to have been ſubject to the *Egyptians*, *ibid.* (B).

Tachos, king of *Egypt*, 66. His impolitic conduct towards *Ageſilaus* king of *Sparta*, *ibid.* Marches out of *Egypt* to attack the *Perſians* in *Phœnice*, *ibid.* In his abſence his ſubjects revolt, and oblige him to fly into *Perſia*, 67.

Talmai, one of the three ſons of *Anak*, driven from *Hebron* by *Caleb*, 181, (B).

Talmai, king of *Geſhur*, 292. *David* marries *Maacah* his daughter, 282.

Tamar, *Er*'s wife, is married to *Onan*. 416. Deceives *Judah*, and proves with child by him, 417. Condemned to be burnt, 418. But abſolved, 419. Brings forth twins, *Pharez* and *Zarah*, *ibid.*

Tamus treacherouſly murdered by *Pſammitichus* II. king of *Egypt*, 64.

Tahpenes, queen of *Egypt*, her ſiſter, given in marriage to the fugitive *Hadad* king of *Edom*, 142.

Tartan, general of the *Aſſyrians*, takes *Aſhdod* from the *Philiſtines*, whom he reduces, 230.

Teman, a city of *Edom*, mentioned for the wiſdom, and counſel of its inhabitants, 132. The country round it called *Temani*, of which was *Eliphaz* one of *Job*'s friends, *ibid.*

Tennes king of *Sidon*, 333. In his reign the *Sidonians* and *Phœnicians* enter into a conſpiracy with *Nectanebes* king of *Egypt*, and ſhake off the *Perſian* yoke, *ibid.* Joins *Ochus* king of *Perſia* againſt his own countrymen, and delivers *Sidon* into his hands, 334. Is put to death by *Ochus*, 335.

Terah, father of *Abraham*, dies in *Haran*, 355. Difficulties in the account of his age, *ibid.* (B).

Teraphim what meant by in *Hebrew*, 402, (B).

Tetragrammaton. See *Jehovah*.

Tetramneſtus, king of *Sidon*. 333. Aſſiſts *Xerxes* in his expedition againſt *Greece* with 300 gallies, *ibid.* Was one of the chief commanders of the *Perſian* navy, *ibid.*

Thammuz, or *Adonis*, ceremonies practiſed in his honour by the *Phœnicians*, and their origin, 316, *& ſeq.*

Thebes in *Bœotia* founded by *Cadmus*, and from him called *Cadmea*, 329. Enlarged by *Amphion* and *Zethus*, and by them called *Thebes*, in honour of *Thebe* their aunt, *ibid.*

Theophilus of *Edeſſa*, chief aſtrologer to *Khalif al Mohdi*, ſuppoſed to have introduced the uſe of vowels into the *Syriac* language, 267.

Timotheus, governor of the *Ammonites*, is often worſted by *Judas Maccabæus*, 109.

Tobiah, called the ſervant, at the head of the *Arabians*, *Moabites* and *Samaritans*, endeavours to prevent the rebuilding the temple of *Jeruſalem*, 109.

Toi, called by *Joſephus Thœnus*, king of *Hamath* in *Syria*, 291, & (K). Delivered by *David* from being ſubdued by *Hadadezer* king of *Zobah*, ſends his ſon *Joram* with a coſtly preſent to him. *ibid.*

Tripoli, city of *Phœnice*, derived its origin from the joint contribution of *Sidon*, *Tyre*, and *Aradus*, 299. At firſt three diſtinct cities, at a furlong diſtance from each other, and inhabited by three diſtinct colonies, *ibid.*

Tulis, king of *Egypt*, 72. In his reign *Abraham*, according to the orientals, came into *Egypt*, *ibid.*

Tyre, a city of *Phœnice*, its ſituation, 296. Ought to be diſtinguiſhed into three different cities in order of time, *viz. Palæ-Tyrus*, or *Old Tyre*, on the continent, *Tyre* on the iſland, and *Tyre* on the *Peninſula*, 296. Called alſo

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